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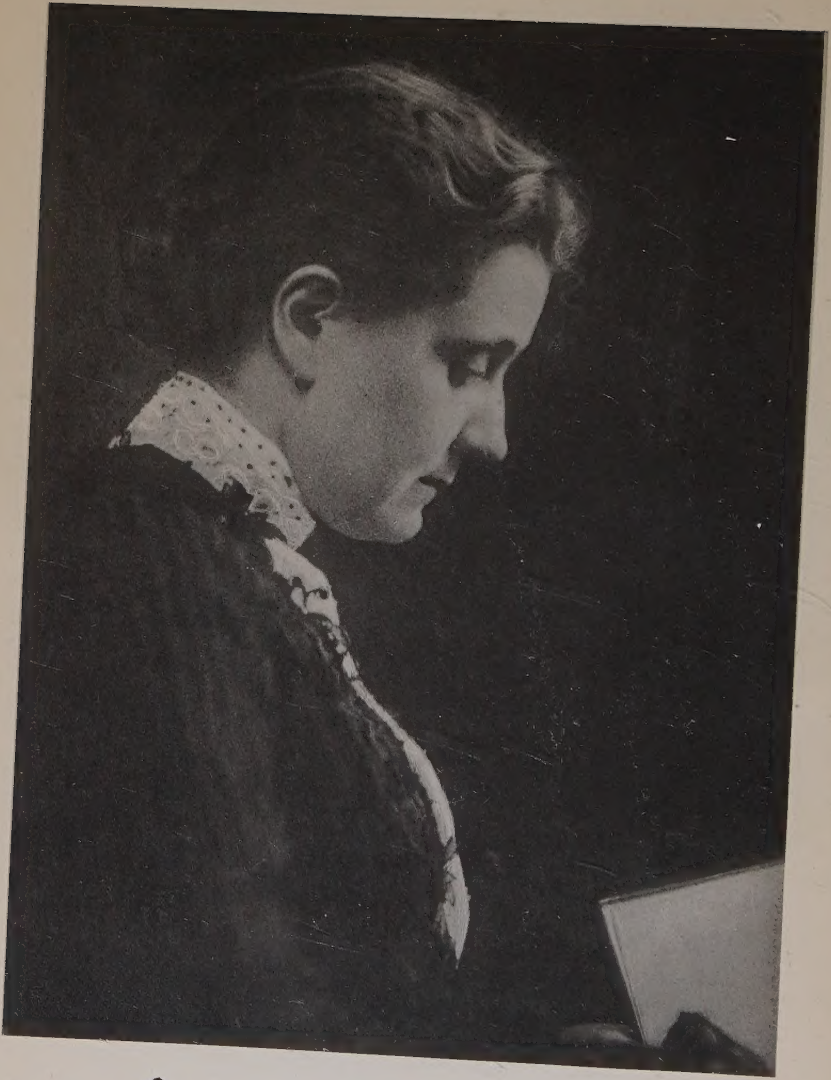

Jane Addams

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

OF

Charities and Correction

AT THE

Thirty-seventh Annual Session held in the City of
St. Louis, Mo., May 19th to 26th
1910

EDITED BY

ALEXANDER JOHNSON

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PREFACE

The thirty-seventh National Conference of Charities and Correction met in St. Louis on the 19th of May, 1910. This was the second meeting in St. Louis, the eleventh Conference having met, in 1884, in the same city. Among those present this year, six persons were found who attended the former meeting twenty-six years ago.

For the first time since the plan of holding section meetings as well as general sessions was adopted, the volume herewith presented contains all the papers that were read, in full, with the exception of four which were withdrawn by their authors. In consequence this is the largest volume of proceedings that has ever been presented.

The list of members and also the catalog of State Boards and Commissions, and one or two other items of merely ephemeral interest, all of which have usually been presented in the volume, will this year appear in a bulletin under the name of an appendix to the volume of proceedings.

The thirty-eighth Conference will meet in Boston on the 7th of June, 1911, Mr. Homer Folks, Secretary of the New York State Charities Aid Association, being the president.

A. J.

Fort Wayne, Ind., December 1st, 1910.

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The President's Address

CHARITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

BY MISS JANE ADDAMS, HULL HOUSE, CHICAGO

In an attempt to review the recent trend in the development of charity, that which has appeared most striking to your President is a gradual coming together of two groups of people, who have too often been given to a suspicion of each other and sometimes to actual vituperation. One group who have traditionally been moved to action by ''pity for the poor'' we call the Charitable; the other, larger or smaller in each generation, but always fired by a ''hatred of injustice,'' we designate as the Radicals.

These two groups, as the result of a growing awareness of distress and of a slowly deepening perception of its causes, are at last uniting into an effective demand for juster social conditions. The Charitable have been brought to this combination through the conviction that the poverty and crime with which they constantly deal are often the result of untoward industrial conditions, while the Radicals have been slowly forced to the conclusion that if they would make an effective appeal to public opinion they must utilize carefully collected data as to the conditions of the poor and criminal. It is as if the Charitable had been brought, through the care of the individual, to a contemplation of social causes, and as if the Radical had been forced to test his social doctrine by a sympathetic observation of actual people.

In addition to this, both groups when brought close to that mysterious short-coming on the part of life itself, when oppressed by that ''grief of things as they are'' over and above the griefs of circumstance or wrong doing, have come to realize that what we need in the world over against it is a certain power of compassion, that humanity requires ''a standing force of self-pity as an elementary ingredient in our social atmosphere if we are to live in it at all.'' Both groups have become united in sentiment as well as in conviction through sheer experience in the complexity of life.

It is perhaps not germane to this Conference that we should trace the steps by which the Radicals have met us half way, but is it not true that the members of this Conference who have been brought close to suffering, feebleness and wrong-doing, are but fulfilling a paramount obligation when they take up the study of social conditions? Does not the obligation to trace poverty back to its immediate or contributing sources belong foremost and professionally to those whose business it is to care for the wounded in the unequal battle of modern industry?

After all human progress is deeply indebted to a study of imperfections and the counsels of depair if not full of seasoned wisdom, are at least fertile in suggestion and a desperate spur to action. Moreover in its unending undertaking to reduce the sum of human misery, charity has shared the changes of the passing generations, until like all of its contemporaries, it too has become less dogmatic and has assumed the evolutionary way of understanding life; with them it has grown more democratic and has attained greater flexibility of temper. Moreover, modern charity, continually discovering new obligations, has been obliged to call to its aid economics, sanitary science, statistical research, and many other agencies as the program of this Conference will testify. It has therefore through dire need, been forced to recognize that charitable effort is part of the general social movement; somewhat as John Stuart Mill, when he was hard pressed by the problems of life, restored political economy to its proper place as a branch of social philosophy, insisting that it was not a thing by itself, but was an important part of the great whole.

It would be easy from the records of this Conference to trace the gradual steps by which charitable folk were irresistibly led from Cure to Prevention, as it would also be possible to demonstrate from contemporaneous records that we are now being led in the same gradual but unresting manner from Prevention to a consideration of Vital Welfare. The negative policy of relieving destitution, or even the more generous one of preventing it, is giving way to the positive idea of raising life to its highest value.

If at times the moral fire seems to be dying out of the good old words Relief and Charity, it has undoubtedly filled with a new warmth certain words which belong distinctively to our own times; such words as Prevention, Amelioration, and Social Justice. It is also true that those for whom these words contain most of hope and warmth are those who have been long mindful of the old tasks and obligations, as if the great basic emotion of human Compassion had more than held its own. After all sympathetic knowledge is the only way of approach to any human problem. The line of least resistance into the jungle of human wretchedness must always be through that region which is most thoroughly explored, not only by the information of the statistician, but by the understanding of the Charitable.

With the co-operation of the audience I may be able to demonstrate that modern Charity is committed to this newer service of increasing the positive value of life, by recalling with you some of the many agencies designed to safe-guard and enhance the life of the citizen which have had purely philanthropic origins.

To begin with the most important: How far have the Philanthropists contributed to the formation of the modern state, not because they would surrender their own personal sentiments of pity and justice, but because they realized how inadequate these were unless they could find expression as an integral branch of corporate government. Through a century, therefore, in anticipation of coming changes which does so much to bring changes about, the Philanthropists have been steadily engaged in making a new State. We may concretely illustrate this process of State making by a century of effort in England to protect chimney sweeps, certainly a modest undertaking. "The Society for Superseding the Work of Climbing Boys" was founded in 1803 by some kind hearted people whose names have not been preserved. They first offered a prize of two hundred pounds for the best sweeping machine which should obviate the necessity for boys. Secondly they promoted a bill to protect the boys, but although it passed the House of Commons, it was rejected by the Lords, possibly not because the Lords were more hard hearted, but because the chimneys in the old mansions and manor houses were hopelessly crooked and could not be swept by machinery. Thirdly, they appointed their own private inspectors to watch the conduct of the master sweepers, and maintained these inspectors for seventy years. They also purchased sweeping machines and rented them to small masters for one shilling, sixpence a week. They continually badgered the insurance companies to demand the use of these machines; finally in 1875 they succeeded in passing a law of regulation and safeguard for their grimy little proteges.

We have here an epitome of the most advanced philanthropy, stimulation of inventions which shall relieve the poor from degrading drudgery, co-operation with commercial enterprises, and finally protective legislation. But these obscure people whose hearts were wrung over the condition of chimney sweeps did even better than that. They were pioneers in the establishment of the modern principle of inspection, which when taken over by the government as an extension of the function of the state, is ably defended by the economist, but which was after all inaugurated by the Philanthropist. May we not credit to their initiative this most valuable instrument of the modern state?

During this long century as the Philanthropist endeavored to transform his pity into political action, he learned the use of two other great implements, first popular agitation, second, statistical information. The first came about because the politicians would only yield under the pressure of public opinion and there is no doubt that the vehemence of the reformer is a very important factor in his chances for success. The reforms which the Philanthropist advocated were legitimately open to the emotional appeal to the higher sensibilities of the public, and he became an adept in the use of agitation for moral propaganda. Furthermore from the necessity of thus giving expression to his sympathy with the distressed, the philanthropists did much to strengthen the sympathy itself, to create that sociel sympathy which is one of the greatest of social forces. As Mrs. Fry year after year pleaded for a more humane treatment of England's prisoners, she not only formulated, but she constantly enhanced the scruples which already existed in the hearts of her legislative hearers.

But the Philanthropists also found that when they actually appeared before a Parliament or Legislature they were obliged to wield the weapon of statistics if only that they might appear as men of science and not as sentimentalists. Although the Philanthropist has often spoken slightingly of ''mere knowledge'' which informs the mind without resulting in action, he knows in his heart that knowledge is never ''mere knowledge,'' and that it is indispensable to right conduct. The great problem of the would-be reformer is not so much the overcoming of actual opposition, the passing of time does that for him, as the obtaining and formulating of accurate knowledge and fitting this knowledge into the trend of his time. Lord Shaftsbury's calculation of the distance daily traveled by a child tending a machine brought to his cause those members of Parliament who had been quite untouched by his humanitarian enthusiasm and religious zeal, but the advocates of child labor legislation had before them a century of struggle with the ''freedom of contract'' people, before it was made clear to the British mind that to protect the children of the nation is not in ''restraint of trade,'' but the preservation of the most valuable asset of commerce.

The century between the first demand upon Parliament for the protection of children made in 1803, to the carefully prepared report of the Royal Poor Law Commission in 1909, equipped the Philanthropist with at least these three carefully tempered tools, invented and perfected through a hundred years: public inspection, moral propaganda, and statistical information; with these tools he laid the sure foundations for a code of social legislation. During this long century the Philanthropists also worked out a philosophy resembling pragmatism, at least many of them came to believe that the concrete truth for them was that in which all their ''experiences most profitably combined'' and agreed that the final test was its ''propitious reaction'' upon the poor, the relief it brought to the most wretched members of the community. This may have been the basis for the social philosophy which Professor Patten declares we are now forming.

In the discussion of the current experience of the Charitable who deal day by day with the wounded, constantly growing less fit because their standard of life is so lamentably low, we may well begin with those groupings which this Conference indicates under the Committees on "Families and Neighborhoods" and on "Children." Are not the widow and the fatherless, the scriptural and traditional objects of Charity?

If we view them in the light of our more mellow philosophy what do we see? A woman whose wages are fixed on the basis of individual subsistence, who is quite unable to earn a family wage, is still held by a legal obligation to support her children, with a desperate penalty of forfeiture if she fails. To refuse relief to the mother of dependent children in order to compel her to support them, is therefore manifestly absurd; to grant her relief not in support of her economic insecurity, but merely in aid of her destitution, is an unending process. Who in this audience cannot recall at least one of these desperate mothers, overworked and harried through a long day, prolonged by the family washing and cooking into the evening, followed by a night of foreboding and misgiving because the very children for whom her life is sacrificed are slowly slipping away from her control and affection?

I can recall a very intelligent woman who long brought her children to the Hull-House Day Nursery with this result at the end of ten years of devotion: the one little girl is almost totally deaf owing to neglect following a case of measles because her mother could not stop work in order to care for her; the youngest boy has lost a leg flipping cars; the oldest boy has twice been arrested for petty larceny; the twin boys, in spite of prolonged sojourns in the parental school, have been such habitual truants, that their natural intelligence has secured little aid from education. Of the five children three are now in semi-penal institutions, not because their mother was either neglectful or unintelligent, but because she could not perform the offices of two parents.

In spite of my acquaintance with these over-worked mothers I found myself quite unprepared to believe the well substantiated story which was recently brought to the attention of a district office of the Chicago Associated Charities. A widow with three little children lived in a furnished room on the top floor of a cheap lodging house. Every morning after she had put out the fire for fear of accident, and told the children to get into bed if they were cold, she locked the door and went to her scrubbing of a large down-town theatre for which she received $16 a month. Because her fellow lodgers complained that the children cried all day, and beat upon the door with their fists calling, "let me out," the landlady said that the mother must move. She tried in vain to find another room equally cheap, and at last quite crazed by worry and anxiety, made up her mind that she must dispose of her children. One morning she moved the bed to the window, opened the lower sash, and told the children that if they would climb up on the bed after she had gone and look out that they would see something very pretty on the street below. She then locked the door and went away as usual. The children, of course, climbed upon the bed and leaned out of the window, but were fortunately seen by a neighbor who motioned them back until the door could be broken open by the landlady. Had the over-worked woman taken her own life, the State would have cared for her children either by the most approved method of boarding them out, or in institutions for dependent children. Would it, therefore, seem so unreasonable to board them with their own mother, requiring a standard of nutrition and school attendance?

The beginnings already made in this direction are all due to voluntary charitable effort, perhaps the largest number of children boarded with their own mothers are in Chicago, carefully supervised by the Jewish Charities. But with the knowledge all charitable people possess, why do we not sternly accuse the State both with the loss of the mother, and with the many results of imperfectly nourished and uneducated childhood? The results of neglect upon these children is obvious from many points of view, but if we consider it only from the narrow standpoint of that most fruitful source of destitution, unemployment, we may instance the most explicit statistics of the many boys who have graduated into the condition of the unemployable directly from adolescence, because they had come into the labor market with defective nutrition and faulty discipline. Have not the administrators of charity upon whom this yearly burden is thrown, a right to declare that they will no longer endure this premature exploiting of the undernourished and uneducated? Have they not a right to demand both that children shall be properly fed and that public education shall bring forth better fruit, and might not their concerted action bring about prolonged industrial education and avocation bureaus?

To consider the affairs of the "Committee on the Relations of the School and the Community" we will recall that the first free public education in England was established by the Poor Law Guardians, because they resolved that children should no longer be subject to that curious penal discipline which characterized the Unions and they therefore segregated the pauper children altogether from the poorhouses into district schools.

It is true that the British Board Schools have suffered from this humble beginning, but the indications are that the next great advance in English education will also be indebted to a charitable source. The Minority report of the Poor Law Commission, without apology for entering the field of education, recommends that "the legally permissible hours for the employment of boys must be shortened, that they must be required to spend the hours so set free, in physical and technological training, that the manufacturing of the unemployable may cease." This same report of a Charity Commission recommends that the girls be subjected to a drastic and a long enduring course of training in domestic economy and the care of children, and when we reflect upon the number of heart breaking cases of ill health and criminality apparently due to the ignorance of a mother, this recommendation seems absolutely germane to the purpose for which this Charity Commission was appointed.

How far this demand upon education, made by the Charitable, will in the end commit us to the feeding of school children and to adequate provision for the recreation of the adolescent, each community must decide for itself, largely upon the data presented to it by charitable people. It is significant that the immediate results of the assumption by the London Education Authority of its new duties of feeding and medically inspecting the children of school age was the call by the London County Council, for 7,000 volunteers to fill its Children's Care Committees. The Aldermen asked for volunteers who had had experience in charitable agencies, such as Country Holiday Fund Committees, Apprenticeship Committees, Schools for Mothers Committees, and so on indefinitely. The State in the administration of this advanced measure was absolutely dependent upon the co-operation of the charitable folk of London.

May we not expect valuable educational results from the report submitted by the Committee of this Conference on "The Relation of School and Community," because such a Committee will consciously and systematically undertake to do that which has for so long a time been going on almost surreptitiously? For although the public schools in America are quite free from the odor of charity, and were inaugurated and conducted as a matter of public policy, they are greatly indebted to the educational results obtained from the care of defective and delinquent children. Certainly the training of the brain through the coordinating muscles, was first painstakingly worked out by those dealing with children whose minds could not be approached through the more conventional methods of education. At the present moment the best agricultural training given to boys, as well as the most thorough trade instruction, is to be found in institutions for the wayward; from the well tilled garden patches in the truant schools to the elaborately equipped machine shops in the State Reformatories. Is it not true that the purely doctrinaire beginning of the American public schools places them in constant danger of becoming remote from the actual lives of the children and that they are greatly in need of the illumination and help of those who know the boys and girls as they live in their uncomfortable homes, and see them in their unguided, desperate efforts to find work.

If we consider the work of another Committee of this Conference, that on "Health and Sanitation," the argument becomes easy, for public health is a magic word which ever grows more potent as we realize that the very existence of the modern city would be an impossibility, had it not been discovered that the health of the individual is dependent upon the hygienic condition of his surroundings.

But quite as the first Commission to inquire into the condition of great towns was appointed through the solicitation of the philanthropic folk of Manchester in 1844, and as sanitary science, both in knowledge and municipal authority has leaped forward under pressure of epidemics raging through the poorer quarters of crowded cities, so the advocates of the most advanced measures in City Hygiene and preventive sanitary science are those who have realized that neglected childhood and neglected disease are the potent causes of social insuffiency. In proof of this we may instance the two new departments at present being urged upon the Congress of the United States, a Department of Health and the Children's Bureau. In the hearings before the Committees in regard to both of these new departments the Philanthropists have been in the majority.

Many illustrations are possible of social advance due to sanitary science pushed by the Charitable, but for our purpose nothing illustrates this more rapidly and graphically than the changes arising from the movement to control and eradicate tuberculosis. We can quite honestly instance the demand for a more generous feeding of the healthful members of the family, which is arising from the proper feeding of the tuberculosis patient; better tenements for the entire population will doubtless result from those tenements of no dark rooms and no hallways, which have been built for incipient cases of tuberculosis; we may also claim that more rest and leisure for all will follow the demand which is made for it on behalf of the tuberculosis patient. This latter will quickly bring us back to the social movement itself, for the effort to adjust a man's work to his powers is largely at the base of the entire labor struggle.

Not the least of the results from the tuberculosis campaign may be instanced the advance in social advertising which the tuberculosis people have taught us all. A recent exhibition in Boston showed an incandescent lamp which flickered into darkness twice a minute to illustrate the rate of deaths from tuberculosis in the world; but near-by the knife of a miniature guillotine fell every ten seconds to show the rate of industrial accidents in the United States. And there is no doubt that the second dramatization would have been impossible without the suggestion of the first and the wonderful methods of popular instruction which the destroyers of the white plague have evolved. But have we as a body of charitable men and women done what we ought to eradicate dark tenements, unclean milk, disease-breeding food, and many another evil to which the attention of the sanitary engineer needs to be perpetually directed if the health of the poor is to be preserved and their children kept alive. What might we not do if we properly bestirred ourselves at this moment of human conservation and city planning? We could overwhelm every city government in the land with verified knowledge which exactly fits in with the trend of the time.

To consider the affairs of that most important Committee on "State Supervision and Administration," let us take up first that venerable and primitive obligation of the State to care for is paupers, to see to it that no member of the community shall actually perish through lack of shelter or food. The report I have so often quoted declares that in England the State performs this duty in such wise that many destitute men prefer extreme exposure and semi-starvation outside, to the shelter and food within the Unions. This fearless minority advance this proposition, that the State "which does not welcome the entrance of a destitute person into a poor house as gladly as an isolation hospital welcomes a smallpox patient, which does not in fact search out destitution as the local health authorities search out infectious diseases," is derelict in the performance of its most obvious duty.

On the other hand, what is the result of a system of public relief which prides itself upon keeping people out of its institutions? On the streets of Chicago there appears from time to time a poor half-witted woman named Agnes who is not considered sufficiently imbecile for restraint although she is quite unable to name the fathers of her six children, who have been born at various times in the County Infirmary as the official records show. Various complaints are registered against her, and she is occasionally arrested for vagrancy, although nothing effective can be done for her under that charge.

Here again we may gain by going back over the historic road for institutions as well as men are prone to forget the pit whence they were digged. That most beneficent of institutions, the modern hospital, had its origin in the 18th Century Pest House, which must have killed more people than it cured. But the very number of sick people, which in itself was a great menace of the early pest house, became the surest foundation for the scientific study and the asceptic cleanliness which are the hospital's great contributions to society. Does not this history of the hospital, so recent as to be almost in the memory of living man, suggest that in the building up of this new social philosophy, which has for its object the humanizing and development of our common life, the most valuable data might be supplied from those vast institutions wherein the wrecks of the system are gathered? To illustrate, from the hospitals for the insane, those institutions which unfortunately still reflect something of the dread and discipline of the patients upon which they were founded; in this period of intense and over-wrought industrialism there are no other institutions which could perform so great a service to the community, if they could only determine how many patients became insane because of black terror lest they lose their work, how many through mal-nutrition when they have lost it, and how many because of the sheer monotony and fatigue of their employment. Psychiatry is doing something to show us the after effects of fear upon the minds of children, but little has yet been done to show how far that fear of the future, arising from economic insecurity has superinduced insanity.

I recall a Bohemian who borrowed a hundred dollars from a country-woman in Chicago with which to bring his family to America. Partly through lack of work and partly through many attacks of rheumatic fever he was unable to pay his debt in the time specified. His creditor persistently threatened to arrest him and throw him into prison. This impending fate so preyed upon his mind, that after weeks of sleeplessness he became insane and was committed to the County Hospital. His case was declared hopeless, but when his creditor was frightened into a withdrawal of her threats, and when she made a reassuring visit to the patient in the hospital, he began to mend and now five years later he is not only free from debt, but has almost completed the payment upon a house and lot of his own. A young Russian coming to Chicago in the hope of obtaining the freedom and self-development denied him at home, after three months of bitter disillusionment, the result of no work and insufficient food, was sent to the County Hospital for the insane. A little group of his young countrymen startled by this revelation of his destitution, devotedly went to see him each week with promises of work and companionship and he made a speedy recovery. Doubtless the hospital care, the rest and food, were the basis of recovery in both cases, but was not reassurance and the removal of dread also a factor in the cure of that type of disordered mind which the alienists define as "due to conflict through poor adaptation?" The official records apparently tell us little by which such a connection can be made, but a fine beginning in this line of research through the instrument of human sympathy, has been made by the National Committee of Mental Hygiene as well as by the Institutes of Psychiatry in New York and Michigan. In a course of study held by the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy for the attendants of the Insane in State Institut-tions, they were carefully taught the first principles of observation as well as methods of diversion and instruction. This course of study which was inaugurated by the Illinois State Board of Charities, Dr. Adolph Meyer calls "One of the most useful steps ever taken in our Field by Philanthropy." As scientific "Child Study" was founded by the educators of the feeble-minded, may we not hope from this carefully accumulated data not only to achieve a more humanitarian care of the insane, but so to modify our daily occcupations that insanity may be reduced?

There is also the pioneer care of the inebriates which is undertaken by several State Boards of Control, indicating the time when inebriety will be treated as a disease and a misfortune, and the habitual drunkard will no longer be fined and imprisoned as a criminal. The drunkard brings us quite naturally perhaps to a consideration of the problems confronting the Committee on Law Breakers. Here we will admit at once that it is impossible for the non-professional to realize the difficulties of prison administration, that most difficult of all the tasks which society commissions, and although it may seem at moments as if the State held too firmly to the tradition of penal justice and retribution, certainly with our young offenders it has already become a question of cure and education. Whatever is done for the man or boy discharged from prison, smarting under a sense of injustice which is often more than he can withstand, must for many years be undertaken by those not in the direct employ of the State. Are these discharged men and boys sufficiently fortified against their prison friends? A boy of my acquaintance sentenced to the Reform School because he purloined a horse and buggy with which he took two friends for a drive into the country, came home at the end of two years only to be called a horse-thief and thrown out by his father as he was again by his uncle with whom he sought shelter. There seemed to him nothing to do but to join two of his Reform School acquaintances in a job of petty larceny. There is something very pathetic in the spectacle of those disappointed parents who throw off their erring children through sheer chagin, as there is in the mere statement that so many of the young criminals are the oldest boys in large families, when we recall what a wonder the first child is, and the adoration he receives from his young parents. As we fail to connect the downfall of the boy with inadequate recreation, so we fail to make many other obvious connections, that of the wayward girl with insufficient housing for instance. Out of the total number of 500 girls in the Illinois Industrial School committed for their first sexual immorality, almost ten per cent, forty-six, had became involved with members of their own families. Nineteen with their fathers, the rest with brothers or uncles. Are children annually sacrificed through lack of that safe-guarding which it is the business of the Charitable to urge? The friendly visitors know best of all the heavy burdens which these neglected children bear.

Certainly upon the Charitable and upon no one else falls the care of the prisoner's family during his incarceration, and this in spite of the fact that Detroit is making an effort to support the prisoner's family from the earnings of the prisoner and that Washington has done much already in the direction of securing family support from the prisoner himself, and Cleveland has added to that, the prisoner's reinstatement. Although the present Mayor of Chicago issues so many pardons that he practically does away with the work of one municipal judge each year, if these pardons were issued not for political reasons, but were based upon the popular plea that the prisoner has a wife and little children to care for, one might be almost willing to accept them in lieu of any reasonable arrangements to care for the prisoner's family and as one of those first blind efforts to meet the popular demand for mercy so often founded upon a subtile perception of justice. The Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago undertakes to investigate the family of each man committed to the City House of Correction, co-operating with the warden in order to secure parole wherever practicable, that the father may earn money for his dependent children. I cite from two of their reports showing that the burden of the family falls upon the Charitable: during the incarceration of a certain man committed for drunkenness, his wife and five children received provisions and coal from the County Agent, $1.50 a week from the United Charities to buy milk for the baby, an order from the School Principal for a pair of shoes for the boy, although the neighbors as well as the family testified they had never received any charity before. Another family of seven children, the youngest four weeks old, the mother in bed with a milk leg, was receiving aid from the County as well as from private Charities, although the prisoner owned his own house, and had for years been employed in the freight yard of one railroad. In both of these cases and in a thousand others, it is the Charitable Agencies upon whom falls the entire care of the prisoner's family, and also in that heart-breaking attempt to reestablish the discharged prisoner himself. How is such a man, "with his artificially consummated unfitness," to wrestle successfully with alert, unhampered competitors in the labor market? Have not those who constantly attempt to assist him, a right to demand that men shall not be daily destroyed under our law for want of that human insight which sees men as they are?

Let us consider next the Committee on "Occupational Standards," newly appointed this year, which has to do with that other function of the State by which it seeks to protect its workers from their own weakness and degradation, and insists that the livelihood of the manual laborer shall not be beaten down below the level of efficient citizenship. This undertaking of the State assumes new forms almost daily. What have the Charitable people contributed to the movement for the State control over industrial diseases or the protection of machinery? What have they done in collecting data which illustrates pro and con the necessity for old age pensions, industrial insurance, employer's liability acts, the "regulation of the hours of labor," the control of "the sweated trades" the prohibition of the sale of intoxicants? Perhaps the charity of the past may have claimed a share only in the last two, and yet where could trustworthy data for the use of the State Legislators be so easily collected as in the State institutions for the criminal and defective, and in the orphanages and hospitals of private philanthropy? Although the connection is so obvious, it was never made until recently, and it is only contemporaneous charity that is taking a leading part in the establishment of the various safe-guards against premature disablement and dependence of the manual worker. It is perhaps significant that the most drastic survey of industrial conditions ever made in America was inaugurated and carried out by the editors of a paper called "Charities."

Long ago the English Economist was horrified over an administration of the Poor Law which paid "rates in aid of wages" and designated such charity as a "bounty" paid to employers: but the employer who pays starvation wages to his employes and who "sweats" them without regard to their health or endurance comes to rely absolutely upon the "bounty" with which his wages are supplemented. The long struggle to establish a living wage, which is carried on by trade unionists, has its charitable as well as its economic aspects as Father Ryan will demonstrate at one of the sessions of this conference. From the human standpoint there is certainly an obligation resting upon the Charity and Correction people to discover how much of their material comes to them as the result of social neglect, remedial incapacity, and the lack of industrial safe-guards. Perhaps the most revolutionary proposition ever seriously put before a modern government, was the plan for a public organization of the Labor Market, placed before the English Parliament in 1909, and although it was written in its final form by two economists, its material was collected by those trained in charitable administrations, and it was put forth as a report of a Poor Law Commission. This report stated that all of the Unemployed, the Under-employed, and the Unemployable were the results of three types of trades; first, the Subsidized-Labor Trades, wherein women and children are paid wages insufficient to maintain them at the required standard of health and industrial efficiency so that their wages must be supplemented by relatives or charity; second, Labor-Deteriorating Trades, which have sapped the energy, the capacity, the character, of successive generations of workers; third, Bare-Subsistence Trades, where the worker is forced to such a low level in his standard of life that he continually falls below self support.

Although this brilliant formulation came from England, one does not have to cross the water, to find instances of the relation of industry to charity. An American white lead factory discharges every laborer at the end of three months, not through the recommendation of the foreman, but directly from the office, in order to prevent the men from developing lead poisoning. This is, of course, cheaper than to employ examining physicians or to install safe-guards. But how about discontinuous employment as a factor in the breeding of discouragement and poverty? Of this the Charitable people say never a word. In a pottery factory instanced by Prof. Edsoll of the University of Pennsylvania, men are chiefly engaged who are already afflicted with tuberculosis and cancer, because knowing they have but little time to live they do not resent the fate of lead poisoning.

Is it because our modern industrialism is so new that we have been slow to connect it with the poverty all about us? The socialists talk constantly of the relation of economic wrong to destitution and point out the connection between industrial maladjusment and individual poverty, but the study of social conditions, the obligation to eradicate poverty, cannot belong to one political party nor to one economic school, and after all it was not a socialist, but that ancient friend of the poor, St. Augustine, who said ''thou givest bread to the hungry, but better were it that none hungered and thou had'st no need to give to him.''

Five hundred years ago John Ball, looking out over England, tells us that he saw ''the great treading down the little, the strong beating down the weak, and cruel men fearing not, and kind men daring not, and wise men caring not,'' and then with his heart burning within him, he cries aloud, ''and the Saints in Heaven forbearing, and yet bidding me not to forbear.''

If we compare our time with his, we will admit that although the great still tread down the little, and the strong beat down the weak, that the cruel are at last becoming afraid of public opinion, that kind men are more daring in their schemes of alleviation than they used to be and wise men are more solicitous. We do not venture to say whether or not the Saints in Heaven forbear, but we are very certain that no Saint upon earth could forbear in the presence of contemporaneous, social and industrial conditions, and both Saint and sinner know that the conditions can only be made more righteous and more human by the increasing devotion of countless generations of men.

The English economists and philanthropists have started a crusade against destitution; the most intrepid of revolutionists are those who have been stung into revolt by the poverty and degradation of Russia's peasants; the Social Democrats of Germany are three and a half million men vowed to the destruction of poverty; the part America shall take in this international crusade of the compassionate, in this standing army of humanity's self-pity suddenly mobilized for a new conquest, it lies largely with the members of this Conference to determine. For is it not true that out of the most persistent and intelligent efforts to alleviate poverty will arise the most successful efforts to eradicate poverty.

The Conference Sermon

BY RT. REV. CHARLES PALMERSTON ANDERSON, D. D., CHICAGO, ILL.

I had the privilege of preaching in this city this morning what is known as the annual Flower Sermon. I now have the further privilege of preaching before this National Conference of Charities and Correction. I have been somewhat bewildered as to why I should be asked to preach on either occasion. I know very little about flowers, and less about sociology. I take it, however, that one can appreciate the beauty and the beneficence of the world of flowers without being a botanist. I hope I may say something profitable to you about the work in which you are engaged without presuming to be a sociologist.

It may have occurred to you that it requires a kaleidoscopic mind to pass from my subject of the morning to what I am going to think about this afternoon; yet they may not be so far apart as one might think. Indeed, they are so close together that I am going to repeat a paragraph I used in my sermon this morning. I had something to say not only about flowers, but about thorns. I pointed out that thorns were not essential, were not meant to be thorns. They were meant to be branches, twigs, leaves, buds, fruit and flowers. I pointed out that it is only because there was some poverty of soil, or some misfortune somewhere, that they did not develop into that which they were intended to be. I also pointed out that they were removable by cultivation, at any rate to a very large extent. Then I ventured to say to that congregation this morning that there was a conference being held in the city of St. Louis at this time, of people who were engaged in removing the thorns from human society. For the injustice, the cruelties, the malevolence, poverty, sickness and suffering that go on in this world must not for a moment be looked upon as necessary and inevitable; must not be looked upon as representing the intention of the Divine Mind. On the contrary, they represent the solemn fact that many intentions and purposes and laws of life have been frustrated. And it is possible by education, by enlightenment, by the spread of knowledge, by Christian culture and by the grace of God to eradicate a large portion of the thorns and prickles and thistles and briers that permeate human life at the present time. Never allow yourself to indulge the belief that things are what they are because the Supreme Ruler of the universe means them to be just that. I suppose a large part of the sickness of the world could be removed by knowledge. A large part of the diseases that infest humanity are preventable. A large percentage of the crimes of the world are due to unhappy circumstances which are remedial. Having said all this by way of preface, I want to speak now from a particular point of view.

I recognize that there are before me representatives of various churches, perhaps representatives of differing religions. I want, without being obtrusive and without saying anything improper, to speak from a particular point of view. It has been said over and over again that the Christian church has been somewhat inactive, and far from alert in her sympathies and interests in such great and splendid undertakings as engaged your attention during this past week. Let me speak from the point of view of a very unworthy representative of the Christian religion. May I introduce what I have to say by an experience from my own early life. When I was a young man in college I was inclined to argumentation. I remember I used to argue that when people stood up in meeting and gave confession to their religious belief, whatever belief it was, that it should immediately be followed by the practical application of that belief to the life that one was living. I mean by that that when people come together and say—I believe in God—they ought to go on from that with certain corollaries: Therefore, I believe in brotherhood, in service, in the universality of the human family. If there are men in the world anywhere that want to stand upon their feet and say—I believe in Christ—it ought to follow that they say—I believe in sacrifice, in self-abnegation, in surrender; I believe that my life should be measured solely by the presentation of a reasonable sacrifice. When men say—I believe in this and I believe in that—it ought to follow that they would interpret and translate that belief into daily conduct and dractical morality. So I was argumentative as a young man.

Of course, young men know so much more than old men. Only the youngest of us are infallible.

As I have grown older I have recognized the untruth of that position, but at the same time the truth of it. The untruth of it is this, that while it is necessary for any great organization to lay down its fundamental principles in stereotyped language, it is not possible for any organization to stereotype the application of its fundamental principles in all the details of human experience. Abraham Lincoln could say he believed in government of the people, for the people and by the people. It is a principle that is true for the ages that are yet to come. But neither Abraham Lincoln nor anyone else could have put into so many words the manifold ways in which that principle has to work out in the development of human affairs. But on the other hand, while it is impossible for any great organization to stereotype its ethical principles in detail, nevertheless every great organization must from day to day in the language of the day, in the different languages of different days, translate her eternal and fundamental principles into daily conduct.

You and I as people interested in the planting of God's kingdom of righteousness and peace and joy in this world have to take cognizance of the fact that a new order of things has come upon us with great suddenness. We live in a day of great organizations, of marvelous material prosperity, of large cities which multiply their population in a geometric ratio. We must remember that there are a hundred times more cities in the world than there used to be, and that they are growing a hundred times faster than they did. And these cities have brought along with them their problems, their contrast of wealth and poverty, of sky-scrapers and hovels, their problems of civics and sanitation, of housing, of wages, of labor, of what to do with criminals and for the prevention of disease and the eradication of poverty. Innumerable perplexities have arisen from the fact that great cities with their big problems have come upon us with startling rapidity. We have not been able to meet the situation and to adjust ourselves to the new environment.

Let me venture to point out how that seems to work out in the moral and in the ethical world. Let me take you back to the very simple ethical principles which every person here endorses, the Ten Commandments. Take that commandment —Thou shalt not steal. That was a very simple proposition when it was first promulgated. It meant a man must not go into his neighbor's field and take an ox or a sheep or a he goat that didn't belong to him. Now we live in days and circumstances so highly organized and complex, that it is possible for stealing to exist on the most gigantic scale, and yet under circumstances so perplexing that we cannot lay our hands on the individual and say—Thou art the man. Isn't it the commonest of accusations today that people steal from the city and the city from the people—that railroads steal from the people and the people from the railroads, that the great organizations connive to defraud the workingman and vice versa. The attitude that people take toward each other is an attitude of mutual accusation, and there is abundant justification for that attitude on the part of each toward the other. But who is the city? Who is the State? Who is the nation? Who is the railroad? Who is the great corporation and the great organization? They are all unknown quantities and impersonal equations. We don't know the individual. His personality seems to be merged, and we go on complaining and yet know not who the man is so that we can say—Thou art the man.

Now all this is bearing upon your work. Take the commandment—Thou shalt do no murder. How simple it was when it was first written. Do you recognize the fact that the industrial world is so complex, so highly organized in our time, that it is possible for certain conditions to prevail that bring about actual murder upon a large scale, and yet under circumstances where it is difficult to fix the responsibility? We read with great horror of Herod who slaughtered innocent children. The calendar of the Church commemorates the day when this happened. But they were few in comparison with the innocents slaughtered by the avarice and ignorance that prevail in our industrial society at the present time. There are conditions under which women are made unfit to bear children. There are conditions under which men constantly deteriorate. Is it not to the glory of God as well as to the uplift of humanity that you make inquiries into the conditions which produce such forms of human society and which under spiritual enlightenment and education are removable?

Take the other commandment—Thou shalt not commit adultery. That has existed in the world since the days of Astarte, yet I am not sure but what is has remained for the twentieth century to organize an industry of lust whereby a very traffic exists in the souls and bodies of human beings. There was also an old law that said—Thou shalt bear no false witness against thy neighbor. Yet it is a plain truth to say that a large part of the commerce and business of the day is honey-combed through and through with fraud and deceit and misrepresentation and adulteration. Is it not a positive scandal to the name of religion, Christian religion or any other religion, that when men try to bring about such laws as will insure pure food, the strongest opposition to such laws has been found to come from people who occupy front pews in the Christian church?

It seems to me that there are two things that we need to do at the present time. First, we must individualize responsibility. There is a man somewhere. We must not talk about the nation; there is a man. We must not talk about the city; there is a man; not about the railroad, there is a man; not about the labor organization; there is a man. We must individualize responsibility.

Second, we must socialize religion. That is to say, we must take our individual principles, our individual creeds, our beliefs in God and the purpose of God, and translate them into the actuality of social obligations. It is utterly impossible to judge the individual beliefs of many people at the present time, owing to their total disregard of social obligations and social responsibility. I believe when I express these two sentences I have covered a great deal of ground: We must individualize the man; there is a man responsible; we must socialize our religion.

The world is hungry for the gospel, for the gospel that will satisfy the yearnings of the human heart and the gospel that will satisfy the demands of the human soul. In satisfying the yearnings of the human heart there is absolutely no gospel this side of the divine gospel.

But the world at the present time is not only yearning for that kind of a gospel, but for another gospel—the gospel of social justice, social righteousness, social responsibility. The world needs the social and the authoritative gospel. You can't look around without seeming to see this demand for a social gospel manifesting itself in many ways. Take socialism. I would be the last person to say anything against socialism, and this is not the place for it. I merely want to point out that we all recognize that it stands for certain principles of equity and justice and right, and that it is claiming to be a social gospel for the world. Then there is the gospel of anarchy. I don't mean the bomb and the dynamite kind, but that intellectual anarchy which flatters human nature by telling us we can get along better without laws than with them. It claims to be a gospel. I am not agreed. As a Christian man I cannot allow myself for one moment to seem to say a single word in favor of a gospel which to my mind overturns all order of society and would wipe out the very existence of the Holy Catholic Church. I do not put anarchy and socialism in the same class for a moment. Then there is the gospel of the brotherhoods, the labor organizations, unionism. No man can have an accurate knowledge of unionism in our time without being obliged to admit in spite of himself that it has been something like a real gospel to many of its members. I have seen among members of this organization something of that fraternity and brotherly love, that mutual sacrifice, that splendid standing by each other in time of great trial, which seemed to me to be the characteristics that ought to prevail on a larger scale in the great Christian brotherhood throughout the world.

Then we have the gospel of the social settlement. It would be quite impossible for me at a meeting of this sort, presided over by a person who has made the idea of social settlements famous throughout the length and breadth of this land to contend that the social settlement was not, up to a certain point, a real gospel. This is not the time nor the place to discuss the merits of any of them. This is the time and the place to credit every one of them with everything that they can be credited with. And yet are there any of us here today who would venture to say of any of these gospels that it covered the whole realm of human experiences and provided all the soul's needs and all the needs of the mind, all the needs of society and the needs of the world? Is there any one who would claim for any of them that they were whole and entire social gospels? No. There is a gospel that is superior to them all, a gospel that inspired them all, that includes them all, and more than all of them put together. It is the Gospel of the Kingdom of God, which is not meat and drink, but righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.

May I make a plea to you, brethren, who are engaged in this work to bring about better social conditions and to preach a social gospel? Aim high for your mottoes! Look up unto the hills from whence comes your strength! Is it going to make you less efficient in dealing with the poor benighted prisoner, less helpful in dealing with the unmarried mother and her child, less sympathetic in dealing with the woman working in injurious employment, less efficient to exterminate tuberculosis and the spread of disease, if you remember Him who said, "Inasmuch as you have done it unto the least of these, my brethren, you have done it unto Me?" Judge your work by its possibilities. Remember that remarkable scene in the life of Jesus of Nazareth, where he said, "One of you shall betray me." They all began to say, "Is it I? Is it I?" Each single person felt that it was within the reach of possibility that he could have done that act. Have not the best of you had moments when you were on the verge of doing some horrible thing that would have distorted and twisted your whole life? Have not the worst of you had moments when you seemed to be caught up into the third heaven? Oh, the possibilities of human life! The things that fill one with awe! The possibility is that the best of us might have done as the worst, and that the worst might have been among the best.

Reach up to high ground! Be satisfied with nothing less than the Kingdom of God which is righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. I believe that the sources and the inspiration of the work which you are doing are of supra-mundane origin. I believe the whole history of civilization has been the history of the movement that had the divine initiative and the divine call. If it is, and you try to see things as God sees them, you will be none the less efficient. But in addition to your efficiency there will come to your work a sweetly solemn benediction.

Law Breakers

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

BY KATHARINE BEMENT DAVIS, PH. D., SUPT. OF N. Y. REFORMATORY FOR WOMEN.

THE REFORMATORY METHOD

There is nothing new in the reformatory principle, and nothing wonderful or mysterious in the reformatory method. For two hundred years there have been individuals here and there who believed in reformation rather than punishment and who acted on the belief. But this belief did not crystallize into action so far as the state was concerned until the establishment of the Elmira Reformatory in 1876.

The last fifty years have seen immense changes in our civilization. Social conditions are complex as they never were before. Changes in our industrial world, the advance in arts and applied sciences, have been greater in the last fifty years than in any hundred years preceding. With the change in outward circumstances there has come a corresponding change in the thoughts of men regarding society. Sociologists tell us that society is becoming self-conscious. We have reached a stage of civilization where we can in a measure direct our own evolution.

With other outward and inward changes comes the growing recognition of the position of the law breaker in society, and the responsibility of society for him. Many things that were formerly regarded as within the will of the individual are now recognized simply as the result of the reaction of social conditions.

In regard to juvenile delinquency, state after state is taking the position that it is the responsible guardian of the child with a responsibility for his well-being even above that of the parent. From the time of Solomon and before, indeed from the days of the cave men, certain rights and duties have been considered the prerogative of the parent. "Train up a child in the way he should go and when he is old he will not depart from it," and even "Spare the rod and spoil the child" are still true, but with an interrogation point as to who is to give the training and who is to apply the rod.

In our great cities certain problems are becoming more and more vitally important. We have been dealing with these problems at this Conference. When they are solved there will be little need on this program for the section devoted to law breakers, and we shall all rejoice!

We know that bad housing conditions, lack of enforcement of sanitary laws, the failure of compulsory education, wrong methods in our public schools, out-of-work problems, child labor, and a dozen other important matters are responsible for a goodly share of juvenile delinquency. We have only to turn our attention to statistics of boys and girls in the institutions which make the most complete investigations to find the enormous percentage of children who come from homes that are unsatisfactory.

Children are delinquent because of unsatisfactory homes. Homes are unsatisfactory because of some of the social conditions mentioned, added to the fact that father or mother or both are products of the conditions of their generation,—that is, we have pushed the problem back one step.

With regard to the youthful delinquent the state is stepping in and saying: "We are responsible for the conditions that have made the child what he is. It is not our business to regard him as a criminal, but to train him to adjust himself properly to existing conditions," which, of course, include the laws.

If the delinquent is past his sixteenth year he is no longer regarded as a child, but in how many cases is he more than a child so far as his ability to cope with our civilization is concerned? Fourteen states have recognized in action if not in so many words their moral responsibility in the matter.

A loving parent punishes his child when it does wrong. A good parent inflicts punishment with no thought of vengeance, no desire of retaliation, but simply as a means to an end. The child must be taught to do what is right. When the punishment is applied, the child knows from the spirit in which it is given that its purpose is for his own interests. The good of society as a whole is more important than the interests of any one member in it, but since society means all of us it is for the interest of us all that every member should contribute his share toward the common good.

Any man or woman who cannot earn his own living must be supported by somebody. Every man or woman who is not permitted to work is imposing an additional burden on society at large. It may be, and I believe it is, economy for society to support for a whole generation, if necessary, in enforced seclusion such of its members as cannot be made self-supporting and law-abiding, on account of physical, mental or moral weaknesses. As a cold business proposition, it is economy for the state to give its members the necessary training.

The adult delinquent like the juvenile delinquent is what he is from three primary causes:—first, ignorance; second, circumstance; and third, congenital moral defectiveness. If he goes wrong through ignorance he may be taught. He is a hopeful case. He has transgressed because he did not know how to take care of himself. He did not understand his relation to society. He may need industrial training. He may need to have his mind aroused and stimulated, to have his power of reasoning developed. His moral nature may need quickening. If he sins through circumstance, society may remedy the conditions, or it may remove the individual from them. His case is hopeful. If he is a moral imbecile, that is, if he has been born so defective that a sense of right and wrong cannot be instilled into him, he should be shut up with kind custodial care and prevented from preying upon society or reproducing his kind.

We may summarize the reformatory principle by saying that the interests of society are best subserved by the reform of the offender.

If we agree that the reformatory method consists in the application of discipline in its broadest sense and education in its widest meaning, then comes the question, "How are we to apply it?"

Fourteen states have already made the attempt to answer this question and they are succeeding more or less admirably.

Agitation is in progress in a number of other states, looking toward the establishment of similar institutions. It is well for those states to consider carefully what has been done in the institutions already under way, not to frame laws carelessly, but to profit by the mistakes as well as successes of the others.

First, who are the proper subjects for commitment to a reformatory institution? If it is to reform it is useless to load it up with individuals who, as we know from the beginning, cannot be helped. Educational institutions are expensive, and where there is no hope, kind custodial care is all that is necessary. Therefore, a state reformatory is not a place for the insane, feeble-minded, epileptic or tubercular. It is not for the hardened offender who for years has lived a life of crime and vice. While society may be responsible for much that he is, he has reached a point, humanly speaking, where reform is impossible.

The law in many of our states provides that only a young man guilty of a felony shall be committed to a state reformatory. As has often been pointed out, it is really putting a premium on the commission of more serious crimes. A young man steals $24.50 and he is sentenced to an institution where he spends his time in idleness and comes out worse than when he goes in. A young man stealing $25.50 is sent to an educational institution where he has an opportunity to learn a trade. It would be well to advise youthful offenders to steal an extra dollar.

It is pretty generally believed that men who commit felony should not be classed with those who are guilty of misdemeanors. They are regarded as more vicious and it is considered that contamination would be more likely. Moreover, misdemeanors are usually punishable by imprisonment for a term less than a year, and educational methods are not applicable where the person is to be confined for short terms.

If we take the position that a large portion of our offenders are such because they have never had any opportunity for training and education, it seems worse than illogical—it seems to me folly—to consider the matter of the length of the term as standing in the way. Laws are man-made and can be changed. Our penal codes were framed when the whole matter was held to be a question of punishment, when crimes were graded in order of their enormity and the time of imprisonment was prescribed proportionate to the offense, the worse the offense the longer the term of imprisonment, and so on. The specific character of offenses is apt to be more or less accidental. It is true that we may gather something of the character of the man from the nature of the crime he commits. A certain type of man is undoubtedly more likely to commit a crime against the person, and another type a crime against property. But we are getting around slowly but surely to the imposition o the indeterminate sentence. True, it is limited in most states by the maximum and minimum prescribed in the penal code for the specific offense.

So far as I know, New York State in its two reformatories for women has taken what seems to me the most advanced position in the matter of sentence. Here women are sentenced for felonies, misdemeanors and for violation of police ordinances, on precisely the same terms. That is, the institution is regarded as educational and the women are committed for as long a time as may be necessary to secure the ends for which the institution is established.

By the penal code of the state of New York a woman who has committed grand larceny in the second degree may be sentenced to States Prison for a term not longer than five years and not less than one year. For grand larceny in the first degree, she may be sentenced from one year to ten years. For manslaughter in the first degree she may be sentenced for a term of from one year to twenty years, and yet women convicted for any one of these offenses may be sentenced to a state reformatory for a maximum of three years and no minimum. The only illogical thing about our law is that there should be a maximum.

We have, of course, to face the practical as well as theoretical side, and while in the ideal institution, we would receive only young men and women capable of being benefitted by its discipline, and should retain them until such time as they are fitted to go out to live law-abiding, self-supporting lives, in practice we take the men and women committed by the courts under existing laws, and do the best we can for them while waiting as patiently as may be until the educational campaign so vigorously prosecuted, rouses public sentiment to the point of changing the laws.

What is the problem to which these institutions then set themselves? They have to take young men and women between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five or thirty years, committed for every offense except murder in the first and second degree for a period of one year and upward and so to train them physically, mentally and morally that they can go out to be self-supporting law-abiding citizens, and no longer parasites or enemies of society. In other words, from being anti-social they must be made to realize that they are responsible parts of the social whole.

Those who fear that the adoption of reformatory methods will encourage crime because the offender will no longer be punished have only to make certain reflections to see the fallacy of the idea. It is sometimes said that some people would be uncomfortable in heaven. Granted an ideal reformatory, there could be no worse punishment to the large majority of those committed to its care than the absolute necessity for self-control, cleanliness, regularity, sobriety, industry, application and concentration.

In this country where individual liberty and the right not only to opinions, but to the expression of them has been carried to the extreme, deprivation of liberty is punishment enough. Add to this, a complete subversion of all one's natural and acquired habits and tastes and we need have no fear that because the idea of punishment is in the back ground in the eyes of the law, it will not be first in the eyes of the offender. To those who are unfamiliar with it I would recommend the reading of the "Story of John," written by Col. Scott when he was Superintendent of the Massachusetts Reformatory at Concord, and printed in the volume called "Reformatory Systems in the United States" published by the International Prison Commission in 1900.

Here we have a vivid picture of a young man's course through a reformatory institution. His rebellion at the strict discipline, his struggles with himself to adjust himself to the unfamiliar conditions and his final winning out when he comes to realize that after all the officers are his friends and the methods such as had been planned with a view to his own development.

Our educational problem is to develop the physical, moral and mental nature of the man. If we examine the statistics of reformatories we find a very large percentage of illiteracy, of physical disability, of industrial inefficiency—these have to be remedied. It is rational to direct attention first to the physical side. There is little hope of helping a man or woman whose physical condition is much below par. So we have in our various reformatories our resident physician, our hospitals and nurses, our gymnasium, our open air sports, our military drill, our out-door work and exercises—all undertaken with the primary purpose of the restoration to physical health. Under a carefully planned system the tubercular will be isolated, the insane and the feeble minded will be transferred to proper custodial care, and the emphasis laid on mental and industrial work will increase as the inmate's physical health increases.

The aim of the School of Letters in reformatory institutions should be not so much the imparting of special information as the waking up of the mind. Very few men and women will go to school after leaving reformatories. They have not to be fitted to pass examinations or to enter institutions of higher learning. The subject matter is of far less importance than the method. A large percentage of law breaking comes from thoughtlessness. Young people do not learn to realize that effects follow causes, that we must bear the consequences of our own acts. They act on the first impulse. They must be taught to use their reason. The chief effect of the school room should be to make the pupil think. Next, the instruction must be concrete. A large percentage of those in our reformatories have no capacity for abstract reasoning or power of abstract conception. If the school work is to be worth anything, the pupil must see its bearing on his every day life. The pupil must not feel that school education is something to keep in one pocket of his mind and not to use outside of the school hours, just as he must be taught that religion is a matter of ordinary every day living and not something set apart for Sundays. For this reason the school work and industrial work should be co-ordinate.

In our educational work it must be remembered that the man in a reformatory is no longer a child and while his literary attainments may be less than those of the ordinary normal child of ten or twelve, his mental processes are quite different. Too much emphasis cannot be laid on this. We cannot hope to take the methods of the primary school for children and put them into operation satisfactorily in a primary school for adults. It requires originality and even genius on the part of the reformatory teacher to work out educational methods which will accomplish the results we seek. Certain practical aims cannot be overlooked. A man should go out able to read ordinary English, write an intelligible letter, and understand the elements of numbers so far at least as to be able to keep rational cash accounts. For a large percentage, accuracy, precision and neatness are some of the things which must be taught.

It is for these reasons that manual training forms so valuable a part of the equipment of most of our reformatory institutions.

On the industrial side it is of primary importance that a man or woman goes out from an institution able to earn an honest livelihood. What is the best method of accomplishing this? Shall we do it through manual training and trade school alone, by productive work alone, or by some combination of these? Where a reformatory undertakes to do productive work, by what method shall it be managed? Shall the chief aim be its economic value to the institution or its educational value to the man? Some of these points are perhaps still in dispute. There are dangers in any one of the methods and in the combination of them. If a reformatory institution engages in productive work there is the great danger that sensibly or insensibly the authorities will be led into the position of emphasizing the money-making side with a view to economy for the state. Men will be kept at that kind of work in which their labor is of the most value to the institution regardless of its effects on themselves.

We cannot over emphasize the position that only that is economy to the state which results in the greatest efficiency to the man after he leaves the reformatory. The contract system has no place whatever under a true reformatory method. Any system which gives over the control of its charges for a greater part of the day to persons whose sole aim is profit cannot be too strongly condemned.

If financial and industrial conditions in a given state are such as to necessitate productive industry with a view to making the reformatory institution self-supporting, still it should be entirely within the control of the institution management and should be so planned as to make the education of the individual for a self-supporting trade the first aim.

In deciding upon the particular industries which should be taught in a given reformatory no hard and fast rules can be made. The economic conditions of the state must be taken into consideration. This will be true both from the side of the institution and that of the man. Things must be manufactured for which a ready sale can be found and the man must be trained in industries in which there is an opening.

In the disposition of institution products we have to face undoubted opposition of labor organizations to prison made goods. As a matter of fact, it has always seemed to me that there was great fallacy in the reasoning processes of these organizations.

If prisoners are not engaged in productive work they are supported at the expense of the tax payers of which the members of labor organizations are a part. What is taken away with one hand must be given back with the other. Nonproducers, wherever they may be found, in institutions or out of them, are a burden upon the producers.

From the point of view of the prisoner there is no question but that there is greater stimulus to be found in productive work than in any other kind. I believe that the ideal solution will come when we can so equip and manage our reformatories that a certain part of the time of each prisoner can be given to educational work in a trade school, where the training is the end in view, with promotion from this to continuous work in a specific occupation whose chief aim is the product, thus obtaining the advantages and discipline of both methods. In short whatever method we use the aim should be education and efficiency for the individual prisoners rather than the material value of the product to the State.

In the fourteen states in which there are reformatories for men, various combinations of these methods are in use. In New Jersey and Michigan the labor of the prisoners is still contracted for. New Jersey wishes to make a change substituting the trade school with state's use of the product. Michigan prefers the contract system to any other. Ohio is changing from contract to the state use system as fast as old contracts expire. In Indiana, partly in Ohio, in New York and in Massachusetts, in connection with the trade school, goods are manufactured for state use. New York teaches thirty trades. Pennsylvania teaches forty separate trades.

Most of the men's reformatories use their own labor in construction of new buildings. Colorado and Wisconsin have their own quarries, and conduct their own operations under skilled foremen, thus making their construction work serve educational purposes. The new reformatory for men in the State of Washington has taken up new land and is using its own labor to clear it and manufacture bricks for its own buildings, fine clay land being found on the property. Without exception the fourteen reformatories for men carry on a certain amount of farming. A number of institutions desire more land as there is a growing recognition of the desirability of teaching agricultural operation to as many as are likely to engage in this kind of work after leaving. A field for agricultural labor is always open in the west at good wages. No state which contemplates establishing a new institution should fail to recognize the importance of securing as large and diversified a tract of land as possible.

In all of the reformatory institutions, emphasis is placed on acquaintance with good books, religious and ethical instruction and suitable amusement.

In most if not in all the reformatories there is a parole law which provides that after serving the minimum term, which is usually the minimum term for the specific offense, the prisoner may be paroled. The length of parole before final discharge varies in the different states.

Proper supervision on parole varies greatly in the different states. In some of the largest institutions where great numbers pass through each year, supervision can be only nominal. In my judgment this is the weak part of the reformatory system.

No matter how well organized, how well conducted a reformatory may be, its usefulness is questionable if its graduates do not make good in the world. We are constantly asked the question, "What percentage do you reform?" Our answer must be dependent upon what we consider reformation. If we mean simply that a paroled man has not violated the law to our knowledge during the term of parole, it is one thing. If we mean permanent continuance in well doing, it is entirely another thing. The law never provides machinery for following up a prisoner after his final discharge. Any subsequent relations which exist between the reformatory and the individual must necessarily be voluntary. Most superintendents and other officials keep in touch with considerable numbers of their graduates as a merely friendly relation, but as a rule this relation does not extend to large numbers nor cover periods long enough to warrant percentage statistics.

In fourteen states we have splended institutions, well managed and officered, with trade schools as fine as any there are in the world. Those in control are anxious and eager to realize high ideals of efficiency.

The problem today lies largely in the after-care of the paroled prisoner. The very size of the problem dampens enthusiasm, and yet we must face it before we can say that our reformatories justify their existence.*

THE DUTY OF THE LAW MAKER TO THE LAW BREAKER

BY ALBERT H. HALL, MINNEAPOLIS

There are moral standards for the State and for Society, as well as for the individual, but they differ and must be distinguished.

The highest ethical standards for the individual, dictate non-resistance and forgiveness of wrong, and prompt love for hate, and good for evil. These standards are attained and perfected in the functioning of the highest faculties of humanity.

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*See as an appendix to the above Report "Legislation concerning Law Breakers in the Reports from States.

They are the reflection and the revelation of God within the human soul.

The State, democracy, is the creation of men, born of their common needs, the child of the common consent and combined will of humanity. Its first duty is to perpetuate itself. It must grow and become strong that it may protect its members, and that strength must extend and equalize itself to all. It must both create and enforce law. It must punish disobedience. It must create and preserve the common conscience, and the conventional standards of right conduct. **Justice,** not forgiveness, must be its highest duty and function.

Democratic opinion has perhaps generally advanced to the point of assent to most of the following political declarations, to-wit:—

That the mere legal tender of opportunity will not secure equality.

That justice must be constant and vigilant to stay the tyranny of the strong and safe-guard the unprotected and weak. That the welfare of each must be the concern of all. That if there be any discrimination, the welfare of the least and most needy should be the highest concern of the state.

That the final aim of the state must be the expansion and elevation of human life by providing the most favorable conditions and means for its cultivation and development.

That education must be held not the mere gift and benefit of the state, but its most imperative function and duty; that education must not only continue to be physical, intellectual and industrial in its scope; **it must be moral.**

That every responsible criminal is prima facie evidence of some failure in the scope or operation of our educational system. That the prison and reformatory must become supplemental schools for the handling and developing of these social by-products, and every consideration of duty demands that these educational provisions be adequate and generous.

That in many of its aspects, crime is a disease due to physical or mental defects and lesions and should be treated as such. That there can be no higher concern of the state than the conservation and reclamation of its misguided manhood and womanhood.

These convictions seek higher expression than words. Conscious duty demands that they be translated into act and deed, controlling conduct and moulding life.

I venture in summary to catalogue a few of the "oughts" and possibilities of American legislation and administration. Some of them are still within the realm of debate and the laboratory of public opinion; others are being perfected in the experiment of civil government. It is offered with apologies and many reservations not noted.

The law-maker might, and presumably should, try to do the following things, viz:—

First. Safe-guard the doorway of life and exert every precaution against the birth of the degenerate and unfit. The means and methods of such regulation are most delicate and difficult, but successful legislative experiments have been made in this direction—notably in Indiana. They include the following:

(a) Prohibition of marriage to the unfit, the confirmed criminal, and the diseased as well as the imbecile, defective, epileptic and insane.

(b) Sterilization or segregation of the same classes, when clearly proven to be confirmed in criminal habit, particularly crimes of sexual violence.

Second. Protect and safe-guard childhood,

(a) By supervision and regulation of parental training and control, with penalties for delinquency and removal of control for omission of duty.

(b) By juvenile courts, vested with wide equitable and discretionary powers (practically parental in scope), over all delinquencies of child and parent.

Third. Protect and safe-guard the conditions and improve and elevate the environment essential to full individual and social life,

(a) By extension of health regulations, even beyond the wide field they now cover. (Whenever medical science ceases to be seclusive and scholastic and broadens to an all-inclusive science of health, then we may dare trust it with even regulative control over all vicious individual habit that impairs efficiency.)

(b) By housing and tenement regulations to prevent unsanitary, over-crowded and depressing habitation.

(c) By extension of labor regulations covering overtaxing, over hours, apprentices, risks and dangers, living wage, compulsory arbitration of disputes by appropriate judicial procedure, compensation graduated and restricted but available without suit for personal injuries in extra hazardous occupations.

(d) By the regulation of the public intoxication saloon,—out of existence,—and by putting the use of all intoxicants and narcotics under the ban of public condemnation, to which end, start prohibition by prohibiting the use of intoxicants by all **public officers** and **servants.** Private masters enforce abstinence by their servants, why not the public?

(e) By public provision or aid of healthy recreations and diversions.

(f) By public social functions and celebrations of patriotic holidays.

(g) By strict regulation of all public amusements and dance halls.

(h) By public endowments of the theater, opera, orchestra, organ, choral training, physical training, athletics, baths.

(i) By rigid police and medical regulation and segregation of the "social evil."

(j) By commissioning public mentors, moral conservators, prudent, wise and highly trusted men and women to warn, repress, restrain, direct and counsel the lawlessly inclined. To give timely sexual enlightenment, counsel and protection to boys and girls.

Fourth. Educate, **educate,** EDUCATE child and adult, physically, industrially, mentally and morally. To this object, devote increasingly the power, wealth and wisdom of the state.

(a) The freedom of the press in publication of facts and opinions must remain unfettered. It is the most powerful agency of modern education.

Question—Does not the growing bad practice of publishing falsehood and fiction as **facts** tend to create general distrust and unbelief—to uneducate the people and constitute the chief bar and hindrance to the spread of knowledge? Ought the wilful publication of falsehood as fact to be prohibited and penalized?

(b) The accumulation of practical knowledge and information of the Federal Government should be gathered by a commission of experts, epitomized in bulletins and daily transmitted through the Postal Department to all periodicals, and their publication required as a condition precedent to the privilege of reduced postal rates to periodicals.

Fifth. Provide and maintain an efficient police, trained to anticipate, prevent, forewarn, discourage and frighten off law-breaking. To be judicial, considerate and wise in emergency, as well as vigilant and alert. To be diligent in the discovery of the covert and shielded crimes of commerce, the thrift of deceit. To know what is evidence, and how best to discover, preserve and reproduce it. To shun the cowardly "League for Discovery" and all consorting with law-breakers. Let policemen be models of manhood to inspire confidence and respect. Raise the standard, pay the price, put only the best on guard.

(a) Limit by statute the extent of private examination of suspects and accused by police to avoid abuse of sweating system.

Sixth. Safeguard every right and provide for the comfort of the citizen under accusation of crime and during detention for trial.

(a) Restrict the issue of all criminal complaints to those investigated and approved by some judicial officer to avoid the abuse and want of cause of prosecution.

(b) Substitute process of summons for arrest in misdemeanors, not involving public peace or order.

(c) Jail should be in fact what it is held to be in theory, —a place suitable and fit for the temporary detention, pending trial, of the citizen presumed to be **innocent.**

(d) Discourage practice to waive examination on preliminary hearing. Require prosecution promptly to produce its evidence and take stenographic or phonographic record of all verbal testimony, and photograph all evidential places and exhibits.

(e) Restrain press comment before trial. It tends to corrupt fair judgment before the facts are determined.

(f) Require prompt medical-physical examination of accused to discover all defects, lesions and abnormalities.

Seventh. Provide and secure to the accused a **fair trial.**

(a) Abate in procedure or practice none of the safeguards of innocence, vindicated by wise experience.

(b) Eliminate all technicalities that are the growth of artifice and evasion, not essential to just administration.

(c) Require state to probe for, and encourage accused to disclose motive and intent, or its absence. These elements of crime have been too long permitted to remain hidden behind "presumption" and "assumption." Require full disclosure and give full weight to character, biography and personality of accused. Remove his power to prevent this by his silence.

(d) "Cut out" the "Public Interest." The trial is to determine the relation of the accused to the accusation, not of either or both to society. That consideration and concern belongs before and after the trial, **not during it.**

(e) Public defenders?

(f) Try the issue of insanity, intoxication, narcomania and all other phases of irresponsibility by jury of medical experts, subject to limited challenge, who may also determine issue of guilt or innocence, prescribe disposition and treatment, or with the court, fix punishment?

(g) Prevent tactical delays by both state and defense.

(h) Co-ordinate jurisdiction and records of trial and appellate courts during and after appeal.

Eighth. Make the sentence a declaration of **judgment** of the accused upon the issues, disclosures and findings of the trial, not a homily. Let it impose a penalty and prescribe a treatment, adjusted and meted to the convicted **offender** and his present condition rather than to the offense.

(a) Indeterminate sentence.

(b) Periodic revision of sentence by the court.

(c) Co-ordination of judicial with executive officers in penal supervision and inspection.

(d) Equalization of sentences by the several judges of the same court.

(e) Probation of adults.

(f) Increase of penalities for breach of trust, especially of public trust.

(g) Strict regulation to insure deprivation of elective and all other public franchises or office from convicts who have manifested moral turpitude.

(h) Promote all agencies and publications calculated to arouse abhorrence of crime to the end that the **dread of conviction** shall exceed the dread of penalty.

(i) Regulations to identify by mark or personal card all unpardoned convicts?

(j) Require preservation of full public records of all convictions open to public inspection, and full, personal, physical, biographical and educational, industrial and environmental data of convict.

(k) Require full report and classification to state and national authority of such data.

(l) Indemnification of victim of the crime, when feasible, administered by the trial criminal court and adjustment of the fine in part to that end.

(m) Instalment fines.

(n) Indemnification (limited) to victims of mistaken prosecution and in full of malicious prosecution.

Ninth. Make penal restraint of liberty the opportunity of the state to complete the unfinished duty, both to itself and the convict, to educate, ameliorate and reclaim him, as well as the occasion of retribution and example to society.

(a) Endow the prison and reformatory with ample facilities and focus all available educational skill to supplement and correct the individual defects and delinquencies disclosed.

(b) Preserve and cultivate moral responsibility.

(c) State aid or wage allowance for dependents of convicts?

(d) Diversified industrial prison training.

(e) Provide sunlight, pure air, fresh water, farm work and "back to nature" cures.

(f) Provide music, literature and aesthetic cultivation, the environment of beauty, peace and health.

(g) Provide penal industrial and farming communities for convicts with their families under limited restraint of liberty.

Tenth. To supervise and aid the return of the convict to society.

(a) Grant full discharge only upon a deserved certificate of character, issued by the governing board, after test of fitness to resume and perform social obligations.

(b) Provide employment.

(c) Provide from his earnings sufficient capital to supply temporary needs.

(d) Provide state aid to philanthropic, benevolent and religious agencies, equipped to furnish practical and beneficial aid and counsel, and inspiring and uplifting association and companionship.

In brief, the duty of the law-maker is to prevent, eliminate, punish, reform and return to society the law-breaker.

You, and other great organizations of political, social and philanthropic thinkers and workers have been for years formulating and discussing these convictions and many more. The fields of conference and controversy are white with the harvests of suggestion. Alas, too little of it has yet been garnered, or brought within the concrete realm of approved legal enactment or successful administration. Crime still increases and the administration of punitive justice in America remains under general condemnation for its failure to relieve the situation.

The Federal and State legislatures have not been heedless of public sentiment, and have been responding with more and more laws, proscribing new crimes and misdemeanors, that, in the main, have rather tended to increase the volume of crime.

The problem is complicated and the situation grave. The defects of our criminal law and procedure are, many of them, deep-seated and radical. The task of recasting them is most delicate and difficult. American conservatism, even in the face of the gravest situations, will not tolerate change merely for change's sake. It refuses to be experimented upon. It says, with Hosea Bigelow:

"Build sure in the beginnin';
And then don't never tech the underpinnin';
Th' older a Gov'ment is the better 't suits

New ones hunt folks's corns out like new boots;
Change jes' for change is like them big hotels
Where they shift plates and let ye live on smells."

The American Legislator remains in the true Yankee attitude, "I want to know?"

The presented task, and the natural way of doing it is (1) to get at the exact facts about the criminal and about crime; (2) to analyze the facts and plainly state the problem; (3) to discover, if possible, the causation, the pathology of crime; (4) to develop and apply the remedies to the men and women affected.

The American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, which I represent, is the last organization to enter the field.

Its declared object is "to further the scientific study of crime, criminal law and procedure, to formulate and promote measures for solving the problems connected therewith, and to co-ordinate the effort of individuals and of organizations interested in the administration of certain and speedy justice."

It seeks to unite and co-operate to this task all the varied forces, knowledge and experience available, and to concentrate efforts for the orderly accomplishment of practical and feasible reform.

Crime is isolation. It is the instinctive effort of the savage, the vicious, the deficient and perverted to live to himself, and in defiance of the demands of the social order.

Shall a cure for the disease of crime at last be found in the perfection of the social order through organization?

Shall the last refuge of isolation and selfishness yield only to the high and broad unity and combination of all the forces of altruism, philanthropy and morality?

The hope of humanity hangs on no less a span than that which over-arches the heavens and comes down to the lowest levels of life, and perfectly blends into the beauty of its universal embrace every shade and type of life, the **Love of God,** the **One Creator** and the only Re-Creator of human life.

DUTY OF THE LAW MAKER TO THE LAW BREAKER

BY FRANK L. RANDALL, SUPERINTENDENT, MINNESOTA STATE REFORMETORY

The law maker owes no duty to the law breaker that he does not owe to society in general. The law breaker of today may become law abiding, and the well regarded citizen of today may become a law breaker.

A distinguished official of the department of justice of the general government told the members of the American Prison Congress a few years ago that the purpose of the enforcement of the criminal laws was to teach and compel obedience to law and authority, and that we might not imprison a man for his own good, or that having him imprisoned, we might not continue his detention for any other purpose than to teach him, (and through him others), to obey the law. He said that if a man had committed a murder, which called for his execution, even though it could be, and were, ascertained and known that the man would, if given his liberty, live an upright life, never more offending, that he must nevertheless walk to the scaffold for the lesson that his death might teach to others. There are probably few members of this National Conference or of the American Prison Association who share these views, and to those, if any, who do, I have nothing to say in opening this discussion, except to remind them that in our organizations they are in an apparently hopeless minority, and that many persons of considerable experience and observation hope that they may continue their meditations until they no longer stand for the things that have not proven to be good.

I address my further remarks to those who believe that the purpose of imprisonment should be to improve the law breaker until he ceases to be such, and that the presence of a former law breaker, restored to full and equal association with his fellows, performing his part for the general welfare and discharging his social and domestic duties as good men do, is a standing demonstration of the folly of crime and of the wisdom of a virtuous course, more potent than the half forgotten and rarely recalled fact that in a certain place where hope is hardly known an uncertain and indefinite number of human beings are undergoing a punishment which man has added to the consequences which a higher power has unalterably and inevitably fixed to wrong doing.

In fact I do not look upon imprisonment as properly a punishment and if it is to be so regarded and administered, we are not wise in our proceedings. For there are many ways in which we can distress and harry a man besides turning a key on him and in many cases we could distress and harry him a great deal more in a much shorter time by adopting some of the methods which formerly prevailed in old England and New England.

If it is designed to imprison a man as a punishment for the crime of which he stands convicted, as the objectionable old form still reads, why not restore some of the methods of our ancestors and add to them others of our own.

If a convict is free from tuberculosis in an unsanitary place of detention where he ought to have it after a year or so, we could have him inoculated and that might add to his punishment while he lasted. It might distress him, if he had two ears, to take off one. Extracting his teeth would certainly make him feel sorry that the law called for such a procedure even though it might not make him respect and love the authority which decreed it. If punishment is to be the purpose of the law maker we ought to have experts in torture to enlighten the legislative committees.

Properly considered imprisonment is to be regarded as merely a necessary incident to a course of training, which is designed to effect his cure, or his improvement, to such a degree that the offender may go at large. If the treatment can be given him without his detention so much the better; but in many cases probation would be ineffective for the man would run away to escape from that which is intended to restore him.

Imprisonment itself does not have a good effect on a man. The benefit, if any, comes from what he learns and from the habits he forms while he is imprisoned. The average convict, at least in Minnesota, is an uncultured person. His instruction in the school of letters has been limited. He lacks religious and moral instruction also. He is not skillful in any trade or craft. He is untidy in his person and of bad personal habits. He is immoral and usually more or less unhealthy or out of condition. There are many exceptions. Because of his disabilities and disadvantages he ranks below other people and his outlook upon life is not what it should be.

What he needs, and what the law maker should supply, is that which he has missed. When this has been done, and he gives evidence of responding in a sincere and capable way, it would seem that he is ready for a trial on partial liberty, and, in due time, for a final release. Inferior teachers and inferior equipment will not do for him what they will not do for more fortunate persons. The law makers should not forget this.

Some convicts do not respond. It is sometimes difficult to ascertain why, but in many cases a thorough examination by a medical man will disclose. The examination should be had. Many prisoners are demented. Many are imbeciles. Many are feeble minded or have epilepsy. Some have been addicted to drugs or alcohol to a damaging extent. Some have tuberculosis in some form, and others suffer the consequences of passionate indulgence. Their judgment is awry. Their minds do not seem to register. They are unable to advance in school though their advancement is made a condition precedent to their release. They lack persistence. They change their opinions easily. They are readily moved by words, and their good resolutions soon fade away. Abnormality is met among them all the time. The law maker should inform himself on this matter, and should be governed by it. So should all prison men. Nothing can be gained by disregarding facts.

Some prisoners of oblique judgment can be adapted to lives of freedom, under direction of others, and some cannot. Many such persons are not prisoners and never commit crimes and others cannot refrain from the commission of crimes. The latter are the persons who are committed at frequent intervals to jails or workhouses, or if they are prone to commit more serious offences, they are committed less frequently, but for longer terms, to prisons or penitentiaries.

I have had very short notice that Prof. Wigmore could not be here tonight and that I was expected to speak in his stead and I have had no opportunity to refresh my memory by consulting records, but my recollection is that the last report of the Allegheny County Workhouse shows that over two hundred persons have each been committed to that institution fifty or more times. Whether I am correct in these figures or not the fact remains that repeated commitment of one person to such an institution during a term of many years is not unusual.

It is the duty of the law maker to the law breaker to stop such a farcical performance, and provide some place for such helpless humanity, free from conditions to which they are unequal.

I conceive it to be the duty of the law maker so to order matters that no person shall be imprisoned unless some good purpose is to be served thereby; and that when a person is imprisoned for sufficient reason he shall remain in detention until such time as that reason no longer exists.

Many persons would never regain their liberty, to be sure, but they would be the ones who could not use liberty for the good of themselves or of anyone else. They need to be protected from a competition in which they are doomed to fail. Their own interests require that they be taken from the ranks of an army with which they cannot keep step, and in which they will fall down and be trampled.

Many persons who go to hospitals for the insane and to general hospitals fail of recovery. It is sad that persons should require the treatment or custodial care of any hospital, but it is not sad that for persons who are afflicted there are proper places to which they may be taken. The law maker should see to it that a law breaker who is insane may be readily transferred from the prison to a hospital. That the feeble minded or epileptic convict should be placed in an institution suitable to his needs, and that for the degenerate incorrigible, who cannot avoid criminality, a place of a suitable character should be provided where he may be received and indefinitely detained, which detention might be terminated at any time that he should give evidence of capacity to adapt himself to larger liberty and less restraint.

This course would save society from the repeated offences he otherwise commits, and would exempt others from the evil effects of his presence among them.

The criminal population with which the authorities of the various states are called upon to deal, has not and cannot have a general organization, but it will nevertheless continue its depredations as long as chronic recidivists are released by expiration of sentence; and the retention in confinement of offenders who would be safe to return to their homes and families, in no wise helps out the situation.

It is estimated that of the one hundred thousand persons in our prisons at least thirty to forty percent are incapable of living within the requirements of the criminal laws, and that about one-third of the entire number are annually released because they have served out their allotted time. Added to the number of incompetents thus annually turned out, there are enough evilly disposed prisoners likewise released to aggregate perhaps twenty thousand dangerous and wholly undesirable persons who are thus needlessly distributed among the population of the United States to prey upon society, to contaminate the youth, and to maintain the lowest places of rendezvous for men and women.

REFORMATION IN MISSOURI

BY REV. EDWARD A. FREDENHAGEN, GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE FRIENDLESS, KANSAS CITY, MO.

Our penitentiary in Jefferson City has over 2,300 inmates. Of these there are 435 boys between the ages of sixteen and twenty years; there are 790 young men between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-five. These were the figures of Henry Andrae, warden. In addition we have in our State Training School at Boonville about 50 boys over sixteen years old, or of the reformatory age. Thus there are, in round numbers, 1,000 boys and young men, nearly all of whom are subjects for reformatory treatment.

That it is unwise to detain these in the state penitentiary and thus give them a training in what the more drastic critics call the "university of crime" does not need to be argued. The need of a reformatory in Missouri is self-evident.

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What type of an institution do we need? This can be demonstrated by a statement of the type of young men who would form its population. While the Society for the Friendless has made no special studies in Missouri, it has in other states. As the results are very nearly the same in Western commonwealths and vary but little the United States over, I will state our findings.

The most noteworthy finding was that the young men in our reformatories were largely from broken homes, or had been homeless; they had had little or no school training, practically no church training, and had been living in, or corrupted by, bad communities. Thus their crimes were of social rather than of individual origin and were almost entirely from environmental causes. I will state the classification more in detail:

First, as regards the homes. A study of a typical group of young men, (and these figures are borne out by other investigations) showed, approximately, 32 per cent from only fair homes, 26 per cent from poor homes and the remainder, or 42 per cent, homeless; and not one in the group came from a home which might be called in every instance ideal. While there are some exceptions to this rule, they are few and then usually in cases where the offender had been away from the good home and its influence for some time, or else had been innocently drawn into crime.

Secondly, concerning school training. Of the same group of reformatory inmates 8 per cent were absolutely illiterate, 40 per cent (omitting fractions) were in the first grade, 20 per cent in the second grade and 20 per cent in the third grade, judged by grammar school standards. Thus 88 per cent were either in or below the third grade, or for all practical purposes, illiterate. Of the remaining 12 per cent, 11 per cent were scattered over the fourth, fifth and sixth grades. One per cent, or only three inmates out of 300, had attended high school, and only one of these had graduated. The same reformatory has since held an occasional college or university man, but of a very low standard of scholarship. As the average age in this institution at that time was nineteen, it can easily be seen that the school had failed to train the individual so that he might be able to maintain himself above the crime line.

Thirdly, as regards church training. Of the whole group not one inmate was a church member in good and regular standing at the time of the commission of the crime for which he was committed. All were very ignorant of the matter taught in Sunday schools. While a number claimed to have been regular Sunday school attendants and church members they gave such very little evidence to support their claim that the investigators concluded that the lack of church training was well nigh universal.

Fourthly, as regards the communities from which they came. They were invariably found in connection with the lower social institutions, such as saloons, pool halls, gambling places, brothels and all that class of destructive social institutions which thrive on the ruin of men. The exceptions were so few that they were hardly worthy of note. They were usually the unsophisticated country boys who, nevertheless, were found in bad associations in rural districts. This leads us to remark that some country districts are fully as corrupt as the worst city slums.

A somewhat superficial study of other reformatories and examination of the annual report thereof leads us to believe that this is the general average which may well apply to the reformatories the United States over. At least it is accurate enough to point an index finger in the direction of the kind of an institution we need for the training of the young men who fall into the reformatory class. A study of these same young men concerning their ability to earn a livelihood showed them to be largely untrained. A few had rudiments of skilled trades, a still smaller number were skilled enough to hold a job as a second workman and possibly as a first where the standards were low. The country boys, of course, showed the best training, and even these were far from well equipped.

It should be noted here that this classification does not include young recidivists. In the state referred to they are transferred immediately to the penitentiary on the theory that one full-fledged young criminal is far more dangerous to first offenders of his own age than an older criminal can possibly be.

A valuable sidelight may be thrown on this study of young men by a similar study of girls between the ages of eight and eighteen years, made in a girls' industrial school. Sixty-five girls were examined with reference to their home surroundings. It was found that only 14 of the number had parents living and living together. (The majority of these were colored). Twenty-eight had parents living and separated. The remainder were full orphans or half orphans. Their educational and religious condition was fully as low as the young men and their vices more pronounced.

From the above study of the young men who would be the inmates of a reformatory in Missouri we can form some idea of the kind of an institution we need.

First. It must plan to overtake the failures of the home, the school, the church and the community, which should have developed the individual so that he could maintain himself above the crime line. Therefore, there must be a well developed school carrying the inmates from the rudimentary beginning at least through the eighth grade, with special studies in the high school course if possible.

Secondly. There must be training in skilled occupations. The inmate must be taught to work in wood, iron, leather, soils—indeed, in some one of the gainful occupations in which work can be found in any ordinary community and by which he can earn a livelihood.

Thirdly. He must be taught in morals and religion so as to have not only a right motive in life, but sufficient strength of character to maintain it successfully.

Fourthly. He must be taught to live in proper relation with his fellows. Therefore the institution must undertake to teach him wholesome recreation in team work with his mates; give military or similar training, by which he may learn to work shoulder to shoulder with others in other than labor relations, and, in short, socialize him so that he can live in the ordinary community in harmony with his fellows.

Fifthly. He must be under a wise and firm discipline so as to be taught obedience and respect for authority. Having failed to learn citizenship before the reformatory sentence began, he must learn it before that sentence ends so as to go on a parole with the fundamental ideas of good citizenship in his mind and with a purpose to carry them out.

In short, the reformatory must attempt as nearly as possible to reproduce within its bounds an ideal community patterned after the best in the community outside; for if it requires the home, the school, the church, the good community and all the resources of our civilization to make us what we are, it will require not less to make of these young men what we want them to become.

It can be easily seen from the above that a contract prison for juniors is not fitted for the young men in Missouri whom we desire to save to honorable self-support and upright living. On the contrary, we need an institution developed after the best models of Elmira, Mansfield, St. Cloud, Hutchinson and other high grade reformatories for first offenders. It must be a school for literary, industrial, moral and religious training of the unfortunate young men who become its students. They must be taught by capable, Christian men selected by careful civil service rules and strict character requirements. It must be a composite of the best in the Christian college, the military academy, the industrial institution and the manual training school, with all possible home features added. It must have its church and its playground as well as its school room and guard hall. For the upper grades at least it should have rooms without bars and cell houses only for the more difficult cases. Its church life should be developed along lines peculiarly adapted to institutions and should include the best features of the church in the outside community, of the Christian Endeavor, of the Sunday school, of the Y. M. C. A., and above all things special methods which grow out of the religious work of the institution itself. It must be flanked by the parole law, the right type of parole officer, the co-operating benevolent society, of the type of the Society for the Friendless, and all constructive agencies which can be utilized from the world outside. Leading Christian men, who themselves have succeeded largely and, through love for their younger brothers, are willing to make the sacrifice, should be asked to visit the young men and speak to them and become their "big brothers" after release.

Society as a whole should combine to make the reformatory residence helpful to the young man and open a high road to success and blessing to him after he is released.

The above is but a faint picture of the need of a reformatory in Missouri and the type of institution we are striving to secure.

VENERAL DISEASES IN INSTITUTIONS FOR WOMEN AND GIRLS

BY DR. ALICE HAMILTON, HULL HOUSE, CHICAGO

This subject has been long shrouded in mystery and it is only in very recent times that we have begun to recognize the presence of venereal diseases in institutions for women and girls and to combat them intelligently. There are still many people in control of such places who maintain that they have never had either syphilis or gonorrhea within their walls, and there are others who recognize their presence but do not know how to control their spread. Of the two diseases syphilis is the better understood and is regarded with more apprehension than gonorrhea, for it has such evident manifestations that cases can hardly escape detection. Gonorrhea is much more apt to pass unnoticed until of a sudden, perhaps during an epidemic of measles or scarlet fever, it may spread like wildfire through a whole orphanage or hospital where nobody had suspected that the infection existed.

We have begun lately to learn how very widely prevalent gonorrhea is, both among little girls and among married women. The time before puberty is the time of greatest susceptibility and an institutional epidemic usually selects almost all its victims from among little girls under thirteen years of age. Boys and older girls are far less susceptible. Statistics from various sources show that a certain small proportion of all children must be assumed to have this disease and it is these children who start epidemics if they are brought in close contact with other children. In an epidemic of gonorrhea in the Cook County Contagious Hospital, involving eighty-two little girls, it was found that the infection had been brought in by sixteen little school girls from various parts of the city, of various nationalities, the majority, but not all, coming from very poor families. In the Babies' Hospital in New York City, where no children over three years are admitted, about six cases out of each 125 applicants for admission are found to have gonorrhea. Dr. Reed examined 100 little girls in an institution in New York which supposedly had never had a case, and found that 12 had gonorrheal vaginitis and 20 more were suspicious cases.

As to the prevalence of gonorrhea in reformatories for girls or women I can find no American statistics. Among the delinquent girls who pass through our juvenile court in Chicago, 18 per cent are found to have gonorrhea at the time of examination, which means that a still larger proportion have it actually, for this disease is subject to remission, during which the germs can not be found, but later on the discharge returns and the germs are again found. Dr. Morrow, physician to the Illinois State School for Girls at Geneva, reports that 58 per cent of 200 consecutive admissions had gonorrhea as found by repeated examinations.

The child victims of gonorrhea usually have been infected by their mothers (according to Pott 90 per cent are thus infected). Other members of the family are responsible for a small number of cases, and sexual violence for only an insignificant minority. The indirect mode of infection is responsible also for a certain number of cases in older girls and women.

In order to understand how the disease can be conveyed indirectly one must know something about the nature of the germ which produces it. The gonococcus is a very delicate organism, not nearly so resistant as the germ of tuberculosis or of diphtheria. It flourishes only in certain parts of the animal body, and outside of that it usually dies very quickly. If it is deposited on a warm, moist object, it can live for twenty-four hours, but drying kills it in about three hours. This simplifies the question of how to avoid the spread of gonorrhea, for it is easy to see that a room or a building cannot become infected with the gonococcus for any length of time, nor can pieces of furniture, nor perfectly dry bed-linen. The dangerous things are those that come in contact with one person after another in quick succession, such as nurses or mother's fingers, towels, wash-cloths, sponges, bath-tubs and the seats of closets. Nothing is infectious about a girl with gonorrhea except the discharge itself or something that has recently come in contact with it. The parts of the body which are susceptible to infection are the lining of the genitals, the eyelids, and rarely the mouth.

It can be seen then that a girl or a woman with gonorrhea need not be an object of terror if the proper precautions are taken to keep others from coming in contact with the discharge from her genitals or eyes, and that is a comparatively simple matter.

Of course the first step in prevention is to discover all the cases in an institution, and this can be done only by a microscopic examination of the vaginal discharge of each new inmate; the examination to be made at least three times during a period of two weeks before the person is declared safe. Many conscientious persons object to enforcing this rule, thinking that such an examination is bad for girls, if not for women, but if it is done by a skilful woman doctor I cannot think that it is open to serious objection. Unless such an examination is made infection of the other inmates cannot be guarded against, and such disastrous results have followed the neglect of this precaution that first-class hospitals, such as the Presbyterian and the Michael Reese in Chicago, and the Babies' in New York, insist on it in the case of any little girl who enters their wards. Yet the proportion of infected children entering a hospital is not nearly so great as the proportion of infected girls and women entering reformatories.

We cannot say positively how serious gonorrheal vaginitis is in little girls. Certainly that which is acquired indirectly does not cause the severe symptoms that follow the gonorrhea conveyed by sexual contact, when the injury to the soft parts allows of a rapid spread of the infection. Little girls usually suffer no discomfort from the disease, but occasionally complications arise, such as inflammation of the eyes or joints, an extension of the infection to the ovaries or peritoneum or even a fatal blood poisoning. There is also reason to believe that sterility may result from even a mild form of infection.

The treatment of gonorrhea gives fairly satisfactory results if perseveringly followed. Recently Dr. Ruth Vail of Chicago, reported the results of the microscopic examination of 157 girls in the Geneva school. Sixty-two of them had been under treatment for gonorrhea, and at the time of this examination only 28 showed signs of the disease, 34 were free from it. The value of such an examination is shown also by the discovery of six hitherto unsuspected cases.

To recapitulate the measures which should be taken to combat gonorrhea in an institution. First. Each new inmate should be quarantined two weeks during which time microscopic examinations should be made of the vaginal discharge. If found to be suffering with gonorrhea she should not be allowed to use the same bath room as the non-infected inmates; she should use shower instead of tub baths; her towels should be kept separate; she should never share the bed of any one; and she should use a separate water closet. There is no reason why she should not attend school and chapel, and be employed in ordinary housework.

It is impossible to give any statistics as to the prevalence of syphilis in institutions in this country. Fortunately the infectious stage of this disease is easily recognized and isolation of the patient prevents its spread. On the other hand the disease is hard to detect during the non-infectious stages, yet at that time the girl should be receiving vigorous anti-syphilitic treatment to prevent the development of the late lesions of this disease.

There has recently come into use a delicate blood test which reveals the presence of syphilis when no symptoms at all can be detected. This test was made on the blood of 100 girls in the Geneva institution by Dr. W. Post, of Chicago, and 46 gave a positive result. The value of such a test can be seen from the report of the first 15 girls examined. Only one of them had been known to be syphilitic and she had received vigorous treatment for a long period. Her blood gave a negative reaction, but nine of the others who had not been treated showed the presence of syphilis.

German statistics show that practically all prostitutes who have followed their trade as long as three years are shown by this test (the Wasserman or Noguchi reaction) to be syphilitic.

The infectious material from a syphilitic person is the discharge from the sores usually situated on or near the genitals and in the mouth, throat, nose or lips. This discharge is very virulent and patients in this stage cannot be allowed to touch other people or to handle objects which other people will handle. This means they must never be employed in the kitchen, or dining room, or laundry, or to clean bath rooms or make beds. Their table ware must be especially cleaned. Indeed, it is best to isolate all the syphilitic inmates in one cottage, otherwise they must be kept in solitary confinement.

As to attendance in school, there would be no objection to that if special seats and desks could be reserved for them, and above all special pencils.

We can hope to deal successfully with the venereal diseases only if we attack them with courage and intelligence, neither minimizing their dangers nor exaggerating them. No institution which harbours girls or women will ever be entirely free from these diseases, but every institution should see that they do not spread among the inmates and that the individual cases are given the most modern medical treatment.

ADULT PROBATION

BY HON. HARRY OLSON, CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE CHICAGO MUNICIPAL COURT

The criminal code of most of our States takes no account of the criminal, but only of his crime. Punishment is graded in proportion to the gravity of the offense, not to the guilt of the individual. In most of the States little progress has been made until of late years in the development of our penal system, so far as taking into account the physical and moral status and hereditary and environmental conditions of those who habitually violate the criminal law. We have laid down in our criminal code penalties grading from the minimum to the maximum, and within such limits it has been left to the judge to consider the status of the offender, and the causative effects of environment and heredity—if the same happened to come to his notice—in fixing the punishment.

The parole of prisoners after conviction and incarceration for a period, or their liberation conditionally after they have served a portion of their sentences, is distinctively an outgrowth of modern thought of penologists. The ancient idea of the purpose of punishment was retribution, it being deemed that in some way the expiation of a crime was effected through suffering, made as far as possible, commensurate with the injury inflicted by the convict upon his victim. By retribution, and the punishment inflicted as a means thereto, the culprit himeslf was prevented from committing further wrong during his incarceration and the direful weight thereof was supposed to overawe others who might be tempted to commit crime. The greater the suffering inflicted upon the culprit the greater the supposed benefit in vindicating the majesty of the law and preventing crime in others.

Mitigation of the severity of punishment and the lessening of terms of imprisonment have been a gradual growth from age to age until at the present time the policy of the law, while it exists in part to the same end, that is, first, reformation of the prisoner; second, the securing of society against further depredation; and third, the setting of an example to others, has entirely abandoned the idea of retribution and punishment for punishment's sake.

Crime in the present age is considered not to be a something that can be taken on or laid aside by the victim entirely at his will, but it is recognized that heredity, environment and accident have so much to do with the making of the criminal that he is in a measure entitled to the special protection of the State in overcoming his delinquency. To this end he is given only such measure of punishment as is deemed necessary for the protection of society. However he may be treated after conviction, his treatment is considered not to be punishment but treatment for his benefit. The old idea that crime of a certain degree of wickedness deserved a certain term of imprisonment being exploded, a number of States have passed laws, all of which embody very much the same principle, providing for the sentencing of prisoners for indefinite periods of time, or until reformation, and also providing that when any prisoner has made certain progress toward reformation he shall be released on trial, and later, if his conduct justifies it, be discharged absolutely.

While the law, in fixing penalties, takes no account of the characteristics of the offender, his history and physical or moral status, or the incidents surrounding his crime, considerable progress has been made in the methods of dealing with the different classes of offenders in reformatories and penal institutions. When the reformation of the offender became the principal object of his treatment in a penal institution, it became necessary to differentiate the various classes of offenders and separate them. So the reformatories and penitentiaries, which were originally mere custodial institutions, are now becoming training schools where self-control is developed by schooling, industrial training and orderly habits of life and work. We are now demonstrating that character building from the top down is possible, but we are also learning that it is easier to build from the bottom upward.

As was said by the Massachusetts commission on probation in their first annual report (Sept. 30, 1909):

> "If schooling, industrial work and home surroundings under firm and friendly supervision are potent to reclaim offenders who have already been committed to an institution * * * * it would seem an inevitable inference that similar methods might be found effective with those who have not yet been committed."

The adult probation system is, therefore, the natural outgrowth of the development of our treatment of offenders in penal institutions.

Other factors are contributing to the adoption of the adult probation system, among which may be mentioned, chiefly, a more intimate knowledge of the psychology of adolescence, a fuller investigation—sociological, medical and psychological—of the causative factors of the criminal's career, and the serious results that follow the stigma of having once been imprisoned in a penal institution.

Those who have had extended experience in the criminal courts have been impressed with the number of first offenders between the ages of thirteen and twenty-one years. Adolescence is pre-eminently the criminal age in all countries—the age when most first commitments occur and most vicious careers are begun. The power of self-control is latent and undeveloped in the adolescent, and the necessity for self-control is slowly learned. Dr. Stanley Hall, of Clark University, has truly said:

> "Indeed, it seems very clear that much of the art of living consists of self-control, the development of which in the individual is the unconscious but perhaps primary purpose of family, church, state, laws, customs and most social institutions, and that the progress of the world and the advancement

> of personal liberty is just in proportion as the power of self-control has been developed in the community at large.
>
> "If this be so, magnanimity, a large, intelligent, paternal, pedagogical attitude is the proper one towards all, and especially toward juvenile offenders."

The juvenile courts usually have jurisdiction of juvenile offenders under seventeen years of age. But those between seventeen and twenty-one are still adolescent and need treatment similar to that given the juvenile under seventeen.

There is a sharp distinction to be made between criminal conduct due to a constitutional weakness, physical or mental, and that due to adolescence itself. Constitutional inferiority and poor endowment must also be considered as factors in measuring punishment for crime. The operation of Mendel's law of heredity points unquestionably to the source from which come the criminal traits which produce a large number of habitual offenders.

The necessity for discrimination in the treatment of offenders is very apparent when we consider this effect of the operation of Mendel's law. There can be no question but that investigation along the lines suggested by Committee "A" of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology will bring about changes in our present methods of dealing with criminals. This committee recommends the recording of data concerning the family history, especially of the aspects of heredity in the individual, his developmental history, including ante-natal conditions, medical examination, particularly from the neurologic and psychiatric standpoint, including inquiries into such questions of personal history as convulsions, epilepsy, pernicious habits, alcoholism, drug habits, etc., and a psychological examination of the individual covering the following points:

(a) Native ability apart from school training and evironmental factors.

(b) If subnormal, degree of subnormality; if abberant, type and degree of deviation.

(c) Formal education and its effect or lack of effect on the individual.

(d) The mental content.

If such data can be collected for a period of time in the courts of the large cities of the country, no doubt the results will force upon the lawmaker the necessity of modifying the application of the criminal law to the individual case. Many offenders now imprisoned will after investigation along these lines, be placed upon probation.

Imprisonment as a penalty carries with it more than the punishment involved in the incarceration. If the place of incarceration be a penitentiary, in spite of all that philanthropists may do to assist in ameliorating his condition, the individual is in a majority of cases doomed to a life of disgrace and discouragement. The hands of most men are raised against the ex-convict. I asked Warden Murphy, of the

Joliet, Illinois, State penitentiary the other day if he knew of many cases where the ex-convict had been able thoroughly to rehabilitate himself in the community, and he replied that he was sorry to say that he did not believe the individual could recover. The odium and disgrace is so lasting that even the second generation feels its effects. Where the consequences of imprisonment are so drastic and go beyond the mere years of incarceration, it becomes society's duty not to inflict such a penalty needlessly, and, only for the graver offenses. The full realization of this fact will be a potent factor in bringing about adult probation, especially for first offenders and as to minor offenses.

Most of our States have passed statutes authorizing probation for juvenile offenders, but only a few States authorize probation for adult offenders, except where an adult is held responsible for the condition of a neglected, delinquent or dependent child.

Massachusetts was the first State to adopt adult probation. In defining probation as applied in that State, the Massachusetts Probation Commission says:

> "The most important thing to be understood about the probation system, as established in this commonwealth, is that it is a system not for letting people off but for providing a definite correctional treatment outside of prison walls—a treatment involving the strenuous co-operation of those subjected to it. Probation is not intended, and should not be used, as a means of condoning criminal offenses; nor is it based on a less serious view of such offenses than any other method. * * * * Its underlying purpose is not leniency, but reformation. In probation work, as in all other methods of dealing with offenders against the law, it is not the feelings of the offender that are to be first considered, but the effect upon his future conduct, especially as affecting the interests of the community whose laws he has transgressed."

This definition of adult probation contains the ideal toward which we should strive. From the reports of the Massachusetts and New York adult probation commissions regarding the difficulties encountered in the operation of the system as practiced in those States, it would appear that there are certain dangers in the probation system which the lawmakers of those States and of the States which copied the law from Massachusetts and New York do not seem to have guarded against. As it was the newest thing in social advance, it became a fad and the tendency was to apply it without proper safeguards.

Both of these commissions have called attention to some of the defects of the system, among which may be enumerated the following:

(a) Probation in many cases was made a substitute for commitment. Thus it became a license to commit one crime.

(b) A wide variance in practice in the courts was found in the terms of probation.

Some courts were placing large numbers of offenders on probation; other courts in similar jurisdictions extended the benefits of the law to very few.

In one court not a single person was placed on probation, the judge in this court substituting for the probation service a system of continuances which he claimed more effective treatment than that provided by law.

In some courts defendants were informed that they had the right to appeal from the decision of the judge who placed them on probation; others were denied the right of appeal.

In some courts it was held that the violation of the terms of probation was contempt of court.

In some courts large sums were collected in restitution and reparation, and in others very little.

There were practically as many systems of probation as there were courts using the system.

(c) Periods of probation have been fixed at too short terms.

(d) Judges have failed to support the probation officers in requiring the observance on the part of the probationer of the terms and conditions of his release.

(e) A variance in probation work was found among probation officers. Some made careful investigations, others made none. Some exercised kindly supervision over those placed in their charge, others did nothing.

Some probation officers promptly returned to the court from which they were originally released persons violating the conditions of their probation, while in other cases persons violated these conditions with impunity.

Some probation officers kept records, others kept none.

Each probation officer adopted such methods of administration of his duties as to him seemed desirable.

The reports of these commissions indicate the necessity of guarding against these many difficulties in the terms of the law itself.

So far as I have been able to learn, in no case has a court of last resort in any of the States passed upon the constitutionality of such portion of the probation acts as deals with the character of the terms and conditions which the court might legally impose upon an adult. Most of the probation acts of the States which have adopted the system have been copied from the Massachusetts act, which permits the court to suspend sentences "on such terms and conditions as it shall fix." Each court is thus authorized to impose such terms and conditions as it deems advisable in regard to the offender. The terms and conditions of probation ought not to be left to the discretion of the judge. In the first place, the terms and conditions would often vary with the personality of the judge, and in the second place it seems to me that only a few conditions may be imposed by the arbitrary will of a judge upon an adult defendant restricting the liberty of his conduct that would be constitutional.

The Supreme Court of Illinois, in Barrett vs. The People, 202 Ill., in a case where a defendant had been convicted of embezzlement, and the court after a delay of two years imposed sentence, said:

> "The rendering of judgment and the final sentencing of the defendant cannot be made a mere matter of discretion with the judge or the public prosecutor, nor to depend upon the subsequent conduct of the convicted person. If it were so, what subsequent conduct would demand or justify the pronouncing or withholding of sentence? Such conduct might be innocent in itself, yet offensive to those in whom the power to apprehend or to punish resided. The liberty of the citizen cannot in a free country be made to depend for its security upon the arbitrary will of any public officer; it can be taken from him by due process of law only."

Several authorities have held in parole cases that the pardoning authority may in granting a pardon after conviction impose any conditions, limitations and restrictions that are not illegal, immoral or impossible of performance, and that the acceptance of the person binds the person accepting it to the conditions, limitations and restrictions contained therein that are legal, moral and possible of performance. Where this has been held there have been constitutional provisions granting to the pardoning authority the right to make such conditions, limitations and restrictions as it may deem proper in remitting fines and forfeitures, in commuting punishment and in granting pardon after conviction. It is not likely that the courts of appeal will uphold the right of the trial court to exercise his arbitrary will in fixing conditions of probation.

The law itself ought clearly to define the conditions upon which probation could be granted, and it is questionable whether any conditions other than those designated by law may be required by the trial judge.

Safeguards should be provided in the law as to the crimes for which probation may be granted, as to the conditions of that probation, the circumstances warranting its revocation, and provision for the right of appeal.

A bill was passed by the Illinois legislature which granted the court the power to place those guilty of certain offenses on probation, but Governor Deneen on the advice of the Attorney General vetoed the bill on the ground that the constitution of the State vested the power to grant reprieves, commutations and pardons after conviction in the Governor alone. Since the powers of government are divided into three branches—executive, judicial and legislative—no branch can constitutionally encroach upon the powers or prerogatives of the others. The pardoning power resides in the executive branch of the government. Probation laws should be so drawn that courts are vested with the power to place on probation without encroachment upon this pardoning power.

If the request for probation is allowed after a plea of guilty, or after a verdict or finding of guilty and after a motion for a new trial has been overruled and nothing remains to be done by the court except to pronounce sentence, the question of the court's exercising the pardoning power will not arise. Orders granting or refusing probation should be entered on record. Probation should be granted for the offenses specified in the statute when it appears to the court both that there is reasonable ground to expect that the defendant may be reformed and that the interests of society will be subserved.

The success or failure of probation depends upon the wisdom and soundness of the court's conclusion on these two propositions. In order that such decisions may be made with full information, it will sometimes be necessary for the court before acting to cause a preliminary investigation to be made by the probation officer.

If probation is granted, and it should be granted only to those who have never previously been convicted of any crime or misdemeanor, the court should enter an order continuing the cause for a period not exceeding three years and in such order should fix and specify the terms and conditions of probation as provided by law.

The offenses for which probation might be granted should, in my judgment, be confined to the following:

First: All violators of municipal ordinances.

Second: All who have been found guilty of misdemeanors with one or two exceptions.

Third: All who have been found guilty of obtaining money or property by false pretenses, where the value thereof is less than two hundred dollars.

Fourth: All who have been found guilty of larceny, embezzlement or malicious mischief where the property taken, converted or destroyed is of a value not to exceed two hundred dollars.

Fifth: All who have been found guilty of burglary where the amount taken does not exceed two hundred dollars and the place burglarized was other than a business house, dwelling house or other habitation.

Sixth: All who have been found guilty of an attempt to commit burglary where the place so attempted to be burglarized was other than a business house, dwelling house or other habitation.

Seventh: Burglary, where the burglar is found in a building other than a business house, dwelling or other habitation.

Probation should be granted upon the following conditions:

First: The probationer shall not during the term of his probation, violate any criminal law of the state or any ordinance of any municipality in said state.

Second: If convicted of a felony or misdemeanor he shall not, during the term of his probation, leave the State without the consent of the court granting the probation.

> Third: He shall make monthly reports of his whereabouts to the court.
>
> Fourth: He shall enter into a bond, with or without sureties to perform the conditions so imposed.

The court might likewise impose one or more of the following conditions:

> First: He shall pay the fine assessed against him in installments in the amount and at such times as may be fixed by the court.
>
> Second: He shall make restitution in whole or in part to the person or persons injured or defrauded by him.
>
> Third: He shall make contribution from his earnings for the support of those dependent upon him.
>
> Fourth: He shall pay the costs of the proceedings, not exceeding one dollar per month, during the continuance of his probation.

These conditions should be embodied in the law itself and they are such that the probationer is not in danger of being haled into court to be sentenced for a past offense for having violated a condition imposed by the arbitrary will of the judge, that was neither reasonable nor necessary.

Upon a report of a probation officer or other satisfactory proof of the violation by the probationer of any of the conditions of his parole, the court should revoke and terminate the same, and issue a warrant for the arrest of the probationer. Upon the probationer being brought before the court for violation of his parole, the court should enter a rule upon the probationer to show cause why his parole should not be terminated and judgment entered and sentence imposed upon the original conviction. He will thus have a hearing on the question whether he has violated his parole.

Upon the termination of the probation period, the probation officer should report the fact to the court and also the conduct of the probationer during the period of probation, and the court might thereupon discharge the probationer from further supervision or extend the probation period, as the circumstances required. Provided, the maximum period of probation fixed by law should not be exceeded.

Where a probationer is discharged upon the expiration of the probation period, or upon its earlier termination by order of the court he should be present in court, entry of the discharge should be made in the records of the court, and the probationer should be entitled to a certified copy thereof.

The duties of probation officers should be defined by law and should be:

> 1. To investigate, when required by rule of court or by specific order, the case of any person arrested or subject to trial who may become entitled to invoke or who may have invoked the provisions of the law, and as accurately and as fully as diligence will enable to ascertain (a) the personal characteristics, habits, associations and previous conduct of such person; (b) the names, relationship, ages and condition

of those dependent upon him for support, maintenance and education, and (c) such other and further facts as may aid the court as well in determining the propriety of probation as in fixing the conditions thereof. To the end that such investigation may be properly made, a probation officer commissioned to investigate should be afforded full opportunity to confer with the person to be investigated when such person is in custody.

2. To report in writing the result of such investigation.

3. To preserve complete and accurate records of cases investigated, including a description of the person investigated sufficient for identification, the action of the court with respect to his case and his probation, the subsequent history of such person if he becomes a probationer during the continuance of his probation, which records should be open to inspection by any judge or by any probation officer pursuant to order of court, but should not be a public record, and its contents should not be divulged otherwise than as above provided, except upon order of court.

4. To make such other investigations and reports as the court may direct or as may be required by rule.

5. To take charge of and watch over all persons placed on probation under such regulations and for such terms as may be prescribed by the court, and giving to each probationer full instructions as to the terms of his release upon probation and requiring from him such periodical reports as should keep the officer informed as to his conduct.

6. To perform such other duties as are provided for by the rules of court and such incidental duties as may be implied from those expressly required.

There should be a Chief Probation Officer in the large cities who should be appointed by a majority of the judges of all courts having jurisdiction within the city. All other probation officers in each separate court should be appointed by a majority of the judges of each court. I do not think it wise to permit each judge to name the probation officer for his own court.

It should be the duty of the Chief Probation Officer to supervise and control the work of all subordinate probation officers (including volunteers) under his jurisdiction and control, subject to such rules and regulations as may be adopted by the court or judges, and to supervise the conduct of probationers to such extent as the court, or judges and the rules may direct.

And the Chief Probation Officer should have authority to suspend any probation officer under his supervision for a period not exceeding thirty days, but not to discharge, and it should be the duty of such Chief Probation Officer promptly to file charges against any probation officer so suspended by him with the court or judges appointing such probation officer, and said court or judges should thereupon investigate said charges and might hear evidence, and should act thereon as the interests of justice and the good of the probation service might require.

The Chief Probation Officer and all other probation officers should be removable at the will of the judges.

The records concerning probationers should be kept in one office under the supervision of the Chief Probation Officer to whom all such probation officers should report.

A state probation commission such as exists in Massachusetts and New York, which keeps a record of the action of the judges and probation officials, and exercises general supervision of the system, will add to its usefulness and safety. Probation should not be used as a means of condoning crime. A law which is so administered that it "advertises to the world that every violator of the criminal law shall have at least two chances to commit crime before he is in danger of punishment, will increase crime rather than decrease it." The reports of the New York and Massachusetts commissions seem to indicate that in the past adult probation laws in those states have been administered by some of the judges in a way to encourage the commission of crime. The criminal statistics of these states, and of California, which has a poorly administered probation law, give ground for the apprehension that such is the case.

More than three times as many people are sent to prison in Massachusetts for drunkenness as are sent to prison in the state of Illinois for the same offense, although the population of Illinois is nearly twice that of Massachusetts. The population of the city of Chicago is three times that of Boston, yet last year Boston arrested nearly as many persons for crimes as were arrested in Chicago.

Forty-one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven persons were arrested for drunkenness in Boston in 1908, while in Chicago not over 30,000 were arrested for that offense.

In 1904 the prison population of Massachusetts was 187.2 persons for every 100,000 of population; New York, 126.7 per 100,000 of population, and California, 210.2 per 100,000 of population; while in the same year the prison population of Illinois was but 60.8 per 100,000 of her population.

Professor Stopato, professor of penal law in the University of Bologne, says that it cannot be said that the first three years of the application of the suspended sentence in Italy has exercised a beneficial effect on the recidivism that was expected. He maintains that if beneficent measures are to be considered as the result of a rational development of the penal system, it is equally necessary to maintain the principle of repressive, intimidating and defensive measures, as a means of education and social protection. He says further that "the conditional sentence is a measure of social justice which may be used for delinquents whose crimes are less serious, who do not show dangerous tendencies, and who have violated the law under conditions that permit indulgence, so that it may be believed that after the admonition of the judge they may be trusted to return to free life and mingle with honest citizens with safety." At the same time social security would be shaken to its foundations if it were believed that every first offender should be excused. It is against this danger that all countries should guard in adopting the suspended sentence as an act of justice.

The best means so far discovered to prevent crime are the punishments provided in the criminal code. In this country we have not generally sought to make these punishments certain and speedy. Wherever the criminal law has been enforced with certainty and celerity, crime has decreased.

In the city of Chicago during the last three years there were tried in the Municipal Court of Chicago 211,528 criminal cases, including preliminary hearings for felony charges, misdemeanors and violations of city ordinances. Eighty per cent. of these cases were tried within twenty-four hours of the moment of arrest; ninety per cent. within two weeks of arrest. Under the old justice of the peace regime there were 90,000 arrests; and the very next year, after the installation of speedy trials, free from outside interference, there were 57,490 arrests, a fall of thirty-seven per cent.

In 1908 the felony charges in the Municipal Court numbered 7,721; in 1909, 6,460. These conditions in my judgment have been brought about by certainty and celerity in the administration of the criminal law. This has been done without interfering with the rights of defendants for such delay as may be reasonably requested. In the last few years in Illinois the effect of the Juvenile Court, the playgrounds for juveniles in the city of Chicago, the work of the Juvenile Protective Association, the parole law and other constructive efforts to prevent crime, have shown results. From July 1, 1899, to January 1, 1910, the number of prisoners at Pontiac, where prisoners between ten and twenty-one years convicted of felonies must be sent, has decreased from 1,397 to 745; 50 per cent in ten and one quarter years. The number of prisoners sent to the John Worthy School during 1900 was 910 as against 272 in 1909; a decrease of 70 per cent in nine years. The prison population at Joliet in the last ten years has decreased 35 per cent in the number of prisoners over any other ten year period since 1868.

A well administered adult probation law will still further reduce the criminal statistics.

LEGAL TREATMENT OF DRUNKENNESS

BY BAILEY B. BURRITT, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE STATE CHARITIES AID ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK

The source of many of the most important problems of state, municipal, county and town government is alcoholism. Recent statistics collected by Rosanoff show that 28.9 per cent of the male cases of insanity in the State of New York are directly traceable to the excessive use of alcohol; in Massachusetts 30.6 per cent are due to the same cause. Rosanoff also shows that 41 per cent of the imbeciles of the State of Pennsylvania are imbeciles because of alcohol and Kraeplin has shown that 42.9 per cent of the imbeciles from Munich owe their imbecility to the same cause. These studies show that between 30 and 40 per cent of epileptic cases have their origin in alcoholism. The Report of the Board of Prison Commissioners of the State of Massachusetts for the year 1908 states that 86,365 arrests were made for public intoxication during the year covered by the report, which was sixty per cent of the total arrests of the state for that year. The same source states that 94 per cent of all the prisoners of the state are intemperate by habit. Various estimates of the percentage of poverty due to alcoholism have been made but the studies in this field have not been sufficiently broad in scope or sufficiently accurate in detail to give reliable data. That the percentage is large, however, is a fact prominent in the consciousness of every student of social conditions and of every person who comes in actual touch with the problem.

In spite of the prominence and omnipresence of this problem, we have been content everywhere to adopt a laissez faire attitude toward it in so far as government activities are concerned. The improvidence of the habitual drunkard is proverbial. The improvidence of state, municipal, county and town governing agencies with regard to the problem of drunkenness is equally a fact if not equally proverbial. So far as is possible within the time alloted to the discussion of this topic this paper will attempt:

1. To bring home and emphasize this improvidence by describing the present treatment of the problem in New York City as typical of practically all the large cities of the country; by describing briefly the state aspect of the problem in New York State and in states which have methods differing from those in vogue in New York State; and by touching briefly on the experience of other countries.

2. To outline a suggested method of dealing with the problem, endeavoring to select the best features of the best practice and bring them together into a systematic and comprehensive whole.

Persons Arrested for Intoxication in New York City.

In 1908, 30,153 men and 7,238 women were arrested for public intoxication or a total of 37,391. The charter of the City of New York provides that, on a charge of public intoxication a magistrate may either impose a fine not exceeding ten dollars, or commit the person to the workhouse or county jail or, if he chooses, he may suspend sentence and place the person on probation. Persons who are fined, and are not able to pay their fines, serve time in the city prisons or workhouse, one day for each dollar of the fine imposed. Persons who are committed to the workhouse or county jail are committed under what is known as the Cumulative Sentences Law which provides that the person who has no workhouse record within two years next preceding the date of his commitment shall be released after five days of his imprisonment. If he has been committed once before during the two years preceding he must serve twenty days, and for each additional commitment during the preceding two years the law provides that he shall serve twice the length of time of his last previous commitment, provided, however, that no one shall serve a longer period than six months.

Thirteen thousand four hundred and thirty-seven of the 37,391 arrests for public intoxication in the year 1908 were discharged upon arraignment, in most instances not because they were not guilty of the charge upon which they were arraigned but because of the recognition, tacit or otherwise, on the part of the magistrates that the method of dealing with this offense provided by law is wholly inadequate and unsuited to an intelligent disposition of the cases. The published court records do not show the disposition of the remaining cases but a card index of records of one of the district courts recently made by the State Charities Aid Association gives some idea of the actual disposition of them.

In this particular court there were 2,864 arrests for intoxication during the year. One thousand four hundred and two of these cases or 49.9 per cent. were discharged upon arraignment and the rest were held. Twenty per cent of the persons held were committed directly to the workhouse on the Cumulative Sentences plan. Two and eight tenths per cent were put on probation and the remaining cases were fined amounts ranging from one dollar to ten dollars. Two thirds of these cases were fined three dollars or less. Sixty-seven per cent of the cases which were fined, were committed to a district prison or the workhouse in default of payment of their fine. The remaining thirty-three per cent paid their fines in court.

Value of Present Methods.

This explains in sufficient detail the method in New York City of dealing with persons arrested for public intoxication. Let us consider for a moment the value of this treatment. So far as fines are inflicted and paid they are usually paid by the friends or relatives of the persons arraigned. These can ill afford to pay the amount but do so rather than suffer further disgrace. The fine paid in this way is of course, quite useless, so far as it affects the person fined. Its chief effect is to add an additional burden to the heavy load which their relatives and friends are already compelled to bear. If a judge were to fine only those cases which he was reasonably sure could pay their own fine or if the principle of fining and then suspending sentence, giving the man an opportunity to pay the fine in installments were generally adopted the fine might be of value. This much is certain that the beneficial effect of the fine as at present administered in New York and other cities is exceedingly doubtful.

The use of the short sentence is even more ineffective. Persons who serve time are committed to one of the district prisons, connected with the various courts. If they are committed for a time longer than three days they are transferred to the workhouse on Blackwell's Island. There they are placed in a small cell about nine feet by twelve with provisions for eight persons in a cell. There is one window and but poor light and ventilation. It is proverbial that the word "workhouse" as applied to this institution is a "misnomer" as most of the persons there spend their time in idleness. They are of course not well fed. Now whatever may be the merits of this system for dealing with criminals, it is, and I speak advisedly, utterly useless so far as cases of intoxication are concerned. The very things which the inebriate needs most of all—abundance of light and fresh air and healthful out of doors work—he is deprived of. The man leaves the institution as emaciated as he entered it, perhaps more so. He has received no medical or remedial treatment, unless perchance he is a dangerously sick person, and no effort has been made to build up his physique. He leaves the workhouse without money, in most instances without friends and there is no existing machinery for putting him in touch with work or with helpful surroundings. He can at least secure shelter in a saloon and probably by performing menial service for the bartender can secure the drink which his system craves, and again become thoroughly intoxicated only to fall once more into the hands of the police to repeat the useless process. This is the easiest and most natural thing for him to do. The system as described is typical of most of the large cities and everywhere fosters recidivism. **The alcoholic repeater is the natural result of the short sentence and the petty fine.** The statistics of our leading cities, so far as they are available, confirm this statement.

Cumulative Sentence Law.

Only a small percentage of the cases in New York City, I have already stated, are committed to the workhouse on the cumulative plan. This law was aimed at recidivism. In the absence of a board of parole and the use of the indeterminate sentence the principle involved in this law is doubtless a good one but it has broken down quite largely in practice in New York City because of the lack of adequate identification. It is manifestly necessary to identify accurately to make the law effective. Facts brought out at a recent inquiry made by a legislative committee appointed to investigate the workings of inferior courts in cities of the first class show that identification by the methods at present in vogue in the workhouse breaks down in about one half of the cases. Careful identification such as is practicable by the finger print system would undoubtedly result in the removal of a large number of alcoholic repeaters, but with the existing institutions, the City of New York would still be guilty of the foolishness of keeping these men in more or less enforced idleness in unhealthy surroundings and of not undertaking to carry out any measures looking towards their restoration to lives of usefulness.

Probation is used but little in New York City and under the present system which has been in vogue in that city of employing policemen as probation officers it is probably well that it has not been used more. Fortunately, however, New York City is seeing new light in probation matters and it is soon to have civilian probation officers and presumably more cases can then be successfully placed on probation.

Inebriates in Hospitals and Charitable Institutions.

New York City cares for more acute cases of alcoholism in the public wards of its hospitals than is the case in many cities. These cases usually find their way into the hospital as follows: If a policeman picks up a case of drunkenness and is unable to arouse the man, he must, in accordance with the local regulations, send for an ambulance in order to have the man examined by the physician on the ambulance. If the man is a very sick man and if the physician is unable to arouse him, he is taken by the physician instead of the policeman and transferred to the alcoholic ward of one of the public hospitals of the city. In the year 1908 there were approximately eleven or twelve thousand cases of acute alcoholism cared for in these alcoholic wards. They were treated from two to five days for their acute attack and were then set free, having derived no permanent benefit. The easiest and most natural thing to do is to go to the nearest saloon for shelter and again to go through the same process. **The alcoholic repeater is also the direct product of hospital treatment as practiced in New York City.**

Statistics recently gathered by the State Charities Aid Association show that the number of persons who appear again and again in the penal institutions, the hospitals, the almshouses, the municipal lodging houses and insane hospitals of New York City is alarming. The summary of a few individual cases selected from many others, emphasize this fact. In one case, a man now sixty-one years of age has been in the workhouse at least sixty-two separate times and he has spent 3,165 days in that institution at a total cost for maintenance alone of $1,858.53. Another case was found to have been in the workhouse thirty-four different times, in the alcoholic wards of one of the city hospitals thirty-one times, in the Municipal

Lodging House twice, in the almshouse once and in two other hospitals two times each. He had spent a total of 1,943 days in these various institutions at a total cost of $1,323.12. Still another case, a man about 55 years of age has been in the workhouse thirty-four different times, in the almshouse thirty-five, in the Metropolitan Hospital once, and in Bellevue Hospital once. He spent 5,884 days in those institutions at a total cost to the city of $2,492.37. This man is blind and has a blind companion who has a record almost equally as long. Records from Cleveland, Ohio, and Boston, Massachusetts show that it is not infrequent for persons to appear in the penal institutions of those cities from fifty to one hundred times and one record recently obtained from the City of Utica shows that a single individual has appeared before the police courts of that city at least one hundred and sixty times for public intoxication. The cases cited from New York City are selected from many similar ones which have been found by the State Charities Aid Association.

There is, in addition to the cases which find their way into the police courts, hospitals, almshouses and other charitable institutions in our cities, a class of cases which do not fall into the hands of public officials nor do they appear in the charitable institutions. In many instances these cases are found in the homes of prosperous families or families which would be prosperous were it not for the intemperate habits of the bread winner. The friends and relatives of these persons are frequently at their wits end to know what to do with these cases. They are men suffering from the disease of inebriety—a disease most difficult to cure. In the State of New York there are no institutions to which such persons can be sent for treatment and cure except private sanitariums, Oppenheimer Institutes and so called Gold cure institutions. There is not only this lack of suitable institutions, but there is furthermore no law by which an habitual drunkard can be committed to any institution. Inebriety like insanity requires more or less prolonged institutional treatment. Every case that can be persuaded to go to a proper institution for the care and treatment for this disease should go voluntarily, but there should be provision for committing confirmed inebriates who are not willing to undergo prolonged treatment in an institution.

Existing Institutions.

Other states are somewhat in advance of New York in the matter of providing special institutions and in making provision for the legal commitment of inebriates following the analogy of the commitment of insane persons. Massachusetts and Iowa already have state institutions for inebriates and Minnesota is even now establishing such an institution. These states as well as Connecticut, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Nebraska have laws which enable the friends and relatives of inebriates to secure their commitment to these special institutions where they exist, and to insane hospitals or other institutions where special institutions for inebriates have not been established.

England is far in advance of the United States in its provisions for special institutions for inebriates. Parliament passed the Habitual Drunkards Act in 1879 and has since revised it from time to time. There are now twenty-two private institutions for inebriates licensed by the state and eleven "certified inebriate reformatories" established and supported either by local philanthropic organizations or by local authorities and supported by public taxation. In addition to these the state has also established two institutions which are primarily for refractory cases which do not respond readily to the spirit and freedom of the other institutions.

Indictment Against Present Methods of Dealing With the Problem.

The following may represent in brief the indictment against the present methods:

1. A short sentence accomplishes nothing, either in reforming the individual or protecting society and should be abolished.

2. A fine, to be paid at once with the alternative of serving time in the city prison or workhouse, amounts to a short sentence with its pernicious effects, in 67 per cent of the cases; in the remaining 33 per cent in which fines are paid in court, they are usually paid by impoverished relatives to save themselves and the person arrested from further disgrace. The present practice with regard to fines should be abolished.

3. An ordinary self-respecting citizen who becomes intoxicated loses not only his self respect but frequently his employment by being publicly exposed, brought before the court, and perhaps sentenced to prison to associate with criminals.

4. No satisfactory means of identifying persons arrested and convicted of intoxication is applied either in the police station, the court, the district prison or the workhouse and there is, therefore, no differentiation in the treatment of the occasional and the habitual drunkard.

5. In nearly all of the States in the Union, there is no institution to which an inebriate can be committed for treatment and no provision for commitment.

6. The "rounder" in hospitals, police stations, courts, prisons and workhouses is an inevitable consequence of short term commitments and petty fines.

7. Punitive rather than remedial measures are emphasized.

8. No investigation of the arrested person's vocation, habits

and home conditions is made, although facts with regard to these are quite as essential for an intelligent disposition of the case as the fact that the person was intoxicated.

9. The courts are overcrowded to such an extent as to make satisfactory disposition of the cases impossible. Many of these cases ought never to appear in court, but should be released after investigation by responsible agents of the court. The cases that properly come before the courts should not be allowed to come repeatedly during the same year.

10. Public funds are wasted inasmuch as a large percentage of the cost of the police force, the magistrates' courts, the city prisons and workhouses, and the municipal hospitals is due to the "rounder."

What Should Be Done.

The indictment against the present methods is severe but the facts upon which it is based are well known by all and are not controverted. There is entire agreement as to the failure of the present methods. There may be minor differences of opinion as to the best way to deal with the problem, but there is substantial unanimity as to the general lines along which changes should be made. The most important of these are:

1. An adequate system of identification.
2. A graded series of remedies.
3. Increased probationary oversight.
4. Provision for commitment of chronic drunkards upon proper medical certification, without the necessity of being arrested for public intoxication and haled before a court.
5. Farm and hospital colonies to which habitual alcoholics can be committed.

Identification.

The lack of identification of old offenders is responsible for much of the haphazard treatment of persons arrested not only for intoxication but for other offenses. The magistrate, before whom a person arrested for public intoxication is brought, has now no means of knowing whether the man comes before the court for the first or the fiftieth time, except in so far as he may be recognized by the magistrate or some court official, and yet this is precisely the information which is of the utmost value in disposing of the case. The finger print system of identification has now been thoroughly tried out in a large number of cities in this country and abroad and affords an easy and practical method of identifying persons. Its use has not been extended to minor offenses in many places but the tendency is in that direction, and it is my opinion that such a system should be inaugurated in connection with each court to be used in all cases after conviction. The finger print records from all the courts in a given locality or community should then be placed on file in a central bureau of records. The magistrate would then have the record of each person brought to trial investigated and the sentence could be adapted to the case. The adoption of this or some adequate method of identification is imperative and is the first necessary step to any radical improvement in the treatment of persons arrested for public intoxication.

A Graded Series of Remedies.

It is plainly evident that the man who is arrested for the first time for public intoxication should receive very different treatment from the man who is repeatedly arrested. As soon as persons who have previously been arrested for intoxication can be accurately identified and their history secured it will be possible to provide a graded series of remedies. It is believed that such a graded series should include substantially the following:

1. The release of first offenders without their appearance in court as is now practiced in Massachusetts.

2. Subsequent offenders should be released on probation for a period of time, or released on probation with the addition of a fine to be paid in installments to the probation officer.

3. If the person does not benefit by such treatment he should be committed to a farm and hospital colony for inebriates for a period not exceeding six months to be followed by a period of parole of perhaps one year. If the same person is subsequently arrested for the same offense he should be committed to the farm and hospital colony for a period of one year to be followed by a period of parole and for each subsequent arrest the length of his commitment should be increased by six months with a provision that the maximum period for which any person can be committed shall be three years. After the first or second commitment to the institution it should be possible for the superintendent of the institution to transfer the person to a separate colony for advanced cases if it is apparent that the case is such that it is not likely to be improved by treatment in the colony. Cases that prove refractory and do not yield readily to the discipline of the colony should also be transferred either to a penal institution or to a separate colony for refractory cases.

Increased Probationary Oversight.

The plan evidently involves provision for extending greatly the principle of probationary oversight of petty offenders. The purpose of arresting a man for public intoxication in addition to preventing him from injuring himself and being a degraded public example is to prevent him as far as possible from again falling into a similar predicament. In the case of occasional offenders this can as a rule be accomplished more readily through the influence of a probation officer than it can by a brief imprisonment of the offender. This influence is doubly effective if the person on probation realizes that a violation of the terms of his probation leads inexorably to severer measures. The probation officer under the plan proposed, however, would not only be a "Big Brother" influence; he would also be an investigator for the magistrate who is to try the case, procuring data with regard to the man's habits and home surroundings, the number of persons dependent upon him, etc., for the use of the court.

The same officers might also advantageously serve as parole officers for persons about to be discharged from the farm colony for inebriates. It is quite as important to provide for the after care and supervision of a person who has been committed for treatment as it is to provide for his commitment. It makes possible a much earlier release and at the same time assists him to secure employment, fortify himself against old associations and old habits and again become a useful member of society.

The principle of probationary oversight of offenders is comparatively recent in application, but the results obtained in Massachusetts, New York and other states where the principle has had extended use, are so satisfactory that the principle may now be said to have passed the experimental stage. There is no class of offenders who are more in need of personal friendship, advice and co-operation, than the person who is an habitual user of alcohol. To be successful, however, probation must of necessity be in the hands of broad-minded, sympathetic and tactful persons. To use police officers as probation officers for drunkenness or for any other offense as is done in New York City defeats the very end for which probation is intended.

One unique feature of the plan adopted by the State Charities Aid Association should be emphasized in this connection. The probation and parole officers are under the direction and supervision of the Board of Inebriety rather than that of the court. This is a board of five appointive and two ex-officio members whose duty it is to establish and maintain a colony or colonies and to direct the work of the "field officers," i. e., the probation and parole officers. Such an arrangement makes possible expert direction of the probation and parole work, and a co-ordination of it with that of the colony that is necessary for effective work.

The pledge is used in some places in connection with probation with satisfactory results. The most successful pledges in my observation are those taken by members of the Catholic church solemnized by a priest of that church. The indiscriminate use of the pledge without adequate provision for supervision and for following up the cases is of doubtful value.

Commitment of Chronic Drunkards Without the Necessity of Being Arrested for Public Intoxication.

The States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Iowa and Nebraska already provide for the commitment of habitual drunkards on the petition of relatives accompanied by proper medical certification. Bills were introduced in several additional states during the past year, providing for such commitment and a Commission of the Parliament of England appointed to investigate the workings of the Inebriates Acts has also recommended a similar step for Great Britian. In most of the States, however, an habitual drunkard cannot be committed to any institution unless he has previously been arrested and convicted of disorderly conduct. When a man has completely lost his self control and is a constant burden to his family and friends it should not be necessary for him to become so obnoxious to the community in which he lives as to incur arrest and conviction of disorderly conduct before he can be committed to an institution where he may be isolated from alcoholic drinks and given such treatment as may be needed. A direct commitment to such an institution without criminal proceedings, but following somewhat closely the procedure for the commitment of insane persons, would be at once for the man's own good, for the good of his family and for the well being of society.

Farm and Hospital Colonies to Which Habitual Alcoholics Can Be Committed.

There is no royal road to a cure for habitual alcoholism but the best medical authorities are unanimous in their belief in the farm colony treatment. The prime necessities in any treatment are: isolation from alcohol for a continuous period of time, abundance of light and fresh air, therapeutic baths and as much outdoor work as the patient is physically capable of, together with the strong personal influence of individuals who are recognized by the patients as definitely interested in their improvement. Religious influence has also been successful in some instances. All of the so called cures which depend upon means other than these result in little permanent benefit. Drug cures in the few cases in which they really are effectual, are so in most instances because of the psychical influences of taking the cure rather than because of the medicinal effect of the drugs taken and they are seldom resorted to by the best medical authorities and institutions. The kind of psychical influence that has permanent benefit is that of a strong personality, who is trained by experience to understand each individual case, and who enters into a personal relation of friendship with the one for whom a cure is desired.

Not all cases of inebriety, however, can be treated alike. In addition to the mere physical differences due to the stage of the disease, which requires classification and different treatment, just as do the physical differences between an incipient case of tuberculosis and an advanced case, there are in addition great moral differences in the persons needing treatment for this disease which make necessary a careful classification and segregation for the best results. The experience in Massachusetts has demonstrated the impossibility of successfully attempting to associate for treatment in the same building the incipient and the advanced case of inebriety. In England there are three classes of institutions for the treatment of inebriety. First, the private retreat, which has a very selected group of hopeful cases for the most part having means to pay for their care and treatment. Second, the certified inebriate reformatory supported either by local taxation or by philanthropic organizations which treats a more difficult class of cases. Third, the state reformatory established and supported by the general government, which receives and keeps in custody the refractory cases which are transferred to it from other institutions. This classification has proven necessary from experience and it is believed that any attempt to deal with the whole problem of the inebriate without at least this primary classification will not meet with complete success. The following would, therefore, seem to be a well co-ordinated plan for inebriate colonies:

1. A colony for the more or less incipient cases, i. e., persons who offer considerable hope of recovery and who are willing to enter into the spirit of the institution and work for their recovery.

2. A colony for advanced cases which are practically incurable.

3. A colony for refractory cases which do not readily enter into the spirit of the two preceding institutions and which require more or less restraint. This class of cases might be associated with other offenders such as vagrants, etc.

For convenience in transferring from one institution to another, the first two colonies should be located near each other and it would be advisable to have all the colonies managed by a single board of directors and with a different superintendent for each colony. This would insure a unity of plan and a co-operation and coordination otherwise hardly possible and provide for an easy method of transfer from one colony to another, which would be essential for securing homogeneous groups and for offering a stimulus to advancement and improvement. It would also make it possible to have one set of probation and parole officers to do the work for all of the colonies. The colony for the third type of cases should be the last to be established as such cases could be committed to existing penal institutions until the need of a separate colony for such cases were fully demonstrated. The experience of England, however, has been that about ten per cent of all cases are refractory and it has found it advisable to establish separate institutions for these rather than to use existing penal institutions. It is quite probable that in a state as large as New York there should ultimately be district colonies as the number requiring treatment in these colonies would be considerable.

Too much emphasis cannot be placed on the necessity of careful planning for the colony as the spirit of the whole institution and its possibility of success depends in such large measure upon the thought given to suitable plans for it. The first requisite is a large and cultivatable farm. When a state or municipality wishes to secure a farm it usually goes about it in such a clumsy way that interested parties through the influence of their political friends dispose of land ill adapted to purposes of cultivation, for a price far in advance of the market value of first grade cultivatable land. Better no farm at all for such an institution than a farm which will not lend itself to gardening and general cultivation. Having secured a good, generous sized, tillable farm, I believe that the best results would be secured by planning for small cottages for not more than fifteen inmates and scattered widely over the farm, each with its own kitchen, its own garden, its own hennery and a few acres of farm land and the necessary farm animals. It should also have its own front lawn which should be neatly and carefully kept by the inmates of the cottage. There may be some disadvantages in such a plan from the point of view of economy, but even this is doubtful. In the town of Yonkers where I reside it would probably be much more economical for all of the families to heat their houses by a central heating plant, to have a common kitchen, a congregate dining room, general dormitories, etc., but the people of Yonkers prefer to have their own houses, their own kitchens, their own furnaces and in brief their own homes. In this respect the inebriate is a normal person, and I believe, that the advantages which would attend the cottage system would far outweigh the disadvantages which would necessarily attend a large unit or congregate system. It not only makes it possible for each cottage to have a home life, but it has the advantage in addition of making it possible to further classify and segregate cases in accordance with their temperaments, their habits, their abilities and their previous modes of life. There would, of course, necessarily be certain general buildings, such as an administration building, a hospital, a chapel, an auditorium and gymnasium, a superintendent's home, a general sewage system, etc.

After the initial cost of acquiring a suitable farm and the erection of the necessary general buildings and cottages the expense of maintaining such an institution ought to be moderate. It should be the distinct aim of the administration to make the institution self-supporting just as far as possible. Much of the skilled labor which would be necessary about such an institution for other classes of dependents, such as insane hospitals, and institutions for the feeble minded and idiotic can be done by the inmates of the institution. A majority of the inmates would also be able to work on the farm, in the laundry, in the kitchen, or in the shops. With a good farm a large proportion of the necessary provisions for the institution should be provided from it. Economy of administration and an attempt to make the institution as near as possible self-supporting, would not only be an advantage to the taxpayer, but also a direct advantage to the persons in the institution, as the one thing needed more than anything else is healthful out-of-door work and the feeling of self reliance and independence inevitably attached to such work. This general plan for a colony would be applicable to the treatment of the first two types of cases mentioned, the incipient and the advanced case. The colony for refractory cases would differ from the others in that the cottages would be brought closer together and enlarged and the liberties of the inmates would be generally restricted.

The expense involved in maintaining colonies as proposed in this plan would be in part a readjustment of expenditure and not an entirely new one. At present New York City, as I have already shown, is taking care of many of these cases in public hospitals in which the per capita per diem expense of all inmates is between two and three dollars. Even the cases which are cared for in the workhouse cost slightly over fifty cents per capita per diem, which is ten cents per day more than it costs the State of New York to care for its epileptics in the farm colony of 1,895 acres at Sonyea, New York. The advantages gained from this readjusted and even increased expenditure would, I believe, be out of all proportion to the money involved.

I will close by enumerating some of the advantages which I believe would follow upon the establishment of colonies for the care and treatment of inebriety.

First: it would remove from the streets, the police courts, city prisons and workhouses, public hospitals, lodging houses and almshouses a large number of rounders.

Second: it would relieve crowded courts and give the judges more time to dispose of the cases which must come before them.

Third: it would remove from society a large number of cases which are a constant menace to it. In this connection I wish to quote a statement of one of the members of the London County Council:

> "These cases are a constant nuisance to us, a constant danger, and a constant expense; they breed their like, and make others follow their bad example. Cautions from the bench are of no value, fines are useless and prisons make them worse. We must detain them for longer periods, and take care of them for their own advantage, under conditions which may also make them good. If we do no lasting good to the majority of the first draw from the courts,

> we at least relieve the community from them for three years, a period which may be repeated if the first produces no satisfactory result. We keep them from making fresh cases for us to deal with in the future, and, so long as we have charge of them, we know what they cost us, which is not the case at present. Without any cures, the debit and credit side, in my opinion, will balance; if we do happen to cure some of them permanently, well and good; we may call these cases sheer profit."

Fourth: it would relieve families of the burden and disgrace of looking after and caring for fathers or brothers who are habitually drunk and thus make it possible for such families to keep themselves out of the dependent class.

Fifth: it would make possible a differentiation of hopeful and curable cases from chronic cases without which no great measure of success can be expected.

Sixth: and most important of all, it would isolate the individual from alcohol, place him in a healthful environment and help him to lead a wholesome and partially self-supporting life.

A SCIENTIFIC BASIS FOR THE TREATMENT OF PROBLEMS OF CRIMINOLOGY AND PENOLOGY

BY MAURICE PARMELEE, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY, STATE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

In dealing with any problem on a scientific basis it is necessary to take account of all the forces which converge to cause this problem. In dealing with a social problem it is necessary to take account not only of the social forces which cause that problem, but also of the hereditary or biological forces and the forces of the physical environment.

I wish first to dwell briefly upon the hereditary forces which enter into every social problem, because I am inclined to think that social workers sometimes fail to give due weight to the part these forces play in the making of every social problem. There are two reasons for this. In the first place the hereditary forces are not as obvious as the other forces, for which reason few people give them full recognition. In the second place the ardent desire of the social worker to solve social problems as quickly as possible leads to the belief that this can be accomplished solely by making certain changes in social conditions.

Furthermore, when a social worker does adopt a theory of heredity it is very likely to be one which is now very generally discredited by most biologists. The following are the two principal theories of heredity: The one accounts for organic evolution on the ground that characteristics acquired by one generation are transmitted in a greater or less degree to the next generation. The other theory accounts for organic evolution by variation in the individual germ plasm and selection, as a result of which certain individuals and types are being selected out to survive and to reproduce while others are perishing.

The theory of the transmission of acquired characteristics has appealed most strongly to social workers because it has seemed to hold forth the most hope for social betterment. Indeed, to the vast majority of the public at large this has seemed the only theory of heredity which offers any hope of progress. Partly for this reason this theory prevails most widely, despite the fact that it is rejected by most of the biologists, who are the only ones who can have an expert knowledge of this subject. It is thought that if characteristics acquired by one generation cannot be transmitted to the next generation there can be no hope of improvement of the race. It is true that if the characteristics acquired are good their transmission will improve the race. But they may be bad, in which case their transmission will be injurious to the race. So that the theory of the transmission of acquired characteristics presents the danger of degeneration of the race as well as the hope of its improvement. In any case no theory of heredity can be judged with respect to the hope for progress which it offers. Every theory must be tested by its accordance with the facts. Thus only can we place ourselves upon a scientific basis.

Herbert Spencer was inclined to think that acquired characteristics must be transmitted, for otherwise the fundamental law of nature of the persistence of force, which he had so ably expounded, would be violated. It is probable that this idea has had much to do with the wide-spread belief in this theory. It has been thought that if there is organic continuity between generations the results of forces acting upon one generation must manifest themselves in succeeding generations. But I am inclined to think that if anything the reverse of Spencer's idea is true and that the transmission of acquired characteristics would be a denial of the law of persistence of force. This becomes evident to us when we consider the length of the ancestry of every existing organic form. Every characteristic common to a type or species is the result of forces acting upon it more or less consistently throughout many generations. Is it reasonable to suppose then that the results of forces acting through one generation will supplant the results of forces acting through many generations?

Let us now turn our attention to the other theory of heredity which accounts for organic evolution on the ground of variation and selection. This theory is based upon the relatively immutable character of the germ plasm of the individual, which is the agent of hereditary transmission. Modifications acquired during the lifetime of the individual affect the somatic cells of the body, but have little if any effect upon the germ cells which make up the germ plasm. It has, therefore, seemed to many that this theory offers no possibility for change, whether for good or for bad. But these individuals close their eyes to variation and selection which are great forces for change. While the germ plasm may not change in the individual great changes may take place from generation to generation. This arises primarily out of the crossing of the parental germ cells. Each individual is the outcome of the crossing of the germ cells of two other individuals. The resulting combination is certain to be somewhat different and may be very different from the two original germ cells. Thus we have the possibility of great variation. Furthermore, selective forces are at work weeding out and extinguishing certain individuals and types which are unfit to survive under given conditions and causing others to survive and reproduce their kind. Thus variation along certain lines is checked and is stimulated along other lines.

We can now see that variation and selection offer a possibility of change as great, perhaps, as would the transmission of acquired characteristics. But as in the case of the transmission of acquired characteristics this change may be along the line of progress or along that of degeneration. If the variations are degenerative in their character there may result a family stock such as that of the notorious Juke family which is diseased, vicious and criminal in the extreme. If the variations are favorable there may result a stock such as that of the distinguished family which produced Charles Darwin and Francis Galton. Whether the variations are good or bad will depend upon what are the selective forces in the physical and social environment. And here is where this theory of heredity holds forth hope for social betterment to the social worker. If the social environment is so adjusted as to select the good variations for survival we can hope for progress as rapid, perhaps, as would result from the transmission of good acquired characteristics. We can now also distinguish between the hereditary factors in progress, these being the beneficial variations in the germ plasm and the social factors in progress, these being the selective forces which preserve good variations.

Having thus briefly reviewed the subject of heredity we are in a position to study the criminal type. This type has been most thoroughly described by the late distinguished Italian criminal anthropologist, Lombroso. The conception of a criminal type has, I believe, been most widely and very greatly misunderstood. Many have seemed to think that the born criminal who represents this type is a being possessing certain fixed characteristics and who is predestined to commit crime. Nothing, however, that Lombroso has said has justified this idea. On the contrary he has contended that the criminal type is like every other type. It stands simply for the concentration in each individual representing the type of an unusually large number of abnormal and pathological characteristics which are very likely to lead the individual into crime. Some of these characteristics recur more frequently than others and these combined form the concept of the criminal type which, however, like every type is ideal and is represented by no one individual. This type fixes a norm around which fluctuate all born criminals, some possessing a larger, some a smaller number of abnormal and pathological characteristics than the type. The class of born criminals is at one extreme in the classification of criminals, since these criminals posses the largest number of hereditary characteristics which tend to lead a human being into crime. Passing through the classes of criminals we find these characteristics decreasing until we reach the class of occasional criminals in whom these characteristics have become few in number, and the criminals by passion and the accidental criminals in whom there are very few or none of these characteristics and for whom social factors have become all-important in the causation of crime.

The treatment of crime and the criminal should therefore be directed toward eliminating these causes of crime and the treatment of each class of criminals should be determined by the ratio between the hereditary and social factors in the causation of their crimes. Before going further, however, it is essential that I should refer briefly to the concept of penal responsibility. It is a well known fact that up to the present time penal responsibility has been based upon moral and religious grounds. It has been assumed that the criminal was free to commit his crime or not as he chose, and that since he had chosen to commit it society has the right to wreak vengeance and punishment upon him. I have not the space or the inclination to enter into the troubled waters of the controversy as to the existence of a free will. But I would like to call attention to the following fact: It goes without saying that moral free will, if it exists, is something utterly immeasurable and incalculable in its character. If, therefore, free will enters into the causation of crime it would be impossible to measure the causes of crime and to place its treatment upon a scientific basis. We must therefore assume that free will does not enter into the causation of crime, but that the criminal is responsible for his crime only in the sense that it can be traced to certain of his characteristics which are inborn or have been bred into him by his environment. And the recently developed science of physiological psychology furnishes us plenty of evidence that we are perfectly safe in ignoring a hypothetical free will in our study of the causation of crime. Punishment of the criminal is then no longer retribution because he has wilfully violated a moral law, or personal vengeance, but it is inflicted upon him because he is dangerous to society. The only rational sanction for the penal treatment of the criminal is, then, the necessity for social defense against crime. It is essential that this should become the theoretic basis for our criterion of penal responsibility, for not otherwise can we hope to put the treatment of crime and the criminal on a scientific basis.

What sciences furnish us this basis? A great many sciences, but most of all biology, anthropology, medical science, psychology and sociology. The degree to which each of these sciences is involved varies from individual to individual and from class to class of criminals. With the aid of these sciences we shall be able to individualize the treatment of the criminal, that is to say, to apply such forces in each case as will counteract the tendency toward crime manifested in the individual. But in practise it may not be possible to carry this individualization of treatment to the extreme of adjusting the treatment in its minutest details to the characteristics of the criminal. The most we can do is to define certain classes of criminals and then to determine in each case to what class the criminal belongs. In order to distinguish these classes it is necessary to discriminate between the hereditary and social factors in the making of these criminals. This is frequently a difficult thing to do and we need all the assistance that these sciences can render us in making this discrimination. Because certain factors are not very apparent they are likely to be ignored. I have already indicated that for this reason hereditary factors are frequently neglected.

I believe we have an example of this in the present juvenile court movement. There is a strong tendency in this movement to assimilate the juvenile court with the school. But this indicates a failure to recognize the true social significance of crime. Whether manifested in the adult or the child, crime is a danger signal to society. It is an indication that biological and social forces are at work causing certain individuals to commit anti-social acts. Lack of education may be one of these social forces. Education may therefore be a remedy in some cases and this is more likely to be the case in juvenile than adult cases because the child, on account of the greater plasticity of his nature, is more amenable to educational influences than the adult. But these forces in juvenile as well as in adult crime may be biological, and when this is the case education is usually to a very slight extent, if at all, a remedy. The juvenile court should therefore be prepared to deal with this sort of crime with as drastic measures as when manifested in adults because it is as dangerous to society in children as in adults, though not usually as immediate in its dangerousness.

The juvenile court movement is of peculiar interest from the point of view of putting the treatment of the criminal on a scientific basis for if conducted along scientific lines it offers the entering wedge for scientific reform of the whole of criminal procedure. This is because legislators and the public at large are less tenacious of antiquated conceptions of crime and punishment with respect to juvenile criminals than with respect to adults. Thus they are more willing to grant absence of moral responsibility in the child than in the adult. This leads them to the rather sentimental desire to treat the juvenile criminal with more leniency. But, as we have seen, juvenile crime may require as drastic treatment as adult crime. This sentimental tendency toward indiscriminate leniency in the treatment of the juvenile criminal should therefore be checked and controlled by scientific ideas. If, then, we succeed in putting the juvenile court on a scientific basis we shall have a type for all criminal procedure. I do not mean by this that the treatment of juvenile and adult criminals will necessarily become identical, but that the treatment of both classes of criminals will become scientific. And it may be possible and preferable in the future to abolish the distinction now being made between criminal procedure for juveniles and for adults. When criminal judges are properly trained for their work they will be competent to judge both juvenile and adult cases and it will probably be best for them to judge both kinds of cases because experience with juvenile criminals will reveal to them the character of the past of adult criminals while experience with adult criminals will reveal to them the probable future of juvenile criminals if proper measures are not taken to check their criminal career.

Let us consider briefly the ways in which these sciences, which are of principal importance for the treatment of crime and the criminal, can be used. The principal use of biology has already been indicated in our discussion of heredity. It reveals to us the extent to which the character of a generation is determined by the characteristics of preceding generations. It shows us the true character of variations whether they are atavistic or reversionary and therefore usually unfavorable, or progressive and therefore usually beneficial. Anthropology is useful principally in fixing an anatomical and physiological norm with which all criminals can be compared. The anthropometric methods used by anthropologists are of the greatest utility. A knowledge of human types of the past enables us to judge whether variations from the anthropological norm are atavistic or not, thus supplementing similar information furnished by biology.

Medical science furnishes us information about the diseases and pathological states which frequently lead to crime or to the degeneracy which furnishes a basis for criminal character. Certain organic diseases play a part here, but even more certain functional diseases of the nervous system such as neurasthenia, hysteria, psychasthenia, and epilepsy and all the different kinds and stages of insanity. This brings us to psychology and especially to the branch of psychology called psychiatry.

Psychology enables us to study the states of mind of the criminal, to determine what motives and impulses led him to commit his crime and what is his attitude toward society. Psychiatry, or that branch of psychology which treats of pathological psychic states, is of peculiar utility because the mental equipment of the criminal is so frequently pathological, as when he is insane or is a moral imbecile. But the science of psychology in general can also be of great assistance. Psychologists are not certain as yet to what extent human conduct is instinctive and to what extent habitual. But this knowledge would be of great utility in determining the treatment of the criminal if we could determine whether his crime resulted from instinctive or habitual modes of action. If it resulted from instinctive impulses it is an indication of innate anti-social tendencies which it would be difficult if not impossible to eradicate. If, however, it resulted from a habitual mode of action it may be possible to change the habit if it is not yet too deeply rooted. Psychology can also be used in testing the credibility of witnesses in criminal cases, thus increasing greatly the effectiveness of criminal procedure in estimating the value of evidence.

Sociology, including under this head the special social sciences such as economics, political science, statistics, etc., is of utility in many ways. It furnishes us an analysis of the forces which cause crime. Economics teaches us the causes and characteristics of the economic conditions which lead to crime most of these conditions coming under the head of poverty, though we should not forget that wealth and luxury also lead to crime sometimes. Political science aids us in determining which forms of government foster crime and which forms discourage it. Statistics furnishes us an effective method of determining the amount of crime to be attributed to each specific cause of crime and of measuring the effectiveness of each form of penal treatment as a preventive of crime.

Some knowledge of all these sciences should therefore be possessed by all who have anything to do with crime, whether they be legislators, judges, lawyers, probation officers, police officials, or prison administrators.

Children

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

BY GEORGE S. ADDAMS, JUDGE OF THE JUVENILE COURT, CLEVELAND, CHAIRMAN

At the second general session of this Conference the roll of the States was called, and we were told of the nature and extent of the progress in social work which the various commonwealths had made during the past year, and while the results, measured by other years, were gratifying, the painful truth was only too evident that much of the legal machinery of philanthropy should, in the interests of social economy, be discarded, because it is not only wasteful, but too often fails entirely to do its work.

Ohio, in these matters, is no worse than the average State, yet some of the tools which we are compelled to use in juvenile courts are among the crudest instruments of modern civilization. Many of the laws which relate to children were adopted in the stage-coach era when the State was an aggregation of primitive communities. They were drafted at different times by different men with different interests and different aims.

Some are now antiquated, some are meaningless, many, excellent in themselves, are to the general mass, unrelated and conflicting. For example, the laws relating to illegitimacy are designed to protect the township against paupers, but have little regard to child or mother. Babies can be given out for adoption and children can be apprenticed by the township trustees, with no provision for after care. Children bound out from many county homes are looked after only by irresponsible county visitors who serve for short terms without pay and in many instances with no knowledge of their duties. Some such homes can furnish no list of the children which they have apprenticed. A judge can commit to a State institution a child suffering from physical defects, but neither he nor any other power can compel the institution to receive it. If suffering from two or more defects, and therefore in greatest need of custodial care, the probabilities are that no institution will receive it. It is refused admission by one because it is blind, by another because it is feeble-minded. There are in Cleveland scores of insane children who are dragging the life out of their mothers, disorganizing and embarrassing their families and demoralizing their neighborhoods, because there is no place that will receive them. The same is true of feeble-minded and epileptic children under six years of age. The State and the counties generally provide no place for incorrigible girls between the ages of sixteen and seventeen, nor for delinquent girls of any age who are pregnant; there is no method of dealing with incorrigibles over seventeen, unless they commit a crime, and no adequate method unless they commit a felony. Children can quit school at fourteen if they can read; but, under the factory laws, cannot work until sixteen. All our public institutions are the footballs of politics, and a woman cannot superintend even an industrial school for girls. The United States Steel Corporation can establish a general purchasing department; but the State cannot, and thousands of dollars appropriated for its wards are wasted because of the opposition to such a department on the part of the merchants now selling to State institutions.

To this indictment counts could be added indefinitely. All of these charges cannot be made against the other States, but other charges just as serious can be made. In some respects we are doubtless ahead. The advance has not been even, but everywhere the situation is serious.

As my contribution to this Conference, I wish to express the hope that a better day is at hand. President Roosevelt accustomed us to conferences. Many of those present attended the one on Dependent Children held at the White House a year ago last February. There we expressed our differences, our ideas were put to the test; we had to subordinate our own interests to the general good, and at the end, we returned to our homes with higher standards and new inspiration for our own work. Communities everywhere profited. The governor of some State should be induced to call a conference of all the active workers for children within his commonwealth; it should represent all agencies, public and private, and all creeds, and should include citizens generally who are giving their lives to social service. Successful workers from other States should be invited to contribute from their experience, and when the sentiment of the conference has crystallized upon the best methods, a commission should be appointed of men who know, not only the law, but understand social needs as well, to draft a Children's Code. Against the public sentiment which such a conference would awaken, selfish interests would not be likely to prevail, and such a code once passed, would become a model for the entire country.

There is, more than ever before, a wide demand for uniform laws. It finds expression at meetings of the bar, of civic federations and among business men and the public generally, and if there is to be a code of evidence and of commercial paper and of insurance laws, why not a Children's Code? I sincerely hope that at some session of this Conference a resolution will be adopted, recommending action along these lines; or, if it is deemed wise, calling for the appointment of a committee to draft the outline of a code for the use of the States.

THE NATIONAL CHILDREN'S BUREAU

BY HOMER FOLKS, SECRETARY STATE CHARITIES AID ASSOCIATION, NEW YORK

Every delegate to the National Conference of Charities must have been struck by the extent to which those, coming from various States, have spoken from the point of view of a particular State; and must have felt the importance and the urgent need of having wider ranges of information, and more persons who speak with knowledge of the conditions in the different States. In regard to very many subjects we have means of information pertaining to all parts of the country provided for us by the federal authorities.

Some years ago at the suggestion of Miss Lillian D. Wald, a bill was prepared providing for the establishment at Washington of a Federal Children's Bureau, the object of which was to investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life, to investigate questions of infant mortality, birth rate, physical degeneracy, orphanage, juvenile delinquency, juvenile courts, desertion, illegitimacy, accidents and diseases, of children's employment, legislation affecting children, and such other facts as have a bearing upon the health, efficiency, character and training of children. That bill was introduced in 1905. Hearings were had upon it before committees of each House of Congress. Many organizations have passed resolutions in its support. The National Child Labor Committee has devoted a great deal of continuous attention to promoting its passage, and yet notwithstanding the fact that as we have been told tonight, we are a people whose god is acceleration, that particular bill has not been accelerated sufficiently to pass either House of Congress, up to June, 1910.

Certain objections have been raised to it. These seem to be the objections which are raised in regard to almost all proposed legislation, municipal, state, or national, affecting social betterment, and originating with the groups of people represented in this Conference. One almost comes to know beforehand what the objections will be to any measure dealing with such subjects. We know that the objections will be, first that the bill goes much too far, that it is drastic, revolutionary in character. The second objection will be that the bill does not go far enough to accomplish any useful purpose. The third, that the subject is adequately covered by existing laws. The fourth, that the duty proposed to be added to public duties does not belong to that particular public department in which it is proposed to place it. The fifth, that the public cannot afford the additional expenditure proposed. The sixth, that it will break down our form of government; and the last, which we always have to meet, is that it is clearly unconstitutional. All the above objections have been urged regularly and steadily and plausibly against the Children's Bureau Bill, as against much other proposed legislation emanating from the organization here represented.

I am aware that in some quarters there is a shade of a feeling of anxiety as to where the discussions of the National Conference of Charities are going to bring up; as to where the doctrines being laid down by social workers on many questions touching the field of economics, will lead us, if carried to their logical conclusions. A little nervousness is manifested occasionally. Notwithstanding that, I shall proceed with full courage to lay down certain general principles on which I base my support of the Federal Children's Bureau. I shall do this regardless of the fact that if carried to their logical conclusions and if fully carried into effect, they might very seriously influence existing administration of federal and state affairs.

The first of these principles which I will lay down and defend is, that children are of greater value than any other kind of young animals. That principle no one would gather from any report of any department of our federal government. I have in my hand a printed letter written by a member of the Cabinet, on December 6, 1909—at least it is so dated. It is a statement of the actual appropriations of the federal government for the year 1910, and the proposed appropriations for 1911. Bear in mind now that the proposed Federal Children's Bureau Bill as first introduced called for an expenditure of fifty thousand dollars and an office force of thirty-three persons; but that this was thought to be much too extreme and too elaborate and expensive. In its revised form it calls for fourteen employes. I find, looking over this interesting document, that the Bureau of Animal Industry carries an appropriation this current year of $1,427,860, and has a staff of employes approaching a thousand in number. All this for the protection of animals; but we can't afford fifty thousand dollars and thirty-three employes for the protection of children.

The objects of this Bureau of Animal Industry are very interesting, and very encouraging up to a certain point. They are to provide among other things (the italics are mine) for the safe transport and humane treatment *of cattle exported;* to more effectually suppress and prevent the spread of contagious and infectious diseases *of live stock;* to prevent cruelty to *animals* while in transit; to purchase in the open market tuberculin serums, anti-toxins sold in the United States for the treatment, prevention or cure of diseases *of domestic animals;* to test the same and to disseminate the results of such tests in such manner as the Bureau may deem best. For the eradication of southern cattle-ticks $250,000 is appropriated.

Well, I return boldly and tenaciously to my principle that children are, nevertheless, of greater value than any other kind of young animals.

Now, one might expect that the natural result of the expenditure of this vast sum of money and the work of this large staff, for saving animal life, might be that the young of animals might be better cared for than the young of human beings. I asked recently the president of the American Association of Agricultural Experts, a farmer of wide experience, if there were any figures as to the mortality among the young of animals; and if not what his best judgment and observation was on the subject. Of course, there are no figures, even in regard to babies, covering the entire United States. But we do know, roughly speaking, that in the big cities twenty per cent or one-fifth of the babies, die under the age of two years. This gentleman told me that his best judgment and observation is that of calves about one per cent die, of sheep three to four per cent die in infancy, and of hogs four to five per cent. One might get the impression from this budget of the National Congress, that the United States government is one large organization for the prevention of cruelty to animals; but reading a little farther I reached a different conclusion. I am not sure that these large appropriations are due to any particular consideration for or sympathy with animals. I am not disposed to feel that they are due to any particular consideration for the people who rear the animals, nor for the people who will finally consume them. It rather looks to me as I study the details of these appropriations, as though between the early life of the animal and its final consumption, there is somebody who buys it cheaply and sells it dearly, and it is that profit that is served and protected, and very likely secures these great appropriations.

The second principle I would lay down courageously and boldly is that a live baby is more desirable than a dead one. I am aware that this sounds revolutionary; that it is positively contrary to our practice; and that it is perfectly easy of proof, that so far as we are concerned as a people, and in most of our State policies and municipal policies, it is a matter of utter indifference whether babies live or die. A certain city, say Rochester, by a certain municipal policy, say of stringent oversight of the milk supply, cuts in half the death rate of infants. Do other cities at once proceed to do likewise, to follow the good example? Not at all. Not the slightest attention is attracted by this particular saving. No other city sends its officials to Rochester to see how it is done.

The third principle I would defend is that facts are important. We do not know yet how many human beings are born in the United States in a year; and we don't know how many die. The best expert on vital statistics in the country told me within two weeks that in regard to vital statistics the United States of America is on a par with the countries of southeastern Europe, and that it is far behind such progressive countries as Spain, Italy and Russia. Some little time ago I examined carefully all the articles on the care of destitute and neglected children in the proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction for thirty years. I have never attended a session of this Conference without deriving inspiration and encouragement and hope. But from reading those proceedings of thirty years in regard to children, I derived none of these three things. I found we were discussing at the end of thirty years about the same subjects and in about the same way as at the beginning; the same claims were made, and the same vehement denials entered and but little of additional facts had been set forth.

The next principle I would advance in support of the Federal Children's Bureau is that government is not intended to be a joke, and that the proposition to save human life is not a funny one. If the Children's Bureau Bill is unconstitutional, then this public document from which I have quoted, has in it more screamingly funny jokes than either Puck or Life. There is the Bureau of Plant Industry for instance. It is curious to see some of the things that are being done with the people's money, and as to which apparently no questions of constitutionality have arisen. For the investigation and improvement of methods of growing, producing and handling tobacco, $22,330; to investigate and encourage the adoption of improved methods of farm management and farm practice, $130,060; (What is the Constitution between farmers?); for the study and demonstration of the best methods of meeting the ravages of the cotton boll weevil, $215,155, etc., etc. The total sum for the Bureau of Plant Industry for that year $1,180,796.

The next principle I would lay down is that clearness is better than confusion. Recently a department of the United States government issued a most useful statement in regard to the analysis of certain infants' foods, telling us, among other things, that a certain article advertised as "Children's Comfort" contains morphine sulphate; that a certain elixir for infants contains codein; that Mother Winslow's Soothing Syrup contains morphine sulphate. If you wish to get that article, you would naturally send to the Bureau of Public Health and Marine Hospital Service, I take it. But, no, you will have to send to the Department of Agriculture for it. That was the first intimation I had that babies were to be considered as an agricultural product.

My next suggestion is that Uncle Sam would not miss the fifty thousand dollars. The total sum of these appropriations for 1910 is $835,593,378.90. If it had been $835,643,378.90, or an additional $50,000 the Government at Washington would still survive.

If I have seemed to be unappreciative of the attitude of members of Congress, I wish to correct that impression. My judgment is that if the average member were to speak frankly, he would say that in his opinion and observation and belief, people do not care very much about these things; that people are much more interested as a matter of fact in these other subjects, to which large sums are devoted and that the number of people who are actually vitally interested in these subjects pertaining to children which I have mentioned, is very small. A little heart searching is perhaps in order for all of us as to how much of truth there may be in that attitude. I am inclined to believe that such a man is just about ten years behind the times. His views may have been true in the main until quite recently; but now that this democratic community has had a little glimpse of the needs of its children, it is gathering itself together for their protection, and will proceed with the courage and if need be with the ruthlessness of the savage mother to the protection of her young.

THE UNMARRIED MOTHER AND HER CHILD

BY KATE WALLER BARRETT, M. D., D. SC., PRESIDENT NATIONAL FLORENCE CRITTENDEN MISSION

Before beginning the discussion of the subject assigned me, I want to make myself clear upon one or two points in order that I shall not be misunderstood.

I find that there are a number of persons who are of the opinion that children, who are born without their parents having fulfilled all the obligations required of them by the law, are frequently more richly endowed than children who are born under ordinary circumstances. The name "love child" is frequently given them. This term is extremely distasteful to me when applied to this class. It is true that many, who have borne the bar sinister, have had remarkable careers, but, in studying their lives, one is impressed with the fact that they have had almost insuperable obstacles to overcome. They have succeeded **in spite** of their birth, not **because** of it, and we find ourselves wondering how much more remarkable would their careers have been, had they had a fair chance.

I am interested in the improvement of the human race, and I believe much can be accomplished through the science of Eugenics, but I have little sympathy with a great many theories which are advanced under this term. Many persons who are professedly studying the subject have declared in favor of trial marriages and unlimited divorce, which, to my mind, is but the old doctrine of "free love" masquerading in the 20th Century form.

On the other hand, I do not believe that a marriage certificate carries with it a diploma for consciencious, intelligent motherhood. Nor do I believe that the lack of such a certificate robs a woman of these qualities, if by nature she possesses them. If a woman has the God-given endowment for motherhood, no man-made law can take it from her. Unless society recognizes the value of and encourages this wherever found, it is robbing itself of one of its most valuable assets.

We cannot consider the unmarried mother and her child without taking into consideration at least two other parties, whose welfare is closely wrapped up with theirs. These are the father of the child and society at large. Anyone who attempts to deal with this problem upon a narrower basis than this is sure to fail in its solution.

Few will deny that the physical welfare of the child is best conserved by keeping the mother and child together during the nursing period, and yet even they little realize how important this is. They seem to think that, if a child can be got safely through the teething period, it has entirely recovered from the injury done by robbing it of its natural food, but Dr. J. Stanley Hall shows by the record of the German Army, that soldiers who had their natural food during infancy, have much greater powers of endurance and resistance than those who as infants were artificially fed. Dr. Hall further says that the nursing function, if lost by the mother, is never regained in the female branch of the family.

These facts make us begin to realize how far reaching are the evils which follow the interference with natural law, and yet, how apparently without a qualm of conscience, conscientious and philanthropic persons permit themselves to be made a partner in this crime, so far reaching in its evil results, of robbing a child of its natural food.

The statistics for the past year of a certain maternity hospital in St. Louis shows that out of 96 babies born in the institution four were still born, three were adopted, of whom no record has been kept, ten were boarded in institutions, six of these ten have died. Not one of the 79 babies nursed by the mother has died. The above startling statistics will be borne out by the experience of almost every other like institution. Is murder a crime? Is not the man or woman who has assisted in robbing these children of their rightful food guilty? The voices of thousands of these helpless little ones who have been condemned to death by starvation cry unto high Heaven for vengeance. Is it too much to ask of a woman, who has brought a child into the world under such conditions that it must always remain handicapped because of the circumstances of its birth, to remain with it at least for a year or eighteen months and give it the food which God has placed in her keeping?

So much for the physical advantage of keeping mother and child together.

We have mentioned the illustrious examples of children who have borne the bar sinister and yet who have risen to remarkable heights and filled positions of honor in the fields of science, politics, literature and art. In every instance that I have been able to find these children have been reared by their mothers. It was she, who, by her devotion and training, made possible their success; it was her guiding spirit which imprinted upon their plastic minds the lessons which in after life bore so rich fruitage.

It is best for the mother that she keep her child and make the struggle that is necessary to be a faithful mother. She needs an object in life, something to live for, something to love, something to work for. She finds all this in her child. We must remember that immoral women seldom have children. These unmarried mothers are usually but children themselves, the vast majority under eighteen years of age. Do what we can for them, even if the child die, it is almost impossible to return them to their old friends and surroundings. I do not hesitate to say that at least seventy-five percent of these young mothers can be trained into useful and respectable members of society, if you and I will do our duty by them and give them sympathy, kindly council and aid. What they need most of all is somewhere that they can be trained in order that they may be fitted to earn a living for themselves and their children under circumstances conducive to a healthy, moral and physical life. This may seem a hopeless task, but be patient and do not expect to work a miracle in a few months. In spite of the social ostracism which is meted out to these mothers, I am glad to say that there are plenty of noble men and women who are willing to stand by a woman and her child, and see that they are given an opportunity to become useful members of society, and that even the gates of pleasant social life are open to them.

Unfortunately the father of the child of the unmarried mother has not received sufficient consideration. I am glad to see, however, that at present there is a great awakening upon the subject. In the District of Columbia we have a splendid law in regard to delinquent fathers and this refers as much to the delinquent unmarried father as to the married father. For non-support they may be placed in the workhouse and a part of their earnings paid for the support of the children. Scotland has always dealt with this problem in the most practical manner of any country. There, it does not matter whether it is the first offense on the part of the woman or not, the father must support the child, when paternity is proven. It may seem rather unsavory to see a woman with three or four children with a different father supporting each, but even this is better than the spectacle which we sometimes see in our country—an unmarried mother with three or four children, each with a different father, being supported by the alms of the community.

Wherever possible I believe the father should be required to contract a marriage with the mother in order that the child may have a right to a name. I prefer a marriage before a magistrate which is a legal contract rather than a religious service. In any case he should be made to support the child. Even the requirement of a constant payment of money, will have a very beneficial effect upon some natures that nothing else can touch. All these things can be more satisfactorily arranged where the mother and child are kept together. Occasionally good men have been known to be the fathers of such children. When they have seen the mother willing to do her part, the manhood in them has been aroused and they in turn have willingly taken upon themselves the burdens that were justly theirs.

To one who has agreed with the foregoing there will be no trouble in persuading them that it is better for society that the mother and child be kept together, and that the father be made to do his part as far as possible. I have been interested in this subject for the past thirty years. At first I found that almost every person that I spoke to had followed the lines of least resistance which was to separate the unmarried mother from her child, but now we find this plan almost universally condemned by those who are students of philanthropy.

As I look back over the labors of the past years, which have been largely devoted to the study of the needs of the unmarried mother and her child, I am convinced that keeping the mother and child together is the best solution of the problem, and that it does away with a good many other problems which grow out of the practice of separating the mother and child, burdening the community with the support and care of a large number of children whose parents should be forced to provide for them in a decent manner, permitting to go unpunished and untrained these illegitimate fathers and mothers who often repeat their first offense; and robbing the world of a great force for righteousness which must always follow in the wake of a human soul aroused to acknowledge and to bear the responsibilities which rightly belong to it.

Even when the father cannot be made to do his part, and we cannot hope to have that family group which God intended, father, mother, child, by aiding and assisting the mother to fulfill her responsibilities, we can have that trinity, powerful for much good, mother, child, home.

THE NEED OF RECREATION

BY MRS. JOSEPH T. BOWEN, PRESIDENT JUVENILE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION OF CHICAGO

It has been said that the greatest asset of every nation is its children, and yet it has only been recently that the great mass of people have awakened to the fact that for many years in America the children—the physical and moral basis of citizenship—were utterly neglected. Thousands died needlessly, or were made crippled or blind, and thousands more became delinquent because of this lack of forethought. It is now only by a tremendous effort of organized co-operation on the part of churches, societies and social workers that unfortunate conditions can be remedied and the best interests of childhood conserved. We are just beginning to realize the importance of surrounding the child with an environment which will have in it enough joy and brightness to counteract the evil effects of the so-called pleasure which for commercial reasons surrounds him on every side.

It seems as if the modern city had completely ignored this desire for pleasure on the part of its youth and had failed to make any provision for it, and unless this condition is soon remedied, the children in order to quench their thirst for joy will take deep draughts of the poisonous stuff which is everywhere offered to them, and which ultimately will end in their complete demoralization.

The majority of children who are brought into the Juvenile Court get there because they have been in search of pleasure—that illusive, intangible something for which they are always longing and which they can never quite grasp. The trend of people now is towards the cities. The older governments of Europe have recognized this fact and make great efforts to have their cities conform to the demands of their rapidly increasing population; but in America municipal reforms are in their infancy—we are only just beginning to grapple with our housing problem. Our cities are congested; our people live in tenements, in rooms unlighted and unheated, where broken down stair-ways, dark halls and bedrooms, defective plumbing and over-flowing garbage boxes, all teach a disregard for laws that are not enforced.

The children of the tenements do not live there. They sleep there perhaps, but they live on the streets and they go to the streets for the amusement which is not to be found in the home. The boy goes because he longs for excitement. He wants action. He goes out and joins the gang, and leads the life of the gang, or he haunts some warm well-lighted pool-room, too often frequented by criminals, and listens to tales of murders and hold-ups. His imagination is fired by the pictures which he sees or the plays which he hears in the cheap theaters, and finally, just to satisfy his craving for excitement, he holds up a passer-by or breaks into a small shop, and so takes his first downward step.

A few days ago a woman came to me and, with tears streaming down her face, asked me if I could do something for her boy. She told me this story—that when her son was seventeen years old and a good boy, working hard and bringing her home all his wages, he longed for a life of excitement. He wanted to go West and be a cow-boy; but she persuaded him to remain at home and take care of her. Owing to his ability for leadership, he was made the king of the neighborhood gang which called itself "The Higher-ups." There was another gang in the same neighborhood which was known as "The Lower-downs;" and there was much bitterness of feeling between the two gangs. One day, in revenge for a fancied insult, her boy, the king of the "Higher-ups," broke into the old-clothing shop of the father of the king of the gang of the "Lower-downs," and stole three pairs of trousers. As he was throwing them away in a nearby vacant lot, he was arrested, convicted, and sent to the State Reformatory. When he came out of prison—for prison it was—three years later, he felt that he had a grievance against society; that he had paid the full penalty for his crime. Finding himself unable to secure employment, he threw in his lot with outcasts, and became a confirmed criminal. Had this boy's love of excitement and his desire for adventure been turned into more legitimate channels early in life; had these two gangs been pitted against each other in athletic competitions in a nearby field house or playground, then possibly the state would not have lost a citizen and found a criminal.

The average girl who lives in these tenements usually goes out because the home is unattractive. There is no room in which she can see her company. She is tired after the monotony of her long day in the shop. She needs exercise. You may say that a girl who has stood all day in a department store where she is not encouraged to sit down, does not need exercise, but she has used up her nervous energy, she is nervously tired, she needs to use her muscles in order to get physically tired. The house is too small for anything of this kind, and she makes her preparations to go out. Perhaps she has worked all day long in a factory pushing with her foot some sort of a machine eight or nine thousand times during the day, or she may have been feeding a machine and has to work quickly so that her fingers and hands will not be caught in the machinery. Perhaps she is sitting before a machine making gloves, for which she gets twenty cents a dozen pair and she can make a certain number in an hour if she is quick. There is a clock in front of her. She watches it as her needle flies in and out, and she tries not to get behind. She strains every nerve to make the required number. When her work is over, she is tired and she needs recreation. She goes out onto the street and to the cheap theater, whose standard she possibly adopts because she has none of her own, or else she goes to the dance halls. Her vitality is at a low ebb. She takes her first drink, which the boy in order to show his gallantry presses upon her, and so she takes her first downward step.

A short time ago I knew a young girl who had worked for three years in a factory. During that time she had given her mother all her wages and had never had any kind of amusement. At the end of three years she revolted at the dull monotony of all work and no play, and resolved, as she said, to see life and to enjoy it. She gave up her position, but in order not to arouse her mother's suspicions, she borrowed thirty dollars from a loan shark. Then every morning she started out as usual to go to work, but instead of going to the factory, she went to one of the large shopping streets where she spent the morning watching the crowds go by; then she went to the waiting-room of one of the department stores for the same purpose. She lunched at one of the department stores, where she made some doubtful acquaintances. In the afternoon she went to one of the down town theaters where she occupied a box which in this theater is always placed free at the disposal of the department store girls and their friends. She ended the afternoon in a Greek ice cream parlor, and went home at night as usual. At the end of the week she gave her mother her usual wage. Doubtless she persuaded herself that she was enjoying life and that she had attained the pleasure for which she had always longed; but unfortunately, when her thirty dollars was expended she could not bear to go back to the monotony of the factory, and so she took that other course which the city always holds open to the unprotected and discontented girl. Go to any of the shopping streets of a large city in the evening and you will notice the numbers of boys and girls. They spend their time looking into the gaily lighted shop windows, or they stand and talk in the dark passage ways or alleys, or, if it is cold, they go through the ladies' entrance into the saloon where, if they take a drink, they may stay some time. They are all in search of pleasure, and they are obliged to take what they can get. Sometimes it is the roller skating rinks, sometimes the theaters, and sometimes the dance halls. The theaters are constantly making bids for the patronage of children. They put out lurid advertisements and sensational posters. Their plays deal often with murder and crime. The dominating note seems frequently to be revenge. Boys will steal in order to get money with which to buy tickets for these theaters. Sometimes it is iron or brass from the cars standing on the railroad tracks, and sometimes it is the lead-pipe from an empty house. These things they will sell to the junk dealers. The girls also will go to almost any length in order to get the price of admission. As an example of this—a few days ago I saw two young girls of sixteen and seventeen, whose parents were respectable German people who did not approve of children going to the theater and would not give them money for this purpose. The girls held a conference in order to find a way by which they might get the necessary funds. They remembered that they had a cousin who was a dentist's assistant, and this cousin had told them that if at any time they wanted dental work done, she would see that her employer did it for nothing. She had also mentioned with pride that this particular dentist made a very large number of gold crowns. The girls resolved that one of them should pretend that she had a toothache and that the following day they would go to the dentist and while the one was having a tooth pulled out the other would steal the gold crowns. They carried out this plan, drawing lots as to who should be the victim, and the girl on whom the lot fell, bore the pain and sacrificed the tooth, while the other stole the gold crowns. They were arrested just as they were selling these crowns to a pawn-broker.

It has been asserted that more girls are recruited for houses of ill fame from the dance halls than from any other place, because men find it easy to go to these halls for evil purposes. They can readily get acquainted with the girls. They either make love to them and pretend they want to marry them, or they offer them good positions with higher pay than they are getting elsewhere. The former appeals to their love of romance, the latter to their ambition, and they often fall into the trap. The wayward girl and the innocent girl are both victims of the "spieler," as the man is called who frequents the dance halls, but the girl who is innocent adds zest to the game.

I would advocate in every city a department of recreation, just as we have a department of health, whose function should be not only to regulate and to supervise places of amusement run for commercial reasons but to establish and maintain municipal theaters and municipal dance halls, where a small admission fee could be charged, where there might be proper chaperonage, and where the girls could obtain in a legitimate manner the amusements which they are constantly seeking.

In the various parts of Chicago where we have our fourteen magnificent field houses delinquency has decreased to a very remarkable degree. The policemen report there is very little work for them. The small shop keepers say there is hardly any petty larceny, and citizens bear testimony to the fact that the children are no longer troublesome and the gang no more a menace to the neighborhood. This undoubtedly is because the field houses with their games, their athletic competitions, their drills, and their dances, furnish the children with the excitement and the occupation which is such a necessary part of their lives.

The problem of recreation for the children of our country, if we would keep them from the things that are evil, is one that confronts every city and town and hamlet in the land. We need therefore more parks and playgrounds and swimming pools and athletic fields and gymnasiums. We need to get at the gang, not to break them up but to bring them in. We need to open our public schools as social centers so that the money of the taxpayers may be economically expended and the schools not be closed for 17 out of the 24 hours. The public schools are for purposes of education, but education cannot be confined to 7 hours out of the 24; it means the formation of character, and it must go on and touch every part of the child's life, not only his working time but his play time, and the public schools should always be open to him for properly supervised recreation.

To sum up—in all of our large cities we have our miles and miles of streets filled with places designed for commercial reasons to attract the young people. We have our theaters with their cheap travesties on all the great sacraments of life, our pool-rooms frequented by criminals, our saloons with their glittering lights and their disreputable back rooms, our dance halls, luring boys and girls to their downfall, and we hear a great deal about the evil influences of these places; but what are we doing to make the other side of life attractive? What are we doing for the young boys and girls who stand behind the counters of our shops for 10, 12, 13 and sometimes 14 hours a day? We meet them every day upon our streets. The overdressed little shop girl out at the toe and down at the heel, but with her huge pompadour and her big hat, and the confident self-assertive boy with his sporty clothes, his gay tie and his cigarette, commonplace enough you may say—yes, perhaps so, but each one with a soul needing development, each one looking about for something to which it may lay hold, each one sending up an unconscious prayer: "I am young; I need pleasure; I see it all about me; I see every day the children of the rich spending for trifles what would keep me for a year; I see them going to dances and to balls, to dinners and to suppers. I hear the sound of merry laughter as they drive past me in motors and carriages. I do not envy them. I bear them no ill-will; but my shoulders are no broader than theirs, my strength no greater, my capacity for enjoyment no less, for I, too, like to laugh and dance and sing; for I, too, am young, and I need pleasure. Give it to me! Give me life: Let me enjoy!"

A DECADE OF THE JUVENILE COURT

BY BERNARD FLEXNER, LOUISVILE, KY.

The Juvenile Court is so recent a creation that despite the active propaganda of ten years it is not surprising that widely divergent views are still entertained by those engaged in its administration. Nevertheless, the fundamental principles involved are already generally accepted. In the main, no doubt remains as to the general attitude, point of view and object of the court as an institution. Its procedure may be modified in the light of experience and experiment; but no radical departure from accepted principle is likely. Our practical effort will lie in making those principles prevail.

I propose, in the time allotted to me to consider some of the more important features that in my opinion should still be insisted upon and at the same time to indicate wherein the work of the court may be amplified.

The nature of the court and its legitimate function make it necessary to consider it from two view points. It must be considered in its legal aspect, as part of the judicial machinery of the state and as a social institution with its administrative machinery, mainly concerned in making a normal status for children and parents that come into relation with the court.

The framers of the Illinois legislation of 1898 and 1899 which led to the establishment in Chicago of the first Juvenile Court in the United States, had in mind a distinct legal principle upon which the legislation was based. The child, they said, henceforth shall be viewed as the ward of the state to be cared for by it and not as the enemy of the state to be punished by it. The court thus became, in the minds of its founders, a concrete expression of the state's obligation to the child; a recognition that the child in court, as the result of conditions not of his own making, had a valid claim against the state and was to be saved to the state and not punished by it.

The mere writing into the law itself a declaration that such was the intent meant nothing unless the machinery of the court was remade to fit the new idea. Proper regard for this principle demanded at the outset that the court, i. e., the judges and every part of the judicial machinery, be socialized. To the credit of the West be it said that it has made a consistent effort to work out the ideals back of the movement. In some places there has been retardation. Some courts have abandoned certain well recognized essentials; others have claimed too much, but the spirit still inspires unflagging efforts to find a sound way out.

With some exceptions, which I shall point out, it has been generally conceded that the proceeding involving the child is equitable in its nature; that in it the state, as the ultimate parent of all children within its borders, stands in loco parentis; and that it is not a criminal trial wherein the outraged state demands toll from the child for a wrong against the peace and dignity of the state. We still find, however, in Juvenile Court laws some reminders of the older idea of a criminal trial, and certain suggestions indicating the hesitancy with which the framers of these laws moved in drawing them. The right of trial by jury, for instance, is given to the child unless it is waived. This was done, in a large measure, on the theory that courts of last resort might hold that the proceeding was criminal or quasi criminal and that, therefore, the constitutional guarantee of a jury trial to the accused could not be taken from it. As a matter of fact, whenever the courts have been called upon to construe these laws, they have declared, in no uncertain terms, that the constitutional provision to a jury trial is not violated by a failure to have a jury pass upon the evidence. The number of cases in which juries are called is negligible. The provision is to all intents and purposes a dead letter. For this reason, and because I believe that every part of the law that involves a criminal conception of it should be eliminated, I would strike from the law all that relates to a jury trial. In this new legislation I would not leave a vestige to be pointed at by the advocates of the older method as an evidence of adherence still to criminal procedure. I would, therefore, write more clearly into these laws than has yet been done, the beneficent principle that the proceeding involving the child is not criminal and that the child is not to be treated as a criminal. We have stopped short of what it is possible to do. The laws now define a "delinquent child" or a "wayward child" or a "juvenile delinquent" as one who does any of the acts inhibited in the law; and the judgment at the conclusion of the hearing is that the child is a "delinquent child" or a "wayward child" or a "juvenile delinquent." In other words, while we have greatly softened the proceeding, it is nevertheless difficult to get away wholly from the idea that it is a proceeding involving a charge against the child; and while we have likewise softened the character of the judgment, it remains still a judgment against the child. I would, therefore, rewrite the sections of the law that define "a delinquent child." Instead of saying, as we do now, that "a delinquent child" or a "wayward child" or a "juvenile delinquent" is one who violates any law of the state or city or village ordinance, etc., I would say any child who violates any law of the state or city, or village ordinance, or who is embraced within any of the numerous things set out in the law, shall be deemed to be a child in need of the care and protection of the state; and instead of a judgment against the child, adjudging it to be a "delinquent child" or a "wayward child" or a "juvenile delinquent," the judgment should follow the original definition and merely adjudge that the child is in need of the care and protection of the state.

The language, as it now exists, is a concession to conservatism made at a time when it was thought the courts might insist upon a specific charge being made against the child. The language above proposed is a logical development of the chancery principle upon which the whole structure rests. It merely means writing more emphatically in the law, than now appears, the principle that the whole proceeding is for the purpose of protecting the child. It would take away the last remnant of any stigma that attaches to the judgment entered in the case.

It may be suggested here that under the definition proposed, it would be obviously unjust to include the child variously called the dependent or destitute child, the child whose case presents to the judge the single question of relief. Most of the laws as they exist now embrace such children and there are few courts in which cases of this kind do not now arise. They are not properly cases for the court and should not reach the court. They should be cared for by organized relief agencies and should reach the court only when the question of parental neglect enters in.

We may modify and soften the proceeding in court to the greatest possible extent and take away from it all of the sting. It will, nevertheless, be a grave injustice to the court and to the dependent or destitute child to bring it into court. The jurisdiction, as I view it, should be narrowed so as to exclude wholly cases of this kind.

For the purpose of emphasizing still further the nature of the proceeding, one step more should be taken. We need to get away, more completely, from the criminal terminology still employed. With striking inconsistency, we institute a proceeding in chancery with the idea dominant that we want to protect the child, that we want no stigma to attach to it, and yet we publish elaborate reports dealing with every phase of crime from idling and loitering to the worst offenses against public morality. I confess that I am unable to see any possible value that can attach to the fine distinctions of the criminal law as illustrated in the published statistics of the Juvenile Courts. An examination of the reports discloses the fact that the cases are sub-divided according to the rigid definitions of the criminal law. We find grand and petit larceny, burglary, robbery and arson and the entire list of crimes. The classification is adhered to in some courts on the theory that the time required for the cure of the child is to be determined in some measure by the act with which the child stands charged. In practice, however, it is doubtful if this theory is worth much. The act is merely the local evidence of pathological social conditions. The conditions that are responsible for the appearance of a child in court on the charge of loitering may take quite as much time to correct as those embraced in a charge of robbery. As a matter of fact, some of the most difficult cases presented to the courts are those covered by the inclusive term "incorrigible" or habitually truant from school. The criminal terminology is another survival of the older method. It is adhered to because there is still doubt as to the nature of the proceeding and because the feeling still persists that it is necessary to charge the child with the doing of a particular act. The statisticians will doubtless insist that we must cling to the old classification. If we are to continue to deal with the child as a criminal and in terms of crime, I grant we would have to continue to use some such terminology, but with the attitude of society to the offending child completely changed, some classification in harmony with the spirit of the law should and can be worked out.

This terminology can be simplified. To what extent this is possible is a subject that is having the consideration of a special committee of the National Probation Officers' Association.

Much that I have said is at variance with the practices of some of the better known Children's Courts in this country.

In New York State, for instance, the Children's Court is essentially a criminal court, in which there is a trial of the child for the commission of a specific act, as distinguished from the chancery proceeding elsewhere, in which importance is laid upon the conditions responsible for the child's act. The primary inquiry in these criminal Children's Courts is directed toward adducing evidence sufficient to make out an offense against the law, and that part of the inquiry which touches the child in its relations to society, which seeks to set him on his feet under the careful supervision of a probation officer, is with few exceptions either not performed at all or wholly inadequately performed.

Because it is possible to pass specific legislation for particular communities in New York state, the laws touching Children's Courts in New York are not uniform. The Children's Court of the city of Buffalo, for example, is part of the municipal court. In the act establishing the court in Buffalo, an effort is made to get away from a purely criminal trial against the child and instead to consider the child as in need of the care and protection of the state. To this end, the court may, before conviction, place the child on probation, a power exercised in other courts in New York state only after trial and conviction; and the court in Buffalo in lieu of proceeding with a trial at all may adjudge the child to be in need of the care and protection of the state. The act is open to the serious objection of confining the jurisdiction of this court to the city of Buffalo; if a child in Erie county, outside of the corporate limits of Buffalo, violates any law, it is taken before a justice of the peace to be tried as a criminal.

The better known courts of New York state, those in Manhattan and Brooklyn, are administered under charter provisions substantially alike. In both, the jurisdiction is in a purely criminal court—the court of special sessions. In both, the judge of the children's court is assigned, from time to time, to duty in that court and when he is not sitting as a justice in the children's court, he is sitting as a justice in the court of special sessions. In Manhattan, for instance, the judges rotate monthly, while in Brooklyn, fortunately, it has been possible for the judge who has seen the longest service in the Children's Court, to arrange through a method of exchange with the other justices, to sit for practically the entire judicial year.

The character of the trial of the child in the Manhattan Children's Court differs radically from that of the better known courts in the West. Judicial formality, as evidenced by a robed judge, seated behind the conventional bench so as practically to shut him off from close personal contact with the child, is insisted upon in opposition to the more or less informal hearings elsewhere. Certain cases, it is stated, are heard in chambers instead of the over-crowded court room. In Brooklyn, Judge Wilkins, despite the law and a forbidding court room, has discarded the robe and many of the formalities and hears cases in private. The proceeding in both instances, however, is criminal; the child is charged with the commission of a specific act of which it must be found guilty or not guilty. If not guilty of the act with which it is charged, it is dismissed, notwithstanding the fact that the conditions which are responsible for its appearance in court may cry out for correction. If guilty, it is dealt with in one of several ways, but always as a criminal, and this is the case notwithstanding the act passed by the legislature of New York in 1909, which provides as follows:

"A child of more than seven and less than sixteen years of age, who shall commit any act or omission, which, if committed by an adult, would be a crime not punishable by death or life imprisonment, shall not be deemed guilty of any crime, but of juvenile delinquency only. * * * Any child charged with any act or omission which may render him guilty of juvenile delinquency shall be dealt with in the same manner as now is or may hereafter be provided in the case of adults charged with the same act or omission, except as specially provided heretofore in the case of children under the age of sixteen years."

It must be admitted that in making the change in the name of various crimes to the crime of juvenile delinquency, a certain step forward has been taken. Some good may be accomplished under such legislation for the reason that it is calculated to change the spirit in which the law is administered. Notwithstanding this legislation, there is, as indeed under the law there must be, a conviction of the child before it is possible to do anything for the child; before it can be given the benefit of the system of "parole" as it is called in the Manhattan court and of "probation" in the Brooklyn court.

A striking instance of the injustices of a criminal proceeding against the child under the New York statute, is seen in those cases ordinarily known as cases of improper guardianship, which from time immemorial have been cared for in courts of chancery. Under the New York law, cases of improper guardianship are proceedings against the particular child, in a criminal court. I saw a striking illustration of this, where a child of six or eight was brought into the police (children's) court in proceedings brought against it because its mother was leading a life of shame, and after the evidence had been heard against the mother in the presence of the little child, the judgment went against the child.

Obviously the laws as they exist in New York to-day, and the trials thereunder, are out of harmony completely with the principle that we have come to believe is sound. Yet, this is not conceded by those connected with these courts. They are defended on the ground that conditions differ in various parts of the country and that court procedure must likewise vary; that desirable practice in one city would prove wholly inappropriate in a city like New York. It is contended that the methods pursued, for instance, in the Denver Juvenile Court, would be wholly unsuited to the Manhattan court. This may be altogether true, but it does not follow that the procedure of the Manhattan court is not wrong. It is argued that it is necessary to adhere to judicial formality in the court room in order to impress upon an ignorant, non-English speaking parent the fact that the law must be obeyed, and that to admonish such a parent in a small room with less formality would not carry the same weight. The conditions in Chicago are very much like the conditions in Manhattan and practically all of the formality which is still adhered to in Manhattan was long ago abandoned in Chicago. There is hardly a court in this country in which the judge is not confronted with the problem of the ignorant, non-English speaking parent and of impressing upon him the fact that the law must be obeyed. I have seen this done in a court room hardly larger than an ordinary drawing-room, with the judge seated at a table instead of behind the conventional bench.

Viewed in a purely legal aspect, these courts do violence to the spirit of the Juvenile Court laws. Approached on the other side—that side which considers the court as a social institution, such courts as we have just been considering do not even touch the surface of the evil that has been the cause of the child's undoing.

In the last analysis, the work of any court will be measured by the work of the probation office.

Probation as it is carried on in the Manhattan Court, is out of harmony with what has come to be considered the essentials of every probation system. In view of the importance of the Manhattan court and the attention it must necessarily draw to itself, it is probably worth while to consider here the character of the probation work done. In any discussion of the Manhattan Children's court, it is absolutely necessary to consider at the same time the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (the Gerry Society) for it furnishes to the court a considerable part of its administrative machinery. There are no salaried probation officers in this court. The Gerry Society's officers make a large number of the investigations for the court and these investigations constitute part of the Society's records. It maintains the place of detention for the children; its officers are in court when the cases are heard and after hearing, if the child is neither dismissed or committed, sentence is suspended and the child is paroled, as it is called, to a future date, usually six weeks or two months hence, which time is fixed in the judgment. Just before the child is to be returned to court, at the end of the period originally fixed in the judgment, the Gerry Society files a supplemental report and the further orders of the court are based on this supplemental report. This report is usually made up of inquiries made just before the termination of the period by the Society's officer at the home and the school. There is no supervision over the child by the Society's officers, or in most cases, by any one else during the period of suspended sentence, unless we are to consider that paroling the child in the custody of its parents comes within the term" supervision" or "probation." Except within narrow limits, there is no opportunity for a close personal relation between officer and child. To some extent volunteers are used, drawn from the "Big Brothers," an organization interested in Protestant boys and from certain Catholic and Jewish organizations. Great reliance is placed by the judges of the Children's Court upon the reappearance of the child in court at frequent intervals and the part that this plays in correcting the child. In support of this method, it is insisted that probation is properly the exercise of a court or judicial function.

As pointed out by Mr. Homer Folks in an address before this Conference in 1906, probation "is not necessarily nor preferably a judicial, but is an executive function just as much so as the administration of the reformatory institutions to which those same children might, and recently, would have been committed."

The distinction made by Mr. Folks between judicial function as opposed to executive or administrative function has back of it legal precedent.

The judicial function has been defined as power conferred upon a public officer(the judge) calling for the exercise of judgment and discretion in the determination of the question of right in a case affecting the interests of a person or property, as distinguished from administrative or ministerial function, which has for its purpose the carrying out of the mandates of judicial power. So far as the particular question under discussion is concerned, the judicial function is exercised when the case is heard, i. e. after the evidence is in, the judgment entered and the child is placed upon probation. In determining that the child shall be placed upon probation, the court necessarily exercises judicial power. Probation itself,—the special administrative acts necessary to carry out the constructive forces involved in every case of probation, is not in any way the exercise of judicial function. Enforcing obedience to the court's orders, while the child is on probation in a case where the probation officer fails, is the exercise again of the judicial function. And the great value of the court, after it has heard and determined the case in the first instance, is the judicial sanction that it gives to the act of the probation officer in enforcing obedience to the probation officer's requirements in a case where it is necessary to appeal to the Judge.

What kind of probation can a judge exercise over a child who reports back to him in a case which his predecessor on the bench has heard, and about which the judge then sitting knows absolutely nothing? How much greater does the confusion become when the case is heard by one judge and the child reports at intervals to two or three entirely different judges. Could anything be more perfunctory?

The process of probation is not wholly unlike the ancient practice that existed in courts of chancery in cases where it became necessary for the chancellor to provide a method of education for a ward of court. In doing this, the matter was referred by the chancellor to a master for the purpose of preparing a proper plan for the maintenance and education of the infant and to inquire with whom and under whose care the infant should remain during its minority and while the plan was being carried out. Adjudging that the infant should be educated and that a plan should be prepared was an exercise of the judicial function. Carrying out the judgment of the court in the preparation of the plan and seeing that it was carried forward was a ministerial or administrative function, analogous to the executive work of a probation officer after the court has adjudged that the child shall be placed on probation.

The conditions touching probation in the Brooklyn court differ substantially from those that obtain in the Manhattan court. There are no probation officers in Brooklyn paid out of the public treasury, just as there are none in Manhattan. There are, however, three paid officers, receiving their salaries respectively from Catholic, Protestant and Jewish organizations. In addition, Brooklyn has a Juvenile Probation Association, whose officers are connected with the Brooklyn Juvenile Court, and which has a total of three hundred (300) children under observation, of whom three-fourths are children on parole from various institutions.

In Mr. Folk's opinion, "it is a most useful and important adjunct to the Children's Court and its work is particularly significant in indicating how very akin parole and probation work are, and the many advantages that are to be derived from having them carried on by the same agency."

The situation in New York state, as I have detailed it, will be changed somewhat if certain acts pending in the New York legislature become laws. It is proposed to establish a Children's Court in the city of Syracuse, adopting substantially the provisions of the Buffalo law. The act is open to the serious objection that emphasis is still placed upon the trial of a child for an offense against the law. Another act contemplates a re-organization of the court of special sessions in the Boroughs of Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens and Richmond and the continuation of a part of this court as the Children's Court. The proceedings, under this proposed legislation, continues to be a criminal trial against the child; the court, however, is given power to place the child on probation before conviction. The monthly rotation of judges is changed by a provision to the effect that in assigning justices to sit in the Children's Court, the Chief Justice shall have regard for the fitness of the justice so assigned, and so far as practicable, shall make such assignments for substantial periods of service. This is a distinct gain upon the present method. The matter of probation officers in the Children's Court is disposed of in general terms. The act merely provides that so far as may be practicable, certain of the probation officers of the court of special sessions shall be permanently assigned by a majority of the justices to the Children's Court. This provision is significant as marking the beginning of paid probation officers in the Children's Court in Greater New York.

If the plans of a special committee in Rochester are carried out, that city will have, shortly, new legislation on the subject, establishing a Children's Court as part of the County Court of Monroe County, embodying throughout the chancery idea. It will be in striking contrast to the other courts in New York State which have been discussed by me.

An important adjunct of the court in working out its problems is a department that will enable it to correct patent physical defects in the child which are, in a large degree, responsible for its appearance in court. Notwithstanding general accord upon the proposition that physical defect and appearance in court are closely related, the clinic in connection with the court has been worked out slowly. In some courts, of which Indianapolis is a striking example, the clinic, after having been established, has been practically abandoned.

The right to compel a child before the court to submit to a medical examination is generally accepted, although not without some vigorous dissent. The dissent is rested upon the legal proposition that a child cannot be compelled to give evidence against itself and that compulsory examination has that effect. This proposition rests upon a theory that is fundamentally wrong. To compel a person to give evidence against himself has no application except in a criminal proceeding against an accused person, and as I have pointed out, the hearing in the Juvenile Court is not a criminal proceeding. Curiously enough these objections come from persons who admit the soundness of the view that the child should not be proceeded against as a criminal. The state, in the interest of public health, may compel a child to submit to compulsory vaccination. It may require children afflicted with contagious diseases to be isolated. It may, in the exercise of its power to protect the welfare and health of its citizens, take innumerable other steps against the wishes of the particular individual, affected by its mandate. Why may it not, in the interest of protecting society, compel the girl who has been wayward to submit to a physical examination in order that the fact may be determined whether or not it is safe for her to associate with other children. With our knowledge of the danger from particular infections, we recall with dismay the case before Judge Mack of two girls within the Juvenile Court age, acting as nurse girls, at a time when both were diseased, a fact which could not have been disclosed otherwise than by a physical examination.

For the purpose of protecting society, it is proposed in New York State, under an act now before the Legislature of that State, to compel a certain class of women enumerated in the act, in a criminal trial against such women, to submit to a physical examination for the purpose of determining whether or not they are afflicted with contagious, infectious or communicable diseases; the magistrate before whom the matter is pending is empowered to commit such persons to a place of detention, there to be detained for the purpose of treatment.

I should like, if time permitted, to take up some other phases of the court, in its relation to society and to emphasize some of the logical developments of the Juvenile Court idea. For the moment, the principle involved in it is accepted we are committed not only to bringing procedure into sympathy, but to perfecting whatever other agencies may be required in order to work out its purposes.

In the matter of detention homes, for instance, very few communities have done anything more than awaken to the necessity for such a place. The absence of any provision for properly detaining children in small communities comes over us with particular horror when we see them sharing the cells of adults in the county jails. These conditions are intolerable; they are in a large measure due to the same kind of public self-satisfaction that tolerates a place of detention such as Pittsburg affords, that is part and parcel of the county jail and that offends against every principle for which Juvenile Court workers have been striving. In Manhattan,we meet an imposing mass of brick and mortar; within its walls are children of all kinds and conditions inadequately separated, and kept—some of them for months, boys and girls, without any fit means of employment for surplus energy. In Baltimore, the police stations in the various parts of the city are still used as places of detention for children.

There is still another side of the work that I think has not been sufficiently stressed. I refer to the records themselves.

A more or less critical examination of a number of courts has led me, most reluctantly, to the conclusion that there is a lamentable lack of system in many of these courts as evidenced by wholly inadequate records, cases poorly prepared, and indifferent preliminary investigations. No one who places at the proper valuation the role that the court plays can look with indifference upon work of this character.

It may be just as well at this point to ask ourselves what in brief the whole Juvenile Court movement has so far demonstrated. Perhaps it is not too much to claim that the court has been a powerful agent in uncovering hideous social wrongs that but for it might have gone on untouched. It has done what it could to right these wrongs and in so doing, it has realized its own limitations. The measures that the court itself applies are not, alas, a cure all; they are at best but a poor palliative. The remedy for all the wretched maladjustment that confronts us in court lies beyond the court room, beyond the judge! It is to be found in the school-room, in a curriculum practical, human, and that gives to the school "a chance to affiliate itself with life;" it is to be found as well in enforced legislation and an enlightened public opinion that will forbid absolutely the exploitation of children; that will seek to prevent neglect and delinquency of children by giving to their fathers and mothers the protection that comes of an adequate wage, reasonable hours of labor, and compensation in case of injury; and it is to be found again in all those larger social activities which aim to catch the spirit of youth and lead it along normal lines by providing sane, healthful occupations for energies that will be spent.

THE CLAIM OF THE BABY

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It is a truism to state before this audience that the most significant feature of the civic life of our generation is the realization on the part of each member of the community of his or her dependence upon the general well-being, and of the duty of helping those who are handicapped. We are just beginning to learn the meaning of the term "neighborliness" taught the world nineteen centuries ago, and to add to our knowledge action. Certainly there are but two fundamental elements which enter into the relationship which we call neighborliness and these are real need and adequate help. When these two come together the relationship is established. Who then was neighbor to him that fell among thieves? Not of necessity the person living next door, not his relatives far and near, not his minister, not his business associates, nor any others of his friends and acquaintances, but he that showed mercy upon him. He, however distant in dwelling, however foreign his race or remote his social status, he was a neighbor I say, who recognized the man's need, and brought an adequate remedy. The remedy cost more in time and effort than the tossing of a coin in the highway—this might have been induced a second robbery, more than a word of distant sympathy, this would have had a hollow, mocking sound. It meant personal investigation, accurate knowledge of the conditions and unselfish, time-consuming relief continued by the neighbor until his neighbor was able to earn his living again.

It is the subconscious conviction that on all sides there is the growing sense of the need of just this kind of philanthropy and an increasing desire to practice it that furnishes the stimulus to this representative gathering, awakens new enthusiasms, and gives birth to the promise that the time may not be far distant when not only will the victims of thievery and bloodshed be properly cared for, but also that robbery not only on the road between Jerusalem and Damascus, but elsewhere will be abolished, and every traveler in life's journey will at least be permitted to pursue his way unmolested—will be given a fair chance.

As I understand the object of this notable gathering it is for the express purpose of discovering the waylaid neighbor amid the various disguises which he unconsciously assumes and of planning how his distress may be most effectively and permanently relieved.

The particular portion of humanity whose cause I would plead before this sympathetic audience of neighbors are the thousands of infants unborn and newly born in this great country of ours who are not having a fair chance for life, and will not have the fair deal in the next score of years unless those of us who know what the needed remedies are bestir ourselves to more purpose than ever before. The time of ignorant complacency is well over. We now know that thousands of infant lives are ruthlessly sacrificed each year because our duty to the most dependent and helpless members of society is so frequently neglected. We can no longer invoke the decree of an avenging or indifferent Providence to account for this destruction of life. It has been repeatedly proven that much of it is quite unnecessary if we simply lived up to our knowledge.

Let us start with a few figures. There are at present in the United States approximately 1,400,000 infants under twelve months of age. About one-fifth of this number, or 280,000, can be confidently expected to die within a year, judging by the experience of many years past. The total number of deaths from tuberculosis in the same period is estimated at about 160,000. Is not this statement sufficient to indicate the dimensions of the problem confronting us and the necessity of careful analysis of the factors producing this large death rate? An epidemic half as devastating in character sweeping the country would close every port against us and call for the expenditure of every resource, public and private, to control it. Or consider the anxiety with which we of older growth would approach a period of twelve months in our lives in which the death rate was 20 per cent., that is, that one-fifth of all those entering the period would be carried off before its completion. What scrupulous care we would take by approved methods to diminish this great risk. If this danger year were known to come to older children, would not parents and guardians be made by the state to avoid that negligence to their offspring which was known to increase the risk? It makes not one whit of difference in our responsibility whether the dread twelve months is the first, or later on in life's span. If we can reduce the slaughter of the innocents it simply must be done.

I would not urge the impossible. It is well known that the first year of life is the feeblest of any age period, and a larger death rate especially during the first weeks must be expected then than later, but I think I can show you that a large part of the mortality among infants is unnecessary, and this needless loss of life I would ask your earnest and united effort to help to prevent.

May I briefly enumerate some of the more important factors in this high infant mortality and at the same time indicate how intimately intertwined are the efforts of the social worker and the physician? It is thought that fully three-fourths of the deaths occurring under one year are due to prematurity, gastro-intestinal diseases and pulmonary disorders. It is for these large groups of cases comprising more than 200,000 deaths each year that much can be done.

The causes of premature births are fairly well understood. This term includes babies born alive but before term, they have enfeebled strength which is usually insufficient to resist any untoward circumstances. The chief factors in prematurity are (1) Illness or bad habits of parents; (2) overwork of the mother All febrile illnesses of the expectant mother threaten the premature birth of the child. We may expect fewer misfortunes of this character when we take more thorough-going methods to prevent the spread of various infectious diseases, particularly tuberculosis and typhoid fever. Certain venereal disorders in either parent predispose to still births as well as to premature birth.

Thousands of feeble little lives flicker out early in their careers because of the poisonous effects of excessive alcohol upon the mother's tissues, and upon the unborn child itself. The efforts of those who are rationally striving to curtail the widespread abuse of and over-indulgence in alcoholic liquors should have no more intelligent advocates than those who are concerned in reducing infant mortality. The indirect effect upon the infant through the conditions which surround it in the alcoholic home are also most deleterious and often lead to its early death. The toll in potential child life that is paid to the intoxicating effect of large amounts of alcohol and venereal disease is only partly accounted for when we speak of the babies born alive who are lost through these agencies. The number of still or dead-born babies is largely due to the abuse of alcohol and to syphilis. The regulations of marriage between persons so afflicted should be more strictly enforced.

Another factor in the birth of babies before they are strong enough to cope with the outside world is the overwork of the mother. Here, too ,the social worker and the physician should join forces. It is absolutely proven that continous hard work on the part of the mother shortly before her confinement increases the liability to premature birth and reduces the size and strength of the child. It is of the greatest importance that expectant mothers who are wage earners or overworked at home should have a period of comparative rest for the sake of the children they are about to bring into the world. Hospitals are urgently needed all over this country for the reception and care of the expectant mother, and for the treatment of premature and debilitated babies. These can often be saved by special care when they would be lost in general hospitals or in their homes.

Unquestionably the largest number of living babies who die within their first year are carried away by disturbances of the digestive organs. Fully a third of the total death rate is due to these affections. That much of this is unnecessary is shown by two significant facts:

1. Babies nursed exclusively by their mothers rarely have serious intestinal disorders even among the working classes.

2. Babies of the well-to-do even though artificially fed are not often lost through digestive disturbances. Four-fifths of the deaths from ailments of this nature occur among the bottle babies of the poor and can readily be accounted for.

Surely from the recital of such facts as these—facts which concern 100,000 infant deaths in the United States each year a great and urgent duty emerges, a duty which will not down until by the united efforts of us all the baby of every mother has a fair chance. I would not minimize the difficulties of the situation. I know full well that when the average mother overworked and in restricted circumstances cannot nurse her baby she launches it upon a sea of troubles which frequently results in shipwreck to the tiny craft.

We are learning that there is no satisfactory substitute for mother's milk, but that the best makeshift we have, cow's milk, can only be properly obtained when unusual care accompanies it in every step from the stable to the baby. It requires time, considerable intelligence and interest to keep and prepare properly the bottles for a young baby. How hard it is to obtain these conditions in the poorer homes of our cities you all know who have visited them. And yet just here is the crux of the matter: the situation is difficult, but we must not falter because the obstacles seem great.

The various respiratory diseases destroy about half as many infants as do the gastro-intestinal disorders. The latter are the scourge of the summer, the former are most deadly in the winter. Fatal pneumonia in infancy is nearly always secondary to some infectious disease, particularly measles or whooping cough, or due to faulty ventilation.

The various contagious ailments and the pulmonary diseases together account for about 70,000 infant deaths a year, fully half of which could be prevented by adequate provision for isolation and pure air. Surely this is somebody's business, and those of us who have knowledge, influence, time, or means could spend it in no more enduring, remunerative manner than in improving some of the conditions which usher in the early demise of so many babies.

I am passing over any discussion of other and comparatively infrequent causes of infant death that we may have a few moments to discuss together the means by which we can hope to curtail this yearly toll we are paying with our babies to ignorance, poverty and neglect. And in the first place I would emphasize that the infant must be saved by its natural protector, its mother. Foster mothers and institutions may help in many instances, but there will be the most marked reduction in the number of preventable deaths when we secure the hopeful and intelligent co-operation of the mothers. Fortunately in nearly all instances the interest of the mother is already aroused and responds to tactful suggestion, but she sadly needs instruction in the importance of continuing breast nursing, in the value for her child of fresh air even in winter, and reduced diet and less apparel in summer, and in the danger of impure milk. In imparting this knowledge it is easy to see that the social worker, the nurse, the physician, the minister, the press, the philanthropist, all have a share and can work harmoniously together.

The other essential to success after the mother's co-operation is assured is that she should have the means at hand to care better for her offspring. This, of course, is much more difficult to provide and involves the bettering of the general environment. It is true, however, that no member of a family responds so quickly to improved hygienic surroundings as the baby. Hence the model tenements, more humane industrial conditions and play grounds all aid materially in reducing infant mortality. But perhaps a little more direct bearing has the question of milk. Every mother who has a baby to raise and cannot nurse it exclusively, should be able to procure good cow's milk. This is without question the best alternative. It ought to be an absolute impossibility to purchase on public sale a drop of impure milk with a bacterial count that converts an apparently harmless food into a dangerous poison. This is by no means the case at present. After having obtained a good product she must be taught how to keep it so, and if the conditions at the home are very difficult to improve, the mother must know where at moderate charge she can obtain milk for her baby already modified and put up in individual feeding bottles. Here the milk dispensary becomes invaluable.

That these united methods pay in that they save thousands of lives each year can be demonstrated to the most skeptical at any of the milk stations now in operation in thirty of our large cities.

Because of the desirability for the correlation of the forces already in the field and the urgent need of an increased knowledge of the facts concerning infant mortality and more general effort to reduce it. The American Association for Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality was started last November in New Haven after a meeting of the American Academy of Medicine. The objects of the new association are the study of infant mortality in all its relations, the disseminating of knowledge concerning the causes and prevention of infant mortality, and the encouragement of such methods as have been shown to be efficient in the prevention of this mortality. The need of such an association is just as pressing as for that of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, indeed the number of lives saved may be greater. The response of the public to the appeal for aid for the poor consumptive has been remarkably generous and will be equally so for the baby when its needs are as well recognized. The association urges upon all legislators the enactment and enforcement of laws requiring the prompt and accurate registration of births. The United States is the only civilized country in the world which pays more attention to the breeding of its blooded stock than to the recording of the births of its citizens. But apart from this rather sentimental reason birth registration is absolutely necessary for the careful study of any of the diseases of childhood in proportion to the population. How can we know accurately the ravages of any infantile ailment or condition until we know the number of babies it might possibly affect? It was the knowledge of a declining birth rate in France that stimulated in that country the first consultations for the newborn and the milk stations which have been proved to have reduced the infant death rate and have become models for all subsequent work in this direction. Birth registration is on the statute books in only about ten states, but in none of these are the returns complete. It would be of particular importance to have accurate birth registration in this country where the population is made up of so many different races living under such various conditions. We should know the number of children born to each race or mixture of races in the cities as compared to rural countries, in industrial as well as mining districts, for until we know this we cannot determine the state of health of our population or under what conditions it is increasing or decreasing.

May I suggest that all social workers familiarize themselves with the fact of this large and unnecessary death rate in infants, that they make some phase of this problem a part of their programs in their annual conferences, and that when interest in their community has commenced to be aroused that it be further extended by illustrated lectures and by the formation of study classes. The American Association for Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality needs the co-operation of every social worker and public spirited citizen. It stands ready to supply information concerning work in behalf of babies in many sections of our own country and abroad, and to advise as to the simplest and most practical methods of beginning such work in other parts of the country. It must be a pleasure to any philanthropic parent to realize that by co-operation with the national association or with one of its affiliated branches he has done something definite to save another man's baby less fortunate than his own.

The history of several similar welfare movements has been to prove to the municipal, state and federal authorities the importance of bearing a share in the work. It may well be that if we do our duty as a volunteer association in spreading information and arousing interest in this subject that the duty of our civil officials to infants unborn and born in their communities will be recognized.

In Baltimore next November the first annual Conference of the American Association for Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality will be held. The problem will be presented in four sessions: Municipal, State and Federal Prevention, under the chairmanship of Dr. William H. Welch of Baltimore. Medical Prevention, under the chairmanship of Dr. L. Emmett Holt of New York. Philanthropic Prevention, under the chairmanship of Dr. Hastings H. Hart of the

Russell Sage Foundation. Educational Prevention under the chairmanship of Dr. Helen C. Putnam of Providence, Rhode Island. The aim in each session is to have the discussions definite and practical, and it is hoped that many of you will be sufficiently interested to come to Baltimore and take part in the conference.

Thus far I have spoken impersonally of the vast reward, social and economic, which would accrue to the country in saving so many thousand human lives. There are, however, fascinating possibilities when one considers the future individuals who may be saved to the state through some such organized effort as is advocated today. Suppose Abraham Lincoln had been among the more than 20 per cent of infants who in his day faded away in their first twelve months, or Robert E. Lee, or a score of other stars, who have shone in our national constellation! How different would our history have been, and how we may be, nay, certainly are, hazarding our future when we stand idly by today and permit this infant holocaust to proceed!

"On December 25, 1642, a widow at Woolsthorpe, in Lincolnshire, whose husband had died a few months after their marriage, gave premature birth to a posthumous male child. He was so weak that two women sent to fetch a tonic to revive him did not expect to find him alive on their return. He was so small that he could have been put into a quart mug. So in after days his mother told him. When he grew to manhood he saw an apple fall from a tree in the Woolsthorpe garden: he pondered the matter: by-and-by he propounded the law of gravitation. Sir Isaac Newton was rescued from his infant danger by his mother's love. But who may tell how many an undeveloped philosopher has perished from lack of an intelligent mother's care!"

RECORD OF CHILD-PLACING AGENCIES

BY EDWIN D. SOLENBERGER, GENERAL SECRETARY, CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Since it is essential in dealing with a child to consider the whole family of which he is a part, the record card should contain the family history, as well as the individual items about the child or children in question. The information about the family should include:

The parents' full names; ages; nationality; religion; color; ability to read and write; trade or occupation; income and expenses; earning capacity; a concise statement as to character and habits; physical and mental condition; insurance carried by parents for themselves and children; membership in lodges, clubs, etc.; names of other members of the household and their occupation and relationship to the family; the full names of all the children with dates of birth, baptismal record, grade in school, or occupation if working, and residence if not living at home; the exact present family residence, number of rooms and rent paid; home and neighborhood conditions; previous residences of the family with dates; length of time in city, state, and country and citizenship; names of other near relatives with occupation, kinship, and addresses; names and addresses of present and previous employers of each working member of the family with dates (and departments or foreman in case of large firms or factories); general references; names of churches, charities and others interested in the family; name and addresses of person or agency applying on behalf of the children; and any additional items of information of practical value in making the far-reaching decision for or against relieving parents of the care of their children.

Special note should be made of any defects and disabilities in the family, such as insanity, blindness, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases. If the parents are not living the place and date of their death should be recorded; if deserters, the date and address when last seen and the addresses of persons who may be able to give further information. If the parents are divorced or separated note should be made of the facts in so far as they may affect the future care of the children. In the case of illegitimate children all the foregoing items which are applicable are essential and in addition any special circumstances of the unmarried parents, which ought to be taken into account in reaching a decision as to the best possible plan to be followed for all concerned, should also be recorded. Children should not be classed on the records as foundlings or deserted, until every effort has been made to obtain all of the facts in the case.

In addition to the foregoing family record there should be, either before or at the time when the child is received, a very careful examination by a doctor whose record should contain information in regard to the health, invalidism, and mortality of the child's father, mother, brothers, sisters, uncles and aunts. The medical history of the child itself should include information in regard to convulsions, measles, scarlet fever, diphtheria, fainting spells, snoring, sleeping with mouth open, rheumatism, meningitis, whooping cough, enuresis, other diseases, injuries, and vaccination. The physical examination should contain a statement in regard to the general development of the child determined by careful weighing and actual measurements considered in connection with the age, race and parentage of the child. The doctor should also make a careful note of the nutrition and all that is included therein. The condition of the lymphatic glands, heart, lungs, skin, spine, chest, extremities, eyes and ears should all be carefully recorded. The doctor should also note whether there is otorrhea, either latent or active, and should look for such defects as rupture, enlarged tonsils, post nasal growths, and decayed and irregular teeth. Anything important to be known about the sexual hygiene of the child should be noted and also the use by boys of cigarettes, tobacco and liquor. The doctor should conclude his examination by stating what treatment, if any, is needed.

To supplement the physical record a mental examination should also be made including such medical and social history of the parents and child as is necessary to bring out information in regard to any mental defects that may affect the child. A statement from the teacher and parents should be secured in regard to the general mentality of the child and his school work. His eyesight, hearing, nervous condition, size for his age, physical peculiarities, speech, facial expression, memory, etc. should be noted. This much information ought to be secured whenever possible in regard to all children, but in the case of those who are deficient, backward or delinquent, the examination should go more minutely into the family history, both medically and socially as well as into the personal history of the child. In the case of such children a minute examination of school work, memory, spelling, recognition of coins, judgment, reason, etc., should be carefully noted. These mental examinations should be conducted whenever possible by doctors and trained psychologists, who have given special attention to matters of this kind. The psychological clinics conducted by Professor Lightner Witmer, of the University of Pennsylvania, show what can be done in this direction.

When a home-finding agency has secured and recorded adequate information in regard to the child and has decided to receive it for care, the next important step is to select a family home adapted to the needs of the particular child. To do this we must have on hand complete information about a considerable number of families from which to make a selection.

A family desiring to receive a child should fill out an application blank containing:

The date, both husband's and wife's full names and address, post-office, street number or rural free delivery route number, county, state, nearest railroad station, name of railroad, distance and direction of home from railroad station, nearest town for trading and market purposes, distance from post office if not on rural delivery route; age, sex and color of child desired; religious preference; color of hair and eyes preferred; applicant's experience in the care of young children, and the names and addresses of four persons of good standing in the neighborhood who are acquainted with, but not related to the applicant. Answers are also needed to the following questions: Have other institutions or societies entrusted children to your care? If so, when and how many? Do you have summer boarders? Have you leisure to give the child proper care? Are you able to control an untrained child without corporal punishment? Would you expect to legally adopt the child if it proved satisfactory? Where and with whom would it sleep? Will you treat the child in every way as a member of your family, providing for its physical, mental and moral welfare? Names of members of your family? Ages? Names of any other members of your household excepting hired help? What hired help do you keep regularly and at special seasons? Give sex, age, and character. Do they lodge in house and eat with family? Is any member of your family an invalid? What is your nationality? Occupation of head of the family? Do you own the house in which you live? How many acres of land do you own? What live stock do you have? Describe your financial condition in general terms. Of what church are you a member? What church do you attend? Name and address of pastor of church you attend? How far do you live from the church you attend? Will child attend church and Sunday-school regularly with you? Distance from your home of nearest public school? Parochial school? Is the public school graded? Will you send the child to school as required by the laws of the state? What magazines and newspapers do you receive? How long have you lived in this neighborhood? Do you promise to notify the society immediately of any change of address and not to remove the child beyond the boundaries of the state without our consent? Do you promise not to transfer the custody of the child to any other person without the consent of our society? What is your object in taking a child? Applicants should fill out the blank in ink in their own hand writing and should be assured that the information will be considered confidential. The application should be signed by both the husband and the wife.

The practice of societies differs to some extent in the matter of securing references. If the application seems favorable and worth considering a blank form and a self-addressed stamped envelope may be sent to the persons given by the family as references, asking for confidential information concerning the character, habits and circumstances of the family and their material surroundings. The following questions on the reference blank are likely to bring out much of the desired information if it is asked for in strict confidence:

Will you kindly give us all the information you can of the character and circumstances of M...... and family? Do you know M...... to be of strictly temperate habits and moral character? Is he kind and even tempered? Has he a good, sensible wife? Is she kind and wise with children? Do they live peaceably and happily together? What is their financial condition? Have they a neat, comfortable home? Would you consider it a desirable home for a child? Do they attend church regularly? How long have you known the family? Are you related to them by marriage or otherwise? Please state any further particulars that may throw light on their character and standing.

Experience shows that the replies from the references given by the family very frequently result in the rejection of the application and thus further time and expense is saved; but even favorable reports from such references should by no means be regarded as conclusive. Letters and blanks and return stamped envelopes should next be sent without knowledge of the family to other references, such as doctors, clergymen, bankers, school teachers, members of local committees or others whose names and addresses should be kept on cards in the county index. If the replies from these sources are unfavorable the application should be rejected no matter how laudatory the replies from the family's references may have been.

If, however, the independent references confirm the favorable reports from the family's references, we are ready for the next step—the inspection of the home which is made by sending a trained agent to visit the family. The blank for the use of the agent in reporting on the family and the home surroundings should provide for answers to the following questions:

Full name of husband and wife, exact location of home, a statement as to preference in regard to age, sex, color, religion of child preferred, and terms on which they are willing to take him. Concerning the husband, the agent should be able to answer the following questions: Age? Nationality? Occupation? Salary, if any, $.....? What education has he? Is he intelligent? Does he speak English? Is he trustworthy? Is he frugal? Has he a good moral character? Is he industrious? Is he kind and gentlemanly in his family? Is he kind to his stock? Is he just and considerate to his employees? Is he of a kind and happy disposition? Is he generous and liberal minded? Does he control his temper? Is he a member of any church? If so, what church? Does he attend regularly and does he take an active part in the church work? Has he been previously married? If so, did his first wife or wives die? Was he ever divorced? If so, when, where and by whom was the divorce procured, by himself or his wife? Does he use intoxicating liquors? If so, to what extent? Does he use profane or vile language? Is he neat in his personal appearance? Does he pay his bills promptly? Is he and has he been prosperous in his business? How many children have been born to the family? How many are living? How many are at home? Will he be a good foster parent and will a child under his influence be likely to become a good citizen? Concerning the wife, the agent should be able to give information on the following points: Age? Nationality? What education has she? Is she a woman of good moral character? Is she intelligent? Does she speak English? What is her disposition? Is she inclined to be fault finding? Does she control her temper? Is she neat and orderly? Is she too neat and orderly for the comfort of a child? Does she seem to be painstaking in her work? If she is the support of the family, what is her occupation? Income $.....? Has she property in her own right? Is she a member of any church? If so, what church? Does she attend with reasonable regularity and take any active part in church work? Do she and her husband live happily together? Is this her first husband? Was she ever divorced? If so, when, where, and by whom was the divorce procured, by herself or her husband? Do you consider that she will be a good foster parent? What reputation does the family bear in the neighborhood? In regard to the home itself, the agent should include answers to the following questions: Do they own the home, or other property? If so, value $.....? Is it mortgaged? If so, amount, $.....? Number of acres in farm or premises? Number of rooms in house? Condition of the house as to: Cleanliness? Order? Comfort? Appearance of house, barn, yard, etc.? Where would the child sleep? What newspapers taken? Character of books? Pictures, etc.? Finally, the agent should give general impressions and recommendations. Obviously, it is a delicate and difficult task for an agent to secure all of this information but a large part of it is essential if one is to fit the child and the home together with discrimination.

After the receipt of the application blank a four by six county index card should be filled out containing the applicant's name in full and number; earliest date; nearest railroad station, postoffice, county, state, distance and direction of home from railroad station and rural free delivery number; and the age, sex, color, and religion of child for whom application is made These cards should be filed alphabetically by counties and alphabetically by towns within each county. Colored signal tips fastened on the county index cards can be used to advantage; one color may indicate "all references favorable and home ready for inspection;" another color may be used to indicate "inspection made and home approved and waiting for a child," while additional colors can be used to show various other details incidental to the fitting together of the child and the home. To keep the county index up to date, cards for rejected and withdrawn applications should be promptly transferred to a separate filing case and arranged alphabetically for future reference. Of course for each application a separate folder should be used to contain application blank, letters, references and the agent's report following a visit to the home. Folders containing applications which have been rejected or withdrawn should be placed in a transfer filing case and stored away, and may ultimately be destroyed to save space as the index cards will preserve the essential facts and identify the rejected families if they make another application. When a placement is made the name of the child and date should be entered on the county index card which should then be transferred to the alphabetical file. The colored signal tips can now be removed and to distinguish the approved applications from those rejected or withdrawn another color signal can be used. Since the folder containing the application blanks, references, letters and agents' reports in regard to families who have been entrusted with a child are very important, they should be kept in the permanent files for future reference. If the application folders are filed alphabetically it is convenient to remove from the "application pending" to a separate case, those for families with whom children have already been placed. If the numerical filing system is used the matter of the relationship between the current files and those kept merely for future references can easily be regulated.

When a child is taken to a family home a placement blank should be filled out including:

The date, child's name in full, age, color, and religion; caretaker's names in full, including both husband and wife; their religion; postoffice, rural route number, county, state, nearest railroad station, distance and direction of home from station, name of express company, and name of railway; and name and address of teacher of the school and pastor of the church where child will attend; a statement of the terms on which the child is placed, with special reference to school and church attendance; clothing, medical care, future wages, etc.; and, if the child is to be boarded. the blank should state the rate per week; by whom clothing is to be purchased and paid for; by whom medical care is to be paid and whether checks are to be payable to the husband or wife.

Of course it is not advisable to make these agreements too inflexible for they should take into account the age of the child, his physical strength, his previous training, the amount of attendance at school and many other factors which may have to be considered from year to year. This blank should be signed by the foster parents and countersigned by the agent of the society who makes the placement.

As soon as the placement blank reaches the office a county index card should be filled out, giving the child's full name, number, date of birth and date of legal age, name of family with whom placed, railroad station, postoffice, county, state, railroad, distance and direction of home from nearest railroad station, and name of express company at the station. Additional blank lines should be provided on this card for use as children are sometimes replaced several times before being permanently settled. On the reverse of this card it will be found convenient to keep a statistical record of the visits to the child classified by month and years, and also the name of the visitor. These county index cards of children placed should be filed alphabetically by counties, and alphabetically by towns within the counties. This method makes it possible to see at a glance the exact location of all children under supervision and by means of the color tips the follow-up work and supervision is greatly facilitated. Of course, these cards should be removed and placed in a separate file as soon as a child passes from care.

Societies having under their care several hundred children of school age in family homes will find it convenient to have a special four by six card for each child, on the reverse side of which can be kept a record by months and years of the school and church attendance. The face of this card should contain the full name of the child, number, color, religion, date of birth, date of sixteenth birthday, and a number of spaces to record the names and addresses of the successive school teachers and pastors of the child. In the matter of securing the information for such a record there is a considerable difference in practice between equally good societies. A number of societies send a printed circular to each school teacher, explaining the relationship between the society and its wards enclosing a stamped return envelope and blank conveniently arranged for use in reporting on the attendance, conduct, and scholarship of the child. Additional report blanks and return stamped envelopes are supplied to the teacher each month of the school term. In a similar way quarterly reports are secured from pastors in regard to church and school attendance. Of course, the visitor should call as often as practicable on both pastors and teachers. As it is necessary to avoid advertising in the public school and Sunday-school that the child is a ward of a charitable agency it is very important to send all the communications in a plain envelope and to ask the teacher and pastor and foster parents to regard all correspondence as confidential. For the same reason when visitors from the society call at the school they should be known as a friend of the child rather than as an "orphanage agent" or "aid society lady."

One of the most important records for a placing out agency is doubtless the report of the visitor to a child. Visitors who sustain the right relationship to the children under their care sometimes find it difficult to reduce to writing their intimate knowledge of the child. If the child is under the continuous supervision of one visitor, as it should be, this is not essential, but there are certain things important to be noted each time a child is visited and a blank for this purpose should provide for answers to substantially the following questions:

Date of visit? Full name of child? With whom placed and address in full? Name of nearest and most convenient railroad station? Distance and direction of home from this station? Condition of child as to health? Clothing? Does child sleep alone in a separate room? If not, where and with whom? Is the child happy? Was the child seen alone by the visitor? What work does child do? Any bad habits? Does child attend church? Sunday-school? Day school? Name and address of pastor and denomination? Name of school teacher and address? Condition of the home as to cleanliness, order and comfort? Appearance of house, barns, yards, etc.? Are relations between child and foster parents affectionate and confidential? Is the home adapted to the child? Are the foster parents pleased with the child? Do they wish to legally adopt the child? Have you any new impressions as to the family? What suggestions, if any, were made to the foster parents? Have you any recommendations to the society? Remarks. Signature of visitor.

When a child is removed from a family the agent should make out a removal blank giving date, child's name in full, age, color, and religion; caretaker's names, including both husband and wife, and if child is boarding the name and address of the person to whom any balance due on account is payable with a statement of amount; cause of removal; recommendations as to future placing of child, and fitness of the family to have another child from the society.

Agencies having a large number of children from various sources will find it convenient to have a classification of the sources from which children are received. This can readily be done by putting the name of each child, date received and source, such as county commissioners, district almshouses, juvenile courts, parents, institutions, etc., on separate cards and filing the cards under the different headings. It is easy to add cards when children are received and when they pass from care the cards can readily be removed. This not only makes it possible to know instantly and accurately the number of children in care from each source, but also to immediately tabulate reports to county commissioners, juvenile courts, almshouse authorities, etc., in regard to the particular group of children received from them.

During the process of the original investigation it is best to keep the entire record of a family in one folder, but when any or all of the children are actually received by the society for care it is necessary to have separate folders for each child. In these should be kept the history of the case, the commitment papers or agreement with parents or guardians and a continuation-of-the-record-sheet, showing in outline the subsequent dealings of the society with the child. These folders should also contain all letters, reports from the school teachers and pastors, and from visitors and foster parents and any other important data in relation to the case.

As far as it is practicable to secure it that part of the record system described above which relates to the social and medical history of the family and its members should be included in the records of all agencies dealing with children apart from their parents. Institutions for the care of delinquents and defectives and other special classes of children; juvenile courts and probation officers, and societies to protect children from cruelty will require certain additional or different items to meet their needs. It is important that such records of children in institutions should be kept as will be helpful in selecting with discrimination a family home when the children are placed out. It is not, however, the purpose of this paper to go into details in regard to the important subject of records for institutions, juvenile courts, probation officers and other special child-helping agencies.

What I have written here is intended to be suggestive rather than exhaustive. Lack of space forbids a description of many important parts of an adequate system such, for instance, as the bookkeeping and financial records, blanks and forms for tabulating statistics, and records of the community's child-helping resources and co-operating agencies. Much can be learned from the blanks, forms and filing devices used by successful business and commercial enterprises and valuable suggestions can be secured from experts engaged in the manufacture and sale or modern office furnishings. However, a record system is useful only when it is developed as the result of actual, practical experience and care must be taken to plan and to adapt it to fit the needs of each particular children's agency. There is a practical middle course between those societies and institutions which record little except the names and approximate ages of the children received and those having innumerable unrelated forms and blanks containing a vast amount of irrelevant detail not worth knowing or preserving. In most instances the record system which best serves the practical ends of efficient children's agencies is likely also to contain the data which statisticians and students of social science wish to secure for their purposes.

CHILD PLACING BY VOLUNTEERS

BY MRS. J. H. EVANS, SECRETARY CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY, OIL CITY, PA.

I am asked to tell you briefly something about "Child Placing" as executed by the Children's Aid Society of Western Pennsylvania, and specially of the feature of "Volunteer Work." This body is unique as a charitable organization; it is without a home save the one modest office in the Free Dispensary building in Pittsburgh. It is a chartered society and has auxiliaries working under the charter in twenty-three counties of Western Pennsylvania.

It is twenty-three years since the various auxiliaries took up this work. Most of the children who come to us are from the County Commissioners or Poor Directors, and are taken from the almshouses. Some are placed in boarding homes—that is carefully selected private families, mostly in the country, where we pay a moderate rate of board, until a good permanent home is secured.

When children are given to the society unreservedly as is frequently done, we find them free homes, that is, homes where they are cared for with no expense to the society. If of school age they will be sent to school; if over that age, they will be taught to work and thus fitted to earn their own living. Many who come to us need medical attention and often surgical treatment; these are carefully examined to learn if there is any disease whatever in its incipiency. Some are deficient mentally; these we place in hospitals and institutions. A certain per cent. are adopted.

Those adopted are nearly always the very young. It is seldom we have one adopted after eight years of age. Therefore, we insist upon adoption promptly, after the usual time given in which to decide if the child will suit the place, which is one year.

When anyone applies to us for a child, we require proper credentials as to their fitness, ability, etc., to care for and train a child; we also require three references from people who know these parties intimately, and lastly, the home is investigated. When we are satisfied that the home is a good one in all respects, we give the child to their care conditionally. We are careful to visit the child later on, and if all things are well it is permitted to remain; if not, it is removed. The parties sometimes object to the removal, but we consider the child's interest above all else.

This work has been systematically prosecuted through all these years by women, mothers largely. At the annual meeting of our organization in June last year at Warren, Pa., twelve members were present who had been engaged in the work twenty-three years. Some of us have grown gray in the service, and become grandmothers; in the meantime their interest has never wavered, nor their enthusiasm abated, their labor has been given freely, ungrudgingly and without pay.

Surely mothers with their sympathetic hearts and innate intuition, can get at the facts in the various cases better than all the men in the universe, and we feel the service has been done for the love of humanity, not in the perfunctory way of paid workers along similar lines.

These children not only require food and shelter, but the personal love and care that will develop the mind and heart, the moral as well as intellectual training. The homeless, friendless child needs love and friendship quite as much as it needs bread and meat.

In the organization of this work a small amount of money was appropriated by the legislature, there was then but the one society, with headquarters at Philadelphia; after two or three years it was found this plan was not altogether satisfactory, the distance across our state was so great, and entailed so much time and expense for those who attended the meetings, it was decided to divide the counties into Eastern and Western Pennsylvania, each society then to receive its share of the appropriation. The work of Western Pennsylvania has been faithfully, successfully and systematically done all these years, voluntarily, but now a sound is heard in the top of the mulberry trees. It is claimed that efficient work cannot be done by the volunteers, paid workers are the only ones who can be depended upon, especially those of the masculine gender. At a gathering similar to this some months ago, one speaker stated that "the women engaged in this work were bound to decay," hence their inability to perform the necessary duties pertaining to it; possibly the men have all taken a draught from Ponce de Leon's spring of perpetual youth and will never grow older, at least so long as the salary does not fail. When the women began this work, there was so small a fund to draw upon, and every dollar was needed for the maintenance of the children, that if the workers had required payment the work would soon have languished for lack of funds.

Will paid workers, think you, have the unceasing interest, infinite patience, and earnest desire for the child's well being, as the kindly disposed mothers, who have so long labored for them?

Our work when introduced to the public by a devoted volunteer worker, tends to create a warm personal interest in behalf of the child, enlisting support, and leading to the placing of the child in a good home.

When the work is managed as it should be the volunteer worker has the greater opportunity of winning the child's confidence and trust, and thus, to my mind, insuring a faithful report of the conditions existing in the foster home.

Our system of visiting eliminates all official relations and can be made a friendly, loving co-operation for the best good of the child.

The volunteer worker, who has the confidence of the community in which she lives, has practically no limitations in her work, as she has but to ask and receive. To illustrate this, I will relate a little personal experience. At home, several of our liberal business men, realizing the good we are doing, give us their individual check annually for $25.00. One generous, great-hearted man gives us money at all times and upon all occasions. If he chances to meet the treasurer, he inquires, "How is your work coming on?" And jokingly says, "I fear you are neglecting the babies. I have not given you money in a long time." Then he reaches in his vest pocket and produces either a five or ten-dollar bill. If the secretary inserts a notice in the daily papers, asking for clothing, he immediately telephones her to go to a certain department store and get whatever is needed and have the bill sent to him, adding, "He don't like to think those children are not properly clothed." On one occasion meeting the president and secretary, who happened to be on their way to a meeting of the society, said, "What is new in the Children's Aid Work? Don't you need some money?" Then he began searching his vest pocket, and brought forth a bank note, twisted it up and tucked it in the president's glove. It proved to be of the $10.00 value. I have heard members of other auxiliaries testify of similar kindnesses. The average amount each auxiliary receives from the state appropriation is $100.00 per year, one or two counties reecive more, Allegheny County, with the large territory it covers, is one, and Fayette, which is largely a mining county, another. Besides the $100.00 from the state we have the membership fee of $1.00 each. The various auxiliaries give entertainments to augment their funds, but fortunately our many benevolent friends have kept us supplied with funds, which enables us to do so large amount of work. I am confident a paid worker in our county at least, would not meet with the hearty support tendered us.

The one important desire of Western Pennsylvania is to perfect the township representation in each county, this will eventually be accomplished, so that each township will have its Children's Aid representatives prepared to visit and report to the county organization. This system, when perfected, we are sure will result in the opening of many homes, and insure to the society the careful oversight of the child, and safe guarding from abuse. One of our counties has this plan in excellent working order and finds it most helpful.

Since our organization 5,820 children have been under our care; of this number 95 per cent. have turned out well. During the last ten months to April 1st, 1,100 have been under our care. With all the work accomplished there have been just two paid workers, the Actuary who is employed by Western Pennsylvania, and who devotes all her time to the office work, and the Secretary of Allegheny County, who likewise spends her entire time in the office. Can any organization produce a better showing?

Conventions are helpful, both individually and collectively, in whatever line of work we may be engaged, and we are hopeful that we may each receive from this meeting much to stimulate and benefit.

DISCUSSION

HENRY W. THURSTON, Chicago:—I find myself in hearty sympathy and agreement with several fundamental points in the paper presented by Mrs. Evans. I find myself also desirous to ask several questions suggested by the paper, as I am in need of more light on the actual method of child placing by volunteers, as carried on in Western Pennsylvania, and, in the third place, I have certain personal convictions which I should like to state as briefly as possible, in regard to the whole subject under discussion.

First, as to the points on which I agree with Mrs. Evans, there is no doubt that foster children are in great need of personal love and friendship, as well as good food, good clothing and a good bed. The necessity of securing this for every foster child in our care, cannot be over estimated. A pathetic example of this in my own experience occurred within the month, where a girl who had been placed in a very well appointed home, and had opportunities for music, theatre, automobile riding and good schooling, ran away from the home because her foster mother did not say goodbye to her in response to her own goodbye, as she was leaving for school at noon. A young boy or girl can hardly grow to normal maturity without affection and sympathy from some older person.

I also agree most heartily that mothers are, by nature and experience, especially well qualified to give this friendship and sympathy to foster children whom they are visiting and supervising in foster homes.

But, when I come to the questions which I desire to ask, one will be, is the mother the only person who can give such friendship and sympathy?

Again, I agree with the position that a social work that can enlist a large number of devoted volunteers, tends, by virtue of that fact, to enlist the hearty personal and financial support of the general public, who know of such volunteer service. It is indeed a truism that no cause can permanently prosper in America without the approval of public opinion. There can be no question, therefore, that a cause which commands the services of a devoted band of volunteers in every community is thereby in so far helped toward genuine success. The chief questions that can be raised in connection with the volunteers are, how should they be used, and are they sufficient of themselves?

It is undoubtedly true, also, that volunteers who are supervising the care of children in the homes of their neighbors, are able to enter these homes and to meet both the foster child and the foster parents on terms of pure neighborliness and friendship. In short, I agree absolutely with the fundamental position of Mrs. Evans' paper that a large body of volunteers is an asset of the greatest value to the work of placing homeless children in foster homes in any part of the country.

On the other hand, as I have already intimated, is it true that fathers are incapable of understanding and sympathizing with the nature of say, a foster boy from the age of eight to eighteen years of age? Is it true that the mother is the only person who can give to such boy the friendship and sympathy which he needs? Or, to carry the query one step further, is it true that unmarried men and women who are not so far removed from their own childhood as to forget how they felt as boys and girls, are so incapable of understanding the lives of boys and girls that they can not be of sympathetic and friendly help to them? I, for one, am not ready to admit, much as I admire motherhood, that either fathers or unmarried men and women are incapable of showing such sympathy and friendship. Similarly do I find myself unwilling to agree with Mrs. Evans in her position that paid workers are incapable of efficient service in the placing and supervision of foster children. If they are what are we to say of the paid service of the lawyer, the doctor, the school teacher, the trained nurse and the minister? There is good old-fashioned scriptural authority for the belief that the "laborer is worthy of his hire," and it will be a sad day for all of us if it becomes no longer possible for men and women to get a living by performing those services which they would prefer of all things in the world to do for the fun of it, if they didn't have to do them for a living.

Mrs. Evans tells us that the work of the volunteer can be wholly upon the neighborly and friendly basis, and yet she states that a child that is a misfit in a family is always removed, sometimes against the objections of the foster parents. It is not quite clear to me how in such a case, a volunteer can remove the child on a purely friendly and neighborly basis. It seems to me rather, that the paid worker, if of the right sort, would be able the more easily to remove the child from the home because of the fact that his relations with the family were confined to those which had to do with the welfare of the child, and not embarrassed by those very same neighborly relations, which under other circumstances, would be helpful.

Again, I find this query coming into my mind—perhaps because I am not sufficiently familiar with the actual system of volunteer workers in Western Pennsylvania—in what way is the continuity of supervision of all the children in a community provided, when this supervision is furnished only by a mother who has her own household and children to care for, and during the years has from time to time to bear the burdens of maternity? One of the essentials of successful supervision of children in foster homes is that upon the first intimation of need on the part of the child, or of incompatibility between the foster parents and the child, the supervising agent shall be able to go at once to the foster home and adjust whatever difficulty has arisen before it becomes serious. From this point of view it is not clear to me how a volunteer body of workers can always give that prompt, continuous supervision which the situation demands.

I desire also to be more particularly informed as to the methods followed by the Western Pennsylvania Society in establishing and maintaining a uniform standard of homes, medical care, schooling, religious opportunities and other essentials respecting the homes and the children that are under their supervision. Possibly this query also would not arise were I more familiar with the exact method followed by the volunteers in question. A like inquiry may be made relative to the statistics of success which are given in the paper under discussion. How was the standard of success established? Who judges whether or not an individual child has reached the standard and by whom were the facts gathered on which the statement is based that success was reached in 95 per cent of the 5,820 children that have been cared for by the Childrens' Aid Society of Western Pennsylvania in the last 23 years? So far as my observation goes in the statistics of juvenile delinquency and dependency, all statements giving certain percentages of success are worth comparatively little without a very definite explanation of both the standard of success and the methods in detail of determining whether or not this standard has been reached. In other words, there is as yet, at least between different organizations in different states, no common standard, either of what constitutes success or of the evidence that should be demanded to prove that individual children have reached such a standard.

Coming now to the third division of my discussion, namely: the presentation of some theses relative to the work of child placing and supervision in which I personally believe, I may sum up both my approval and my criticism of the paper under discussion.

Volunteer service alone, in comparison with paid service alone, or with paid service combined with volunteer service, is as a rule less continuous, less sympathetic and less efficient. The truth of this thesis in the probation work of the juvenile court of Chicago, over a ten year period, was strikingly shown recently, in a study of all the delinquent boys who came into the court from its beginning in July, 1899, to July 1909, with a special intensive study of the cases that came through in 1903 and 1904. This study showed that the supervision given by volunteer probation officers, compared with either paid police probation officers or paid officers who were not police, was less uniform in quality and was less effective in either curing the boy of delinquency or of keeping track of his whereabouts. Of course this experience in the field of probation does not prove that a similar showing would be made in the field of child placing, but it certainly raises a strong presumption that such would be the case. So far as I have had any experience or observation of the work of volunteers, and my observation has not been confined to Chicago, but has extended to many other cities, the work of the volunteer, to be most effective, needs to be supplemented, directed and unified by the work of a regular officer in the same field. Where there is a sufficient number of regular officers to take care of the child without volunteers, and also to keep in close touch with the volunteers, there can be much more efficient work done than the volunteers could do alone or the regular officers could do alone. In other words, the volunteers are very poor substitutes for regulars, but invaluable assistants.

Again, in regard to the inspection and supervision of the social work, both of volunteers and of regular paid workers, the time has passed to seek to avoid publicity and responsibility. I do not mean by this that the confidences of officers, parents and foster children are to be betrayed, but rather that the proper authorities, preferably those of the state, are always to be welcome, and that our methods of selecting homes, of placing children within the homes, and of supervision of those children after they have been placed in homes, are to be an open book, to those who have the right to inspect. in other words, an undue sensitiveness to criticism and an unwillingness to give complete publicity in a proper and legal manner is hereafter likely to be interpreted merely as a sign of weakness and inefficiency.

As to the public support of social service, the experience of a great variety of forms of social service disproves the statement that such support depends upon its being rendered by volunteers. Public support is in the last analysis given for real or supposed efficiency, and cannot be permanently maintained upon any other basis.

Again, the placing of a dependent child in the neighborhood of its own home is as a rule wise and successful only when it is desirable to maintain the personal relationships of the child, either with its parents or with some local friends or relatives. In those many cases where a child has been taken by a court order from immoral, cruel, or persistently drunken relatives, the welfare of the child demands that the foster home be found at such a distance from its own home that interference from its unworthy relatives shall be unlikely. Unless the work of the Childrens' Aid Society in Western Pennsylvania follows this method in such cases, their work is distinctly less likely to turn out well for the child.

In a word, it is my profound belief that while volunteer service in the care of dependent children has necessarily come first in many communities and should never be eliminated from the child-placing work of any community, the highest success demands that this volunteer service should be supplemented as soon as possible by expert, well organized and paid service. To stop short of supplementing volunteer service in child placing by such expert, well organized and paid service is as unwise as it would be in the field of home nursing, hospital service, education, poor relief, or war.

REV. BRO. BARNABAS.—There can be no proper objection to volunteer work in child placing. Both volunteer work and paid or professional work seem to be necessary and right. But it must always be remembered that neither a volunteer nor a paid worker is fit for so high a task unless he puts into the work not only his brain but his heart and soul. Only one who is capable of making sacrifice, in season and out of season, can do justice to the work.

Much experience is required to fit one to supervise or inspect the placing out of children. Such experience should be gained in the field, in canvassing for homes and placing children in them. I should consider the experience of finding homes for and placing at least one hundred children should be required. Only after such an amount of experience is one fitted for an inspection that can take in all the aspects of the case—the responsibility of the bureau, the character and needs of the child, and the condition and character of the foster family.

HELPING WIDOWS TO BRING UP CITIZENS*

BY MISS ALICE L. HIGGINS, SECRETARY, AND MISS FLORENCE WINDOM, AGENT, ASSOCIATED CHARITIES OF BOSTON.

Dependent widows, with their children, are a charge upon the community in a deeper sense than any other type of family coming under its charitable care. A woman upon whom is thrust the double burden of father and mother to children whose character determines, in due measure, the future character of the state, makes a double appeal to our sympathy and our self interest. How can we best fulfil our obligation to her and to them?

Let us assume that she, whom we may call an ideal widow, strong physically and morally, with children who are normally bright and obedient, should keep all her children, and be supplied with whatever income she lacks in order to hold a proper standard of health and efficiency. Probably all will agree that for such a family the mother is not only the best but the only one to be considered as fitted to bring up the children.

But how shall we make our plan to help in these, and also in the far more common instances where difficulties of character, temperament or health have to be overcome? Even in the cases which present difficulties, it is assumed, in this paper, that these difficulties are not to be regarded from the very beginning as insurmountable, though it is true that they will soon become so under the old-fashioned policy of planning from week to week and looking no farther ahead.

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*This paper was read at a joint section meeting with committee on Families and Neighborhoods.

It must be admitted that the difficulty of bringing up dependent, fatherless children to independence and an intelligent maturity is great. Whoever undertakes to do or direct it, must be thorough.

A plan there must be from the very beginning, a plan flexible enough to allow for the unexpected and based, moreover, on the most thorough knowledge of the problem which is obtainable. There should be knowledge of the family history, so that special capacities may be recognized, and possible dangers avoided. Part of Boston's fight against tuberculosis has been carried on by having children examined whose parents were known to have had the disease, and by following this by remedial or precautionary treatment when found necessary. This holds not only in other health matters but in matters of taste and in capacity for training as well. The inheritance of each child becomes, according as we recognize or ignore it, our help or our hindrance. Then there should be thoughtful consultation with relatives, not merely to give them an opportunity to help materially, but to take advantage of their past experience and to win for our plans the weight of their influence. Especially valuable with fatherless boys, sometimes, is the moral influence of male relatives. We know one, Malachi, who at the age of thirteen has had considerable experience at court and on probation and has been quite a handful, for his mother and the volunteer friendly visitor, but he is improving now, under the influence of his brother-in-law, a teamster. It is often a most wise beginning of one's plan to move the family into the near vicinity of interested relatives of good moral fibre.

In this connection it may be questioned if it is far-seeing charity to support by pension a widow with her children in the most crowded and expensive city districts, when they might be sent to some country town or village, where the cost of living is less and the chances of health greater. A committee of the Boston Associated Charities has recently begun to consider these widow families with relatives in the country. For example, Mrs. Gay, whose three little children are delicate, two showing tendencies toward tuberculosis, of which the father died, has been asked by her husband's relatives to come to their country town, where she can have a separate tenement under the same roof with them for $6 a month, and a factory job paying $6 a week, which an aunt is giving up. The aunt will stay at home and look after the children while the mother is at work, while the wife of another relative offers to make the children's clothes. At the same time a competent social worker living in the town is willing to keep a watchful eye upon the family and report progress. All this seems to the committee to fit together like a picture puzzle, the only flaw being that the woman will not consider going. But the importance of healthful surroundings to these children is such that the committee feels justified in forcing the issue, by withholding aid, if necessary, and by asking the church and public relief officials to withhold it also.

Next to relatives, our most important allies are clergymen, church visitors, school teachers and former employers. The co-operation of the church in making plans assures also its co-operative handling of any material relief given from church funds, and it is unnecessary to add that un-co-operative relief from diverse sources can wreck the wisest plan ever devised.

There should be a good understanding with school teachers, who have rare opportunity to know not only the character and capacity of their scholars but the quality of the home care and discipline. Former employers of the man or woman can add important items to the family history. Moreover their interest often leads them to give, and some times they become friendly visitors to the family, which is the best of all. All these people can help in so many ways, beside materially, that we must know them, if possible, as well as know about them.

The present physical condition of each member of the family should of course be understood,—whether the mother is worn out by caring for her husband in his illness, and whether the tenement and surroundings are healthy and the influence of the neighborhood good.

But to return to our plan based upon knowledge, it cannot be too much emphasized that each family must be dealt with as an intensely individual problem. The plan should include the interest of relatives and others who have known the family before it became dependent; it should also provide for healthful environment, active connection with the family's church, regular attendance at school, selected employment in amount sufficient and not too much, appropriate recreation for mother and children, nourishing food, careful expenditures, adequate budget and progressive ideals. This plan should be carefully explained to the widow herself, for without understanding it she can hardly be expected to co-operate. There is rarely anything that it is wise to conceal from her in our reasons for doing or leaving undone.

One practical detail of treatment which has sometimes been overlooked until too late, is the need of explaining the fact that a pension given to a widow ceases upon her marrying a second time. The Carnegie Hero Fund, which gives $20 a month to one of our widows and $5 a month to each of her children under sixteen, guards somewhat formally against any misunderstanding on this point. Each month the mother fills out a blank to the effect that she does not intend marrying again, which is duly sworn to in the presence of a notary public, before the money is given her.

The first question to consider, after regular relief on a pension basis has been decided upon, is whether it should be a full pension or whether the widow should be encouraged to earn. At a recent meeting of the District Secretaries of the Boston Associated Charities the employment of widows was discussed. Most of the secretaries felt that a day or two of work a week outside, was really better for the mother than to keep her always at home, for life can be too dull some times, even in a tenement, and except where there is a young baby, this can be managed by putting the children below school age into a day nursery or in care of relatives or reliable neighbors. If the woman lives in a street where most of the women with husbands earn some money, or if the widow herself has earned before her husband's death, it becomes unnatural in her eyes and those of her neighbors, to earn nothing. The widows known to the Associated Charities, even those with large families, if in good health, are earning something. Although the amount be small, sometimes not more than a dollar a week, it gives the mother a stronger influence with her children and calls forth a special loyalty from them. Some social workers feel that, when the children become of school age, the mother may safely work most of the time. But it would seem that then, when the girls and boys are between eleven and sixteen, they need a well-kept home even more than in the earlier years, especially as this is the period when waywardness often begins, and the children need a mother not too worn out to be able to rise to a moral crisis.

All this in an intensely individual matter, however, a matter for delicate adjustment between strength and home conditions. It should always be kept clearly in the woman's mind that the main object in whatever she does is the bringing up of her children. This has evidently escaped the mind of Mrs. R., who has three sons bringing in a weekly income of $32, but who still goes out every day to increase it by $7, leaving her youngest boy of twelve to shift for himself and get his own lunches. No one can persuade her that the successful bringing up of this boy is worth more than $7 a week.

Some of our day nurseries try to guard the homekeeping habit in their mothers by admitting children only on condition that the mother stay at home one day a week beside Sunday. One of our district conferences plans, whenever giving a pension, to have the mother of a family at home at least two days a week. Most of the child-helping agencies in Boston view the child problem, first and always, as a family problem, and they and the Associated Charities confer together constantly. They make a point of knowing personally all the relatives within reach. This is also true of most of the day nurseries. Five of the nursery committees have met together in a fortnightly committee with other representative social workers, for three years to consider their nursery applications from a family point of view and to decide whether admission to a nursery is the best form of relief for the family. When the committee first started, an interesting economic question was raised in the consideration of a family in which three children had been placed in the nursery at a cost to the community of $2 a week each (total $6), in order that their mother might go out and earn $4 a week.

In such union committees and in less formal conferences we have been learning from one another, and have balanced different so-called points of view so often that they have come to be different angles of the same view point. The interests of the child and family are seen to be identical; mother and children are kept together for the good of both; and when those instances of sad necessity are found in which mother and children must be separated, it is still for the good of the mother, the children, and the families of which later they may become the heads.

We have said that the Boston district secretaries favored some employment for the widow. In considering available work they condemned office cleaning in the early morning and late evening hours, between which the woman does a full day's work at home, the lost sleep seldom being made up. This work also leads them by saloons and other temptations at night or early morning, wears out their knees and inflames the skin by the kind of soap generally used. The cleaning of cars in train yards and stations was also disapproved for its rough associations, and all felt that the taking of men lodgers was dangerous. This feeling is shared by several agencies which refuse relief when lodgers are taken.

Better occupations were thought to be work in noon-day restaurants, sewing, taking children to board, market gardening for Italians, and going out to work in private houses by the day, for in well ordered systematic homes the friendly interest of the employer is often helpful. Tailors give finishing work to women to take home, but this is rarely well paid, and the "sweat shop" must be guarded against.

Equal care should be taken in selecting work for the boys and girls when the work-certificate age approaches. Their health, aptitudes and desires are all important. Should marked abilities be given special training when the family is dependent? A well-known child saving expert has said, "No child should be exploited industrially for the temporary advancement of the family." We must all agree with this statement, and with the further one that "Boys and girls have a right to expect guidance in choosing their work; if their parents are not equipped to give this guidance, or their parents are not living, then some one else must give it."

There is no more serious parting of the ways in the task of bringing up citizens than in the selection of their occupations, for at this point we stand with the "dead-end" occupation, the moral toboggan slide, the industrial anaesthetic on one side, and with regular hours, discipline, training on the other. Of all this, we, as social workers, are only just learning how monumental our ignorance really it.

In fact, however important questions of adequate investigation and of adequate relief, this matter of adequate supervision is even more so. Supervising, indeed, might often better be called sympathizing,—a friendly influence that surrounds the family, and is constructive because it understands. For example, Mary and Helen, two sisters, show such widely different capacities that while Helen is being trained for housework, Mary is helped to go through college, where she takes honors and is preparing to teach. Only a very personal knowledge of the situation could have discriminated thus wisely, and only an agency without hampering rules and restrictions could exercise such powers of discrimination freely.

The history of our effort to help Mrs. G., whose husband died in 1896, illustrates this. The children at that time were three little girls, aged ten, five and one year, and two boys, eight and three, in all, five children under eleven. The public relief officials began to give $2 a week, and when we visited, shortly after, we at once introduced a volunteer visitor. After a few weeks' acquaintance with the mother, who was then thirty-five, we felt that her reliability, judgment and intermittent weakness, justified the following proposition to the officials: As the mother earned a little, received $4.50 a week board from a cousin and some aid from a sister in domestic service, and believed she could manage if $3 a week were added in relief, and the church promised to give $1 a week of this, we agreed to replace the $2 in groceries given by the public officials, by $2 in cash given by a private individual. Our offer was cordially accepted. With necessary modifications this plan was continued for seven years and a half, and it was possible to discontinue all relief at the end of the eighth year, when the oldest child was eighteen and the youngest nine.

Few families of five children in any circumstances have an unbroken career of health and progress, and the treatment of the "G.'s" has had to be elastic in the extreme. There was much illness, but in reviewing the treatment carefully, it does not seem to have been preventable. The oldest girl was rather slow in getting under way, bronchitis, tonsilitis, etc., interfering. When fifteen she began as an errand girl at $2.50, then earned $4 in a department store; at the age of twenty she earned $6 a week, and studied stenography in the evenings. She is now doing extremely well in a trusted position as book-keeper and stenographer. The oldest boy, poor fellow, had a hard time. He broke his hip when away on a country vacation in 1897, broke his leg in 1901, and was run into by an automobile in 1904. Recovering from this accident, he had a news stand in one of the hotels; he always went to work with great courage after each hard experience, and then struggling at the last against an incurable kidney trouble, died when twenty-one. The next girl was frequently under the doctor's care, and was given, as were the other children, summer vacations yearly and long-term board in the country when necessary. Finally, she was operated on for tuberculous glands and last May was sent by the friendly visitor to Ireland. Reports are received of her increased weight and health on the farm, from which she expects shortly to return. The next boy, in addition to the usual childish diseases, lost the sight of one eye, but is doing well and is reported by his employer to be one of his best workers. The youngest, now fifteen, is in the high school, as the mother and friendly visitor have never believed in children going to work too young.

Of food there was never any dearth. The mother is an excellent cook, and always had the children go home to luncheon. This, however, meant that the home was carried on in one of the most congested districts in the city, and probably today we should insist upon removal from the tenement, whereas, ten years ago we only advised it. The visitor in this family planned with the mother, at every turn, followed closely the children's school and industrial work, saw that glasses were procured at the right time, consulted with the doctor often, stimulated endeavor, and yet was wise enough to leave their power of initiative intact.

The mother's own share was a large one. To bring up five children, whose accidents and delicacy required so much to be done for them, without more serious character complications than was evidenced by the statement of the "fresh air" hostess that two of the children were querulous and selfish, is a crown for any mother anywhere.

The bringing up of fatherless children is a charge on the community we said; too big and complex a charge, we repeat, to be met by mere money or the sympathy of employed visitors. Not because the sympathy of the paid visitor is less vivid, but as Drummond said, "no mother could love a million," and no human visitor can know intimately of a hundred families those joys, sorrows and talents, which together make up personality, though this is perfectly possible for the visitor of two or three. The appeal of these widows and their children is not only to the pocketbook of our civilization, but to the heart, the service, the mind and the patience.

The visitor is often able to see and avert a pending danger when the mother might not; such as nervous break-down, debt, bad habits in children, late hours, tea drinking, neglect of teeth or eyes; and when the children go to work she can follow them and see if it is wholesome work and enlist the interest of the employer. One of our visitors arranged for a perfect probation for a small boy, who had been truant, by detailing some member of his family to go with him each day to school, thus making the moral crisis of the boy a family responsibility. Another persuades a mother to go to church with her children, and also plans some diversion for her leisure. Visitors teach the children to do their share of the work at home, relieving the mother and increasing their own sense of responsibility, and on the other hand, see that they do not work too hard. Phillips Brooks said that the things which make a man rich are "the spirit of independence, the light of intelligence, and the love of struggle,"—and it is a task of real dignity and beauty to discover and encourage these things, which do exist in nearly all our little future citizens, even if they are obscured by the unequal conditions of life, and are threatened by a temporary dependence.

THE FIVE CENT THEATRE*

BY MRS. W. I. THOMAS, CHICAGO, ILL.

The man who said "Let me write the ballads of a country and I care not who makes its laws" expressed, in part, one of the most important social propositions that has ever been stated. It contains a condensed suggestion of the whole question of conscious and unconscious influence, of emotional incentive as over against formulated morality.

The most casual survey of the history of society is sufficient to show us the part emotion has played in all the great happenings of the world—the emotion of an individual or of small groups transferred by a sort of contagion to the masses, and crystallized into some definite ideal of patriotism, or religion, or of social responsibility.

In all states of society dramatic representation has been most effectively used for expressing the things that were persistently present in public consciousness. Even in the crudest organization of tribal life the dance and the pantomime were employed for conveying to the group some idea of the relation of man to the supernatural world, of the significance of tribal activities, or for definitely inspiring the youth with patriotic fervor by representations of victories and achievements in war and the hunt. By imitating the movements and voices of birds and animals; by indicating the discovery and subjection of a concealed enemy; or by gestures and postures describing the daily occupations of the women, such as carrying water, collecting berries, preparing food, and caring for offspring, the common level of daily living was lifted up into the region of imagination, and the cohesion and interdependence of group life was demonstrated.

In the case of war dances and representations of the struggles and victories of the tribe, the intention to influence the adolescent boys was so definite that in some groups these ceremonies were called "making young men."

Greek drama was a distinct outgrowth of the songs and dances in honor of Dionysus, and became not only one of the most splendid creations of the human intellect, but the accepted medium through which ideals of patriotism and of individual behavior and responsibility were impressed upon the people. The Greek theatre was a state institution, "part of the constitution"; and perhaps no one will ever be able fully to estimate the effect upon Greek life of repeated public representations of legendary tales and social and historic happenings, so colored and moralized as to render them vehicles for conveying great ethical lessons or profound philosophical ideas.

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*This paper was read at a joint meeting with the committee on The School and the Community.

The fundamental principle of proportion as developed in Greek art was also carried over into the region of behavior—"measure in all things" was the legend upon the front of the Delphian temple, and Greek drama is filled with one tragic instance after another of "pride humbled and greatness brought to naught", of the punishments that follow impious presumption and self assertion, of the fate that awaits "those who dare to lift their hearts too high."

Even in the comedies Aristophanes exposed and rebuked the faults of society, giving what some one has called "the everlasting allegory of foolish sham and flimsy ambition."

The morality and miracle plays and the masque were the popular and effective medium for the expression of simple moral propositions in the early periods of English drama; and the stage has remained a recognized vehicle for the transmission of ethical ideas, in spite of a modern tendency to subvert it to purposes of mere entertainment and amusement. In fact we have largely ignored the value of emotion throughout the whole field of modern education, and have turned over to managerial thrift the entire machinery of appeal through dramatic representation.

We read Wordsworth's "Ode" with its exquisite treatment of the child's instinct for dramatic expression,—its pictures of "the little actor" playing in the light of his parents' eyes, and bringing into the region of his own existence all the experiences "that life brings with it in its equipage"—

"A mourning or a festival,
A wedding or a funeral,
. . . .
As if his whole vocation
Were endless imitation."

In our own nurseries we recognize and encourage this dramatic quality,—almost the first conscious act of a baby is one of imitation—to gurgle an attempt at parental nomenclature, or to tell "what the kitty says", of "the bow wow", or the "moo-cow". One of the most important functions of a father is to "play bear", or serve as a beast of burden; while in the long and intimate hours of motherhood one learns to be almost "any old thing"—a lady receiving guests or a grocery man selling goods, and to descend with ease and agility from a queenly throne to become the hopeless but struggling victim of a plump and pink policeman—a small policeman whose innocuousness is strangely suggestive of the type. But in the so-called world of real education the process becomes a dull and dulling one; an existence which seems to be occupied for the most part with the storing up of uncorrelated facts, takes the place of one in which impression and original and imitative experiences have formed the medium of connection with the external world.

After the kindergarten there is no more play, no more emotion, in connection with either the theory of life or the technique of living.

The emotional power is there unstimulated, the dramatic instinct unemployed, the imagination unappealed to; and the whole morale of life is strangely changed—the charming little make-believes and pretenses can no longer be practiced—in fact they are sternly frowned upon and placed in very ugly categories,—"Shades of the prison house begin to close" so very early!

In a simpler and more rural state of society the normal activities of the home supplied to the child at least an opportunity for interest in fundamental processes and for participation in productive work, under more or less stimulating conditions,—at any rate, under conditions that had not been robbed of their human and social elements. In the organization and centralization of modern industries radical changes have come about in the home and social life of working people which have profoundly affected young life and energies by the abstraction from the home of those activities in which children were producers along with their parents.

In city life the situation has become one in which the child has no outlets for his physical energies except very artificial ones, and little emotional incentive of a natural and wholesome sort.

At this point enter the cheap theatre! Commercialism, casting about for a medium, had hit upon Hamlet's device—"the play's the thing"—and the cheap theatres that flourish by thousands throughout the country testify to the wisdom of this reckoning. By day and by night young people throng these places of amusement to feed their imaginations upon the cheap and sordid, or vicious, things presented there. The dullness of school, the irritations and brutalities of home, the hardship of work, are forgotten during the hours spent in this "house of dreams," as Miss Addams has called it. But into these moments of imagination and emotion no idealism is injected; the function of drama is there without its intention. We have turned over to these mere "promoters of pleasure" an educational medium that is historic, and we are just beginning to realize the loss to childhood and to the community that has come about through our failure to engage the imaginative and imitative and creative faculties of young minds. The records of our juvenile courts; the admissions of girls and boys in regard to their own wrong doing; the comments of hundreds of school children in themes on the subject, and the observation of numberless interested people—parents, school teachers and settlement workers—all reveal conditions in connection with the cheap theatre problem so grave and widespread as to make it important to bring the subject before this Conference, for consideration by those most interested in children's welfare.

In discussing this question we must frankly admit that the cheap theatre has met a long felt need for an inexpensive form of amusement for the people. In America we have entirely neglected this field. We have been in the habit of taking our pleasures through the sad medium of the Sunday school picnic, or the effusively patriotic Fourth of July celebration. The trail of the Puritan and the pioneer is over the whole dreary standard of American industrial and middle class life. We have few holidays and no bright gala day costumes or folk dances; in our playground festivals we depend entirely upon our friends from over the seas for all the high lights and picturesque touches and social games and dances. Instead of these we have permitted a form of amusement which is entirely passive in its nature to capture the country. We are allowing ignorant and irresponsible persons to apply the emotional stimulus at a point where there is no chance to transmute feeling into social values, and in situations where the only outlet for emotion aroused is apt to be through sex experiences or questionable and criminal adventures.

In all these cases it is easy to see that the unemployed imaginations of the girls and boys reacted promptly to the particular stimuli applied; and the conclusion is that the response would have been equally certain to stimuli of another order. A realization of the harm that was being done through this class of suggestion led, in Chicago, to an attempt to supervise the shows, but the legislation secured is inadequate, since it does not cover the posters, vaudeville features, and songs, nor the social situation, which holds many dangers (audience joining in chorus, etc.; body of house dark during performance; familiarity on part of managers and employes; conditions in dressing rooms; child labor; begging outside; admission of children to last performance at reduced rates.)

On the economic side there are many abuses, also. (Extravagance, idleness and craving for adventure. Stealing and begging money for admissions.)

On the physical side nervous excitability and demoralization of habits of study; dissatisfaction with normal life and demand for amusement.

Attempts have been made at improvement—Children's Theatre of New York—theoretically sound—Mrs. Hamlin's work in South Chicaga, a return to the original use of the drama.

In the face of all these findings a question naturally arises as to the responsibility of organized society toward the situation. First of all, we must admit that amusements are needed, and must try to supply active and wholesome ones. The South Park Commisssioners in Chicago are preparing an annual report in which they give an interesting table of figures on the reduction of the juvenile delinquency in the neighborhoods of the small parks and playgrounds, which seem to me the most vital statistics I have almost ever read. The outlet for the physical energies of girls and boys supplied by play activities; the discipline and control developed in connection with organized gymnasium work; the ability to do team work, and the bathing habit acquired in the gymnasium, together with the personal relationships established between directors and pupils all have ethical value that can never be accurately measured.

In quite the same spirit we must admit the need of enlisting the imagination and the aesthetic instinct, and must invite these qualities to our aid in reviving an interest in work. We must inject into our civic consciousness the idea that a city is not just a center of commercial activity, of material development—a system of parks and boulevards, a collection of libraries and museums—but in its highest meaning a city is an expression of the life of its people. We must never for a minute release our municipalities from the obligation Miss Addams lays upon them—their "responsibility in regard to the life of the streets and the provisions for public recreation and amusement."

We must put into civic instruction some of the meaning it had in primitive society, and employ it for the definite purpose of "making young men"—and young women. We must recognize the historic function of drama, and seek to restore some of its early value and intention.

If it be true, as many psychologists hold, that the whole question of development is largely one of the attention, our duty becomes a simple one—to supply in the education and recreation of our young people proper models and ideals, and to provide them with opportunities for normal experience.

THE STATUS OF THE JUVENILE COURT IN THE EXERCISE OF THE FUNCTIONS OF THE STATE AS THE ULTIMATE PARENT OF ITS CHILDREN

BY HON. HARRY D. JEWELL, GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.

I am asked by the chairman, as a representative of one of the smaller cities,—a community of less than two hundred thousand in the county comprising the jurisdiction of the court,—to consider this subject from the view point of the rural community.

According to the census of 1900, only eleven of the one hundred larger cities of the United States had more than three hundred thousand population, and only eight others had more than two hundred thousand, while of the remaining eighty-one out of the hundred only a few had more than one hundred thousand and several had less than forty thousand each. When we recall these figures we must necessarily appreciate that the so-called "rural community" comprises a very large percentage of the area of the country and the inquiry at once arises whether the problems connected with the juvenile court have been considered from this broader view point, or more narrowly, with reference to the needs of the very large cities. The time has now arrived when it should be appreciated that the rural communities, or those having smaller population centers, are just as vitally interested in these problems.

From this broader view point I desire cordially to endorse and commend, in the main, the suggestions of Mr. Flexner in his most excellent paper. I desire further, even at the cost of a few seconds of the time allotted me, to express a sincere appreciation of the valued assistance rendered by those who have been studying these problems from a purely disinterested and unselfish standpoint and giving the benefit of their comprehensive study to those more directly interested, as Mr. Flexner has done.

A firm foundation is laid when it is shown to be conceded that the state is the "ultimate parent of all children within its borders." With this established it becomes a narrower and more concrete question to consider the status of the juvenile court in the exercise of the functions of the state as the "superior parent." It is obvious that the judicial machinery should be consistent with the ideals sought to be accomplished. The jurisdiction should therefore be placed in courts having chancery or equity powers and procedure and not courts of criminal jurisdiction. Courts having probate jurisdiction have as a rule such procedure and equipment and jurisdiction of somewhat similar matters which naturally equip them to assume this jurisdiction. They have as a rule jurisdiction co-extensive with the county and their procedure is uniform throughout the state. With such a system state and inter-state conferences may more easily be arranged and more helpful co-operation and uniformity in the laws secured.

To provide for certain exceptional cases concurrent jurisdiction with the criminal court might be provided, as, for example, the charge of a felony against a child above a certain age. Of necessity, the jurisdiction of cases against adults for contributory delinquency would continue in the criminal courts. This is not found to be an objection in some places where now in practice, as it enables those interested in the juvenile court work to enlist the interest and aid of other officials, and show a disposition to work in harmony with other forces in the community.

In considering the juvenile court from two view points and in addition to the legal aspect as a part of the state's judicial machinery, considering it as a social institution, exercising the administrative functions of the state in making a normal status for the children and parents that come into relation with the court, Mr. Flexner recognizes the state's greatest opportunity. As a wise parent seeks to gain the love and obedience of the child in the home, so the state should seek through its officials to merit his respect and insist upon his loyalty in return. In this there must be a spirit of fair play manifested. The state should help to establish a normal status for the child before exacting the requirements of that condition.

The normal child, while naturally mischievous, is not vicious. He is sympathetic and responsive and his loyalty can be appealed to.

I heartily commend the suggestion that provision for jury trials be abolished, and in addition would advocate the elimination of all provisions for fines, as contrary to the spirit of such laws. Even in the exacting of restitution for an injury to property the emphasis upon the justice and fair play involved in this condition of probation exacted may be placed above the element of punishment involved.

For the same reason a child who is committed to an industrial school or place of detention should be made to understand that this course is taken with a sincere belief on the part of the court that the welfare of the child as well as the good of the state makes that course advisable.

The fact that I would emphasize as of the utmost importance is that in the administration of the juvenile court law the opportunity is afforded to impress upon the mind of the child a respect for the law rather than a fear of the consequences of its enforcement. Far better it will be if he can be made to feel and believe that the state is providing the means by which he may be helped and encouraged to avoid his erring ways than to emphasize in his mind its power to mete out indiscriminate revenge and punishment. More potent will be his regard for the law, shown to be for his help and encouragement, which he should therefore respect, than his fear of the law which involves in his mind the element of injustice in its application (a feeling sometimes justified), and therefore proper for him to evade if possible.

A few years ago a German scholar and student of economics, after extensive studies in his own country, came to this country and as a result of his trip through the United States was prompted to give to the German reading world an interesting book devoted to the care of juvenile offenders and criminal law in the United States. One of his fellow-countrymen in a very interesting review of this work called attention to the fact that the advancement made in this field in America grew out of a recognition of the fact that dependent, neglected, defective and criminal juveniles represent a single social phenomenon in different phases of development and as there is a necessary connection between neglect of children and juvenile criminality, the evils of neglect and of delinquency should be attacked by the same methods. He adds: "The moral, physical and economic education of the children of today will decide the fate of the generation of tomorrow."

The last sentence is of special and vital import. In it is essentially embodied the true significance of the juvenile court movement.

It points away from the slow and dreary progress in criminal jurisprudence, darkened and fettered by the clinging sentiments and absurdities of medieval ages, to the dawn of a more enlightened day, when the point of vision will be directed forward instead of backward;

when society will be more concerned about the future conduct of the individual than the act he has committed, and become more interested in what he will do than in what he has done; when the state will have for its chief object the reclamation and reform if possible of its erring subject rather than the exhibition of revenge; and when it will be accorded a reciprocal right to restrain its confirmed and inveterate enemy instead of sending him forth, a constant menace to society to prey upon its members.

It is of importance to mark the distinction between the exercise of the judicial and administrative functions of the state in the consideration and treatment of the delinquent child as well as the adult criminal. With reference to the latter the tendency is toward an ultimate separation making it the judicial function of the court to determine whether an accused criminal is properly subject to restraint in a penal institution, and the administrative function of a board of experts in criminology and sociology to determine how long he should be restrained. Under this plan the rights of the criminal and the interests of society would be infinitely better protected than in many communities under the present system. With reference to the delinqunt child, it has long been recognized that the superintendent of the reform school or industrial school has authority to exercise certain administrative powers in behalf of the state after the court had exercised the judicial function involved in committing him to the institution in behalf of the state. Under the workings of the somewhat new probation method, as pointed out, the administrative functions are exercised by the probation officer. Why should not the state continue in the same direction, exercise its administrative functions in behalf of its children and society without formal exercise of the judicial function? Why should not much of the work now done by the probation officers of the juvenile court be done by teachers and trained experts employed in the educational and other departments of the public service? As we have advanced through various stages in educational methods, from purely academic to an appreciation of the value of industrial training, why should not the state take up the responsibility of the moral, physical and economic education and training of its children before they require an exercise of the judicial function on the part of the state?

It seems to be the mission of the juvenile court not only to demonstrate the superiority of reformation over punishment, but also to point the way towards prevention. The court may then be considered as a final arbiter to be appealed to after the administrative functions have failed or proved inadequate or their exercise interfered with, which may be appealed to as a last resort either in behalf of the state seeking to exercise those functions or in behalf of those who object to the manner of their execution. The boast of the community will then be not how many but how few cases have been brought before the juvenile court.

HEALTH AND PLAYGROUNDS

BY LEE F. HANMER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, CHILD HYGIENE DEPARTMENT RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION, NEW YORK

Following the Indian troubles in the Northwest in 1862, some two hundred redskins were rounded up by the United States troops and sent to the federal prison for life. The monotony of prison routine and the inactivity under confinement was so different from their established custom of living that it was not long before their robust health showed signs of waning, and upon examination it was found that tuberculosis had already begun its deadly work. Several cases were already well advanced and many others were in varying stages of development.

It was but a question of time till these hardy children of the forest would succumb to the relentless scourge; and it was therefore proposed to send them back to the reservation for their few remaining days. This proposal was made to President Lincoln, and promptly received his approval. The red men were sent home to die.

The sequence is told by Ernest Thompson Seton. After a laspe of about two years one of the prison officials visited a frontier trading post and, among the Indians coming in for supplies, he recognized one of his former prisoners, whose case of tuberculosis had been especially severe. In astonishment the officer inquired if he was not one of the Indians who had been sent home by the government to die. "Yes," was the reply, "but our medicine man is greater than yours. He cured us. We are all well." And so it was found to be. The sunlight and breath of the pines, the freedom and the life in the open had wrought this miracle. They were cured.

That lesson has taken root and steadily but surely this country is turning to the outdoor life. Rooms may be ventilated perfectly, the temperature may be kept just right, and the dietary may be of the most approved sort, but the wind and the sun, and some time out of doors seem to be necessary if we are to reach our maximum of vitality and efficiency.

Ride through New England, that land of conservatism and sober judgment, and you will see house after house with porches enclosed by wire nettings, and when the night comes on, screens will be set up, couches will be drawn out and the people will go to bed out of doors. Sleeping on porches, in tents, on roofs, and in rooms with windows wide open is the order of the times. And then when vacation time comes we hurry away to the mountains and the forests for a season of primitive living—fishing, hunting, cooking over the campfire, and sleeping out under the stars. Thus a stock of energy is stored up for the days in the office and the shop.

This nation is unmistakably turning to the outdoor life, and the movement for playgrounds that is spreading to every corner of the land is just a part of this tendency of the times. It is the effort to provide for the children wholesome activities in the sunshine and open air, and we are just beginning to realize its possibilities as an agent for health and progress.

Joseph M. Rogers, in Lippincott's Magazine for February, 1910, tells of a friend of his who, seeking health, engaged to teach a country school in a western state. He didn't like to be cooped up in a school room on pleasant days, and decided that probably the children didn't either. So he took them out into the fields, upon the hillside and down by the brook. During these trips he taught them geography, history, botany, geology and zoology, and, by composition and problems, he taught them the "three Rs" as well. The community was not accustomed to this plan of school teaching, and parents joined with directors in saying that this foolishness must stop. He succeeded in getting a stay of proceedings however, on condition that the county superintendent should examine the pupils and on the showing made he would stake his case. The result was that he came off with flying colors so far as the examination was concerned. The children had made unparalleled progress; especially those who formerly were little interested in school and who had been the trouble makers. But this teacher was too far in advance for that neighborhood and soon was sent away, much to the regret of the pupils. Several cities are now trying the open aid schools particularly for tubercular children, and are getting splendid results as regards both health and progress.

In the middle of the forenoon one day last fall I visited a public school in Frankfort, Germany, and was surprised to see at that time of day a class of big boys with their teacher out on the playground in the rear of the school building. The principal explained that this was a part of the fixed program of the school, each class having its playground period just as regularly as its period for mathematics. There is also the gymnasium period where formal corrective gymnastics are given; and after school hours on three days of the week every boy and girl goes to one of the big playing fields of the city for two hours of games and athletics in the open. Attendance at the playing fields is compulsory; not, however, for the purpose of compelling the children to come, but to prevent parents from keeping them away. Here is where the playground can serve as a most valuable adjunct to the school room. Thus the German child has each day a period for corrective gymnastics, a period for games on the school playground, and every second day an afternoon on one of the big municipal playing fields.

Possibly this is why Colonel Roosevelt was recently led to say, while reviewing the German troops at Potsdam, "I have no doubt about the future of a nation that is able to produce such men as these."

Definite provision is made for supervision by requiring teachers to take charge of the after school activities on the playground, and six marks per day extra is paid for such service.

I hope that we shall not see much longer in this country such notices as I saw posted on a school playground in a city not far from here. It read: "Five dollars fine for playing on these grounds after school hours." There was, of course, a reason for it, but the reason as well as the sign ought to be removed.

In a crowded section of the west side in New York City there is a children's garden where some hundreds of youngsters raise lettuce, beets, radishes, and beans, and grow brown and rugged in the process. During the past winter the directress, Mrs. Henry Parsons, has turned the place into what she pleases to call "a winter garden." A large windbreak was erected, a platform built and blankets and foot warmers furnished for a lot of poor little unfortunates afflicted with tuberculosis of the joints. Here they were brought to school and to play through the past winter. Starting with a lot of pale, emaciated, sad-faced little sufferers, this "winter garden" produced a crop of ruddy-faced, bright-eyed, much improved boys and girls. Health and playgrounds do seem to have a real connection.

Well administered playgrounds stand for cleanliness and order, as well as for fun, and help to fix permanent habits of right living for after years. Who can estimate the possibilities of such training as regards the general health of the community?

The second health factor that playgrounds promote is physical development. No one will question the value of building up the body and keeping it strong and vigorous. We are told that the good and bad microbes are engaged in a constant warfare for supremacy in the human system and it stands us in hand to reinforce our defenders in every possible way. If the forces are weakened and vitality is at low ebb, the invaders are likely to rush in and take possession of the fortress. A friend of mine made this mistake about six weeks ago and now he is just recovering from an attack of pneumonia that took him very close to the parting of the ways. Physical strength and vigor are large factors in a truly successful life, and for this the vigorous games of the the playground lay the foundation.

Dr. J. C. Elsom of the University of Wisconsin, has discovered that students of the university who had been disciplined by the faculty for various kinds of dishonesty in their university work are decidedly inferior to the average student in weight, height, depth of chest, and in strength of arms, legs, and back. They lack "backbone" in both the physical and moral sense. These findings have been paralleled by similar tests made with children brought into the juvenile courts and the evidence seems to indicate that moral delinquents are as a class inferior in physical development. The physically weak seem to be a prey to temptation. Another argument for the games of the playground. And that is only half of the argument, too, for the properly conducted playground is the laboratory for character development as well.

The third health factor of playgrounds is simply happiness. "A merry heart doeth good like a medicine," is an old proverb that is just as true today as it ever was. The modern hospital and sanitarium is coming to plan as definitely for amusements and pastimes as for any other feature of its work. At Wallum Lake an open air club has been organized which arranges musical programs, debates, lectures, dances and minstrel shows. The sanitarium at Rockland, Mass., has a baseball field and teams made up from among the patients who are convalescent. The players are carefully selected by the doctor and play only with his consent. This institution also engages professional singers and musicians to perform in the recreation pavilion at frequent intervals. At Loomis sanitarium winter sports are provided for the patients, and most of them, under careful supervision, are encouraged to join in sleighing, skating, coasting and snow-shoeing. At the Maine State sanitarium the patients have a nature club and make collections of wild flowers, ferns and minerals.

The well-regulated playground provides for the children just such a host of interesting activities ranging from the occupation of the quiet hour to the relay races and the basketball games, keeping the boys and girls in the outdoor air and sunlight, developing them physically, and filling their lives to overflowing with the joys of youth.

We are beginning to catch the vision as seen by Jacob Riis when he said: "Men, not money, make a nation great, and joyless children do not make good men."

In 1908 the International Congress on Tuberculosis met at Washington. The latest and most scientific findings concerning the "great white plague" were presented by the leading physicians of many lands. Methods of prevention and treatment were discussed by those of wide experience and careful training. Campaigns were planned and millions of dollars were demanded with which to carry on the battle. And at the end of the session seven carefully selected resolutions were passed. Here is one of them:

"Resolved, That this Congress endorses and recommends the establishment of playgrounds as an important means of preventing tuberculosis, through their influence upon health and resistance to disease."

So much for health and playgrounds; but health is only one of the many justifications for this institution of play. It offers possibilities for the training and development of boys and girls that demand and readily secure the support of individuals and municipalities. That is why the seventy cities having playgrounds in 1907 grew into 336 in 1909. The number was thus multiplied by five in two years.

The playground of today is the republic of tomorrow. If you want twenty years hence a nation of strong, efficient men and women, a nation in which there shall be justice and square-dealing, work it out today with the boys and girls on the playground. The investment will bring large returns.

The School and the Community

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

BY PROF. THOMAS J. RILEY, DIRECTOR OF THE ST. LOUIS SCHOOL OF SOCIAL ECONOMY, CHAIRMAN

It is inevitable that a Committee on the School and the Community should become a part of the organization of a National Conference of Charities and Correction. It is the necessary outcome of the approach of community agencies and the school to each other. On the side of community agencies there has been a growing appreciation of the inseparableness of the causes of poverty, vice and crime, and of the necessity of co-operation. It is this like-mindedness that has given us the remarkable series of conferences that has taken place in St. Louis in these last few days. Here have been held the National Conference on the Education of Backward, Dependent, Truant and Delinquent Children, the National Probation Officers' Association, a meeting of Settlement Workers in the United States, the National Federation of Remedial Loan Societies, the National Housing Association and others. Moreover, one of the general sessions of the National Conference of Charities and Correction is given to a consideration of the relation of philanthropic work with families to the work of the National Consumer's League, the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, the Playground Association of America, the National Housing Association, and the National Child Labor Movement. This coming together for conference only reflects the coming together in work and in spirit.

It might be noted also that the "Zeitgeist" in this co-operation of specializations has given us a veritable contagion of municipal surveys and the newest type of federations, that include commercial clubs, civic leagues, churches and settlements, as well as federated charities. Furthermore, nearly every agency that has been mentioned touches the public school directly or through the home.

The approach of community agencies toward the school is seen also in the history of philanthropy in the United States. In the early history, ideas of relief and of punishment determined the social policy toward poverty and crime. Then flourished the relief society and the penitentiary. Gradually the futility of this method of after-the-fact care became so evident that a policy of organized prevention was adopted. Then flourished the Charity Organization Society and the reformatory. But even these agencies soon found they were not beginning at the beginning; they soon discovered that there was no final solution save by remedying the untoward conditions of the home, the neighborhood and the factory. It was but another short step to the more positive idea of multiplying the pleasures of the people and of guaranteeing them good health, not because they might become dependent or delinquent but because they have a right to good health and pleasure for their own sake, that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly. Under these ideas flourish the civic societies, the settlements, playgrounds, probation systems and a thousand other agencies for the strength of the people. Just as there is a negative and a positive race eugenics so there is a negative and positive social eugenics. We are at the youth in a positive social eugenics. Here the social worker all but clasps hands with the school teacher in making good citizens in a safe democracy.

This approach is reflected also in the successive classifications of the causes of poverty that have gained favor from time to time. The schedule adopted by the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1888 and revised in 1899 does not include ignorance as a cause of poverty in its list of a dozen, unless perchance it might be put under the "unclassified." But the schedule recently proposed by Dr. Lee K. Frankel, puts ignorance at the head of the list which contained only four items: Ignorance, industrial inefficiency, exploitation of labor, and defects in governmental supervision. Moreover, Miss Brandt has all but persuaded us that ignorance and industrial inefficiency should be set together. And thus we come again to the door of the school house.

The approach of the schools toward this common ground is disclosed in the increasing recognition of the social purpose in education which holds the socialization of the student equally worthy with his individual development; which holds it as important to instruct him in government, in municipal affairs, the duties of citizenship, and the problems of social betterment, as to discipline his mind through mathematics and Latin. This approach is discernible also as a purposiveness in education, which increases from grade to grade. Specific evidence is to be had in such new departures as vacation and night schools, lecture courses, recreational uses, medical inspection and nursing, free luncheons, classes and schools for atypical children, etc. These indicate an adjustment to community conditions, which brings the school on to practically the same ground as that occupied by modern constructive, social work. If further evidence were needed of this approach on the part of the schools it could be found in the program of the National Educational Association of 1908, which by its subject matter and its conclusions shows that this great representative body of teachers stands not far removed from this conference of social workers.

In addition to these evident tendencies, this mutual attraction and consequent approach, evidence is at hand in the facts already presented at this annual Conference in the papers and discussions, the irresistible logic of which not only justifies but demands consideration of the relation of the schools to the problems of community betterment.

The further report of the committee will be occupied with a brief restatement of the main arguments already presented, a short discussion of a few of the general problems involved, and a suggestion or two for the next decade. We shall first consider industrial conditions and the schools. The unparalleled development of industries and the urbanization of more than one-third of the population have denied to a larger and larger proportion of our boys and girls the unequaled value of farm work and of housework. This series of practical work that complemented the cultural series of the school has broken down for many of our youth. They do not get the usable knowledge and the character values that hitherto resulted from these responsible activities. The attempt of the schools to revive them and vouchsafe their values has been little more than a process of grafting them on to the cultural tree in a bunglesome way with the result that they are in great danger of bearing, at best, only a seedling fruit.

In the meanwhile there has appeared in our midst, as social drift, the inefficient, the incompetent, the prematurely exhausted, the dispirited, the out-of-work, and the tramp. These flotsam and jetsam are the despair of the charitable societies. Railroads lose a score of millions of dollars a year from their depredations. Jails and workhouses only confirm them in their failings. Although the home and the factory must be held partly responsible for this incompetence and degeneracy, the schools must share the blame when they fail to hold, to equip and to make efficient every boy who comes within their doors.

But the school men reply that already night classes have been organized for those whose school days have been shortened by industrial demands, for those who have had to leave school too early. But it must readily be admitted that there are limitations to what these night schools can do. At best the session is not more than one and one-half hours long; and, worst of all, these immature boys come already exhausted by a day's labor, whereby they are able to profit little by the instruction. The truth is they are by this process being more consumed than if they worked the day and played the evening. It may be doubted whether it does not cost them more than it is worth.

What then can we do, say the school men. The halftime plan in England is doubtfully successful. Can it be improved upon and adapted to our needs? Have we any assurance that the boy could stay in any school, be it ever so good, when poverty drives him forth from his home and the factory reaches out to pull him in?

It must be confessed that there is no royal road over these hard places. Neither the teacher, nor the social worker can solve it alone. Night classes may help a little, public-school scholarships may aid a few, schools for adults during slack seasons of unemployment are not impossible. Manual training, industrial education and trade instruction point in the right direction; but they must become fundamental in the curriculum. The basis of the school course now is the adventitious things on to which we are trying to graft the fundamental activities of the development process. The foundation is on top of the house. Our faces are set in the wrong direction. We must right about face. That which is fundamental must be made the basis. The foundation must be under the house.

But the schools cannot do these Herculean labors alone. The community must do its share. No longer must we allow children to be consumed in too early toil or be exploited through too long a day. Men must not work where health is lost, or come on alms when sickness, accident or age overtakes them. Safe working places, good houses, and adequate insurance we must vouchsafe to them. If thus the school and the community join then shall we have men, efficient men; then shall labor come into its deserved dignity; then shall poverty disappear and contentment rest on the land.

But inefficient men are not all the trouble in industry. There is a tide, seemingly an irresistible tide, that has swept over the homes of the industrial class and carried the girls, the young women, and many a mother, together with most of their former work, out to public places, to workshops and to stores.

The measure of life is not in earning power alone. Life is more than meat and the body is more than raiment. Immeasurable though the natural resources of our country are, tremendously important though their conservation is, the greatest asset of a nation is its men and women. Their conservation is the biggest thought that ever entered the mind of our people. But this means not simply reducing the accident rate in industry and transportation. It means a campaign of preventive medicine that, although only just begun, gives promise of the eradication of preventable disease. Already some columns of causes have disappeared from the mortality tables of the federal census. Yellow fever and small pox are conquered. Tuberculosis itself has been vigorously and hopefully attacked.

In the march of the forces of life against death, the supporting columns have scarcely yet begun to maneuver. The social workers and teachers are but just beginning to enlist. In the universal attack the schools must occupy a central position. Just as they have heretofore been the greatest agencies for spreading the contagion of disease, they must become the greatest source of the contagion of health.

The public health, the physical well-being of boys and girls, demand, in tones that are heard all over our land, that the schools shall promote the physical soundness of the nation's greatest resource, its men and women. Accordingly, medical inspection, physical examination and nursing have entered the public schools. It has been demonstrated that the schools seldom need to close on account of contagion or a child be absent for minor illness. Physical imperfections have been corrected, abnormal growths removed, children that moved slowly, losing pace from year to year, have been enabled to make normal progress through the grades. Backward cities can no longer plead ignorance. Facts to justify this extension of the school are at hand in half a hundred places. The knowledge already possessed by so many needs but to be kindled by the fire of persuasion and the intellectual conviction needs to be joined to a moral obligation.

There is a question of morality that lies next door to the one we have just been considering. The two are strangely bound together. We dare not stop with provisions for physical health alone. There is a moral integrity of even greater importance. I would the schools had made as good progress in meeting this moral need as they have in meeting the physical one. An uncertainty as to the next step has prevented the teacher from going forward in this new direction, but she is not more uncertain than most others. The social worker alone knows the social havoc of moral lapses, whether of appetite or of passion; he knows that the appetite of drink gives us one-third of our poverty and two-thirds of our crime. He knows that a burning poison consumes the manhood of countless men and robs them of their moral power, cuts away the womanhood of many a woman and hangs her head on a despairing breast, blots out the sight of the ill-fated babe and marks its scourge on body, brain and conscience. The social worker it is who cries out in these later days, "who shall deliver us from the body of this death?" Shall parents? By all means. Shall physicians? Bid them Godspeed. Shall teachers? There's never a reason why they should not, if once the doubt has been resolved of what to do. But who shall show them the excellent way. Shall we find moral safety in a knowledge of physiology and hygiene? This is the challenge to the physician. Shall we find moral salvation in recreation and in social pleasures? This is the challenge to the social worker. Let them that know show us the path that we may learn to walk therein.

But we must not content ourselves with the negative side of social eugenics. It is worth while to keep social ills from multiplying but it is worth much more to enlarge the normal life of the people. The life-blood of the cities is purified on the playground. Vice and crime vary inversely with the play of a people. To multiply their pleasures is to multiply their earning capacity. More valuable than the finest suburban park system in the world, more valuable than the longest lines of boulevards any city can boast, are a few small squares for play in the very heart of a city. In the recreation of a people are the foundations of democracy. Friendship, sympathy, contentment, social solidarity, the very pillars of a democracy, rest on the pleasures of the people.

Yet in many a crowded quarter in our great cities there is never a place to play and never a place of meeting. The homes of the people, like cells in the hive, have no outside, but stand in rows of dreariness. In these homes, namelessness and impersonality rest like a weight on the social instincts of a people. Where shall these families go and where shall their young people meet under happy surroundings.

There are those who know well enough the social instincts of a people, who degrade and make poor in purse and spirit those whom our welfare demands we should elevate. In many a crowded quarter there is no place of pleasure except the dance hall and the saloon. There these people go; there the young folks meet, but who can count the cost of it. They incur companionship with evil in a natural effort to gratify a worthy instinct of fellowship; they consort with things that are mean and ugly and hurtful, when all that is good and beautiful and helpful should be their constant delight. There are therefore those who believe that the public school building with its brightly lighted, spacious halls, furnished with music and books, should become the social as well as the educational center of the neighborhood.

And so we might continue instances of the close connection of the school and the community: Truancy on the one hand and the conditions of the home and the factory on the other; day nurseries and under-age kindergartens on the one hand and the kindergarten and vacation schools on the other; parents clubs that unite the teacher and the mother, the school and the home. But we must leave these and consider briefly some of the larger problems involved in what has already been said.

Of course it must be understood that the chairman cannot pledge the members of the committee to any of the things expressed in this report and especially in the remaining part of it. One of the questions involved in the several propositions advocated is this: Do the demands made for industrial education and for trade instruction mean that some boys are to be educated for one occupational class and some for another? Do these demands mean that we shall recognize economic classes in a democracy, and arrange the public schools to suit? Do they mean that a boy shall be educated from the elementary grades up for some occupation? The answer to these three questions is about one-fifth yes and four-fifths no. It is generally accepted that certain children who are slightly atypical should be educated for a place in the world. There are other children who are removed from them only by degrees who are in the public schools, and who, it may be frankly admitted would be better off if they also were educated for a place in the world. The difficulty would be to decide what place a given boy should be educated for. This would be practically impossible by any arbitrary decision of the teacher, or by the preference of the parents. However, this difficulty disappears when we consider the proposal about to be made.

Instead of the public schools being feeders to the high schools and the universities, with the result that some few students get a practical education by the way, the genius of public education in this country must be revolutionized until the schools shall educate every boy to some practical end. The result would not be that a few would get a preparation for a higher education, but that every one would get the best possible preparation for that education and would also get the best possible preparation for efficient workmanship, and for upright citizenship besides. Do not misunderstand this. The genius of the schools now is that they are for cultural ends issuing in so-called higher education. But a new spirit must come that will make them essentially practical and as a result they will issue in efficient men and a better culture than ever before. Thus the difficulty of deciding what boy shall be educated for what vocation would disappear, for the schools would be preparing every boy for a place in life, while the increasing number who would take the higher education would be better prepared than now. Do not be alarmed; to be able to do some things is a better guarantee of manliness and of good citizenship than to be able to pass a university entrance examination in Latin—if we had to choose between the two types of ability. But happily we would not have to make the choice, for even the universities might be changed in the interest of such a type of man. The public schools do not exist for the universities, they exist for men: whole men, efficient men, veritable artists.

Another question that grows out of the facts and arguments already presented is this: Should the *public schools* be extended in the directions indicated, or should new agencies be developed to supply these newly discovered needs. This is not quite the same as asking whether some public agency should respond to these demands or whether voluntary means should be provided. It is not a choice between some public and some private agency but a choice between the public schools and some other public agency. There can be no doubt that the schools must adjust themselves to the new industrial demands. Although endowed private trade schools may multiply there can be but one answer to these new demands from the industrial field, whether they are made by the boys or by the girls; and the only answer is that the public schools must be modified to meet the demands. If it means industrial education, then industrial education the public schools must supply. If it means trade instruction then trades must be taught. If it means shops and machines, then shops and machines must be a part of the public schools.

However, we can not speak so positively as to whether the public schools should be greatly extended in the direction of providing play and social opportunities for the neighborhood. There is a division of opinion as to whether some other public provision should be made. There are many who would give the schools charge over the play of the children and open the school buildings for adult educational and social uses, arguing this as the logical and immediately practical way to secure these things. Especially in the southern towns and cities and county districts where settlements and municipal playgrounds have not already been developed, there seems to be no better way than to extend the schools in these directions.

But in many places there is a tendency to develop other agencies to promote the recreations of the people. Playgrounds and club houses under direction of some municipal department are multiplying in our great cities. There is a movement toward civic centers, scattered through the city, at which shall be grouped a public school, a public library, a playground, a club house with a dance pavilion and perhaps a subsidized theatre. No single answer can be given therefore to the questions whether the schools will be increasingly used for recreation or whether new agencies will be developed.

Another question involved in what has already been said is this: Would not this extension of the public school transcend the legitimate sphere in public agency? Would it not mean an undue extension of governmental functions? Would it not mean the invasion of what should be left to the individual? This is no inconsiderable question. The individualist will answer that the new proposals are extremely dangerous, while the socialist will regard them as beneficent necessaries. Academic logic starting with free school and free books is likely to run the gamut of free everything. But the man of practical affairs will regard each extension critically and adopt any hesitatingly. Not according to any preconceived theories as to the function of government must the proposed extensions be decided, but it will be well if a policy of opportunism which decides each case on its merits when it is presented, does prevail.

But the policy must not be dictated by ignorance or by a penny-wise-pound-foolish spirit, it must be informed and independent.

There are other large questions that might be considered, but I shall conclude the report with a suggestion which I hope we may not forget. If I could focus the results of the committee's thought into a few words they would be these: There is not a doubt that the community agencies for the prevention of poverty, vice and crime, and for raising the life of the people to its highest power must be joined more closely than ever before to the work of the public schools. This essential cooperation must be brought to the consciousness of the school teacher, the social worker and all our citizens, brought to consciousness and held there until the idea compels action. What may be the program of this Conference in 1911 I do not know, but this I do know, that never will social ills be cured or the people's pleasures full until the school and the home and the community come closer in sympathy, in appreciation and in effort.

Throughout the several meetings under the direction of this committee, there has been a continuous and unequivocal demand for manual training and industrial education for all children in the grades and a very general demand for instruction in domestic art and wage-earning occupations for girls in the upper grades and in the trades for boys over fourteen years of age. These demands have arisen out of community conditions rather than out of some pedagogical theory. There has been present also a demand that the schools have a concern for the physical wellbeing, the moral integrity, and the natural pleasures of a people.

And now if I should try to focus all these things into one proposition, it would be this: In ten years we must add two years to the period of youth. Already the schools say children must stay with them until they are fourteen years old. Already industries are closed to them in nearly every part of our land until that same age. Compulsory attendance laws and child labor laws are in quite general accord, but the age of fourteen was only arbitrarily chosen. There is every reason, however, why this age limit should be moved up to sixteen years. School statistics show that very many children do not get beyond the fifth grade at the age of fourteen. But everywhere it is recognized that at least eight grades of schooling should be had by every boy and girl. It is probably true also that the two years of adolescence between fourteen and sixteen are the most important of all that most important period in life. It is equally true that physical strength and soundness, and the development of personal virtues and moral character require that the years of safe-guarding and upbuilding by the school shall be extended to sixteen. While play and pleasures demand these added years by virtue of their own high imperiousness, every indication from the standpoint of the school and the child goes to show that they should be guaranteed the privileges of school, not until fourteen but until sixteen years of age.

On the side of the community there is a conviction that is rapidly taking possession of employers that children under sixteen years of age cannot be profitably employed at wages. The most sensible employers are already refusing to employ children under sixteen years of age, and the only reason why more of them do not so refuse is that the unwise and unscrupulous employer cannot forego his own temporary advantage through the untimely employment of boys and girls. There is great encouragement to believe that so far as the employers are concerned it would be easier to raise the age limit to sixteen years than it has been to get it set at fourteen. If we consider also the parents of the children who have been going to work at fourteen years, we shall find that an increasing number of them would be glad if their children could remain in school until the age of sixteen. Just as rapidly as the schools demonstrate their practical value, so rapidly will these parents keep their children in school for two years longer. When we consider the boys and girls that pass through our juvenile courts and when we consider the inmates of our reformatories, it becomes indisputable that the schools should maintain their grip on the youth until at least the age of sixteen. If, therefore, the schools and the community agencies shall unite and shall co-operate intelligently, within ten years there can be added two years to the period of youth.

COMMUNITY DEMANDS UPON THE PUBLIC SCHOOL

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The purpose of the public schools, is to educate the children of the nation. In seeking to accomplish this it is not enough that we erect magnificent buildings, splendidly equipped. Nor, again, do earnest, scholarly teachers satisfy the educational requirements. All of these conditions may be fulfilled and the school still prove inadequate to its educational obligations. Society makes a further demand—the schools must appeal to the masses of the people.

The perplexities of democracy always center around the wage earners of the congested parts of the cities. The problem of education among those whose family traditions prize learning as something more valuable than rubies is very different from that which must be solved for those who consider it a luxury which poor people cannot afford. It is a commonplace in psychology that we interpret and value ideas in terms of our past experience. Those who have had no intimate association with educative movements and forces cannot be expected to be impressed with the importance of knowledge. Yet, it is this unschooled class which sets the social and educational standard by which the lives of large numbers of children are irrevocably determined. The social good, therefore, imperatively demands that the schools in the congested districts be made to appeal to the personal interests of the inhabitants. They must be made to feel that so much education as the public schools offer is essential to the welfare of their children.

In its final analysis a democracy must rest on the good will and intelligence of its constituents, and if popular government directed by such diverse interests and people as is our own, endures, it will be because of the social and ethical ideals acquired in the public schools. But the children must attend because their parents are interested in having them there, not because they are led by a truant officer. We all believe in compulsory education laws, but we must also admit that, like every other form of coercion, their necessity reveals a weakness in the system. Forced acquiescence is needed in an emergency, but as a principle of action it is proof of administrative inadequacy. A teacher who secures obedience through fear of punishment and a government that maintains order by threat of police interference, are alike inefficient and insecure. In like manner, a public school system may compel all children under fourteen or sixteen years of age to attend school without displaying any exceptional educational efficiency. If children are to be educated in any proper sense of the word they must come because they wish to, not because the law requires it. The function of the truant officer, then, is to bridge over a time of reorganization, of readaptation. If truant officers are required there is evidently a lack of adjustment between the school and a portion of the community, and the larger community, society, has a right to insist that the cause of this maladjustment be investigated and remedied. I admit the difficulty of the problem, but its complexity does not lessen our responsibility for its solution. The importance of the question is so great that it must receive attention.

In 1907 a plan for enlarging the influence of the public schools of Rochester, New York, was outlined by the Board of Education. "It was just to be the restoration to its true place in social life of that most American of all institutions, the public school center, in order that through this extended use of the school buildings, might be developed, in the midst of our complex life, the community interest, the neighborly spirit, the democracy that we knew before we came to the city."* This is the way in which one of the organizers puts it. A school building in a well-to-do part of the city was selected for the experiment. This neighborhood was chosen for the first center in order to escape the opposition which those in the congested districts are inclined to feel toward movements which make invidious distinctions between different communities. Two clubs of boys between 14 and 17 years of age, and three composed of young men between 17 and 21 were organized. In addition to these there were clubs of girls and young women, and of adults of both sexes. The representative character of the men's club is shown "in the fact that, among the first set of officers elected, two were members of the 'well-to-do' class, one a banker, the other a physician, while the others were men who labored with their hands." In the clubs of young people the programs varied between debates and addresses, with one entertainment each month. A reading room, gymnasium, and a room for games, were also added. "A month after the opening, a merchant, whose place of business is near the Center," as the school building in which the meetings are held is called, "stopped the director on the street to say, 'The Social Center has accomplished what I regarded as impossible. I have been here nine years and during that time there has always been a gang of toughs around these corners, which has been a continual nuisance. This winter the gang has disappeared.'" The gang had been transformed into a debating club. When the question of extending the social center of Rochester was under consideration by the Board of Education and city council, seventy-five men who had attended during the winter expressed their opinion of the work in a letter addressed to the mayor and council. "In our judgment," the letter ran, "the opening of the Public Schools in the evening for recreation, reading and club meetings, so far as it has been tried . . . . is an unqualified success. Not only does it give opportunity for wholesome athletic exercise, literary culture, and training in good citizenship to the older boys and girls and young men and women of the community, and, in its free lectures, afford opportunity for entertainment and instruction to all the people, but especially in its clubs for men and women it is of great value as a place for discussion and understanding of civic questions, and for the development of a good community spirit."

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*Rochester Social Centers and Civic Clubs; the Story of the First Two Years, P. 12.

So successful was this plan for the extension of the influence of the public schools that it was referred to, at a recent meeting of one of the national societies of educators, as by far the most important educational event in the history of the city of Rochester. This new movement in public education has greater significance than merely supplying a place for evening study and entertainment, valuable as that may be. It extends and prolongs the influence of the school while interesting parents in its work as well as in civic affairs. The enthusiasm for growth in culture aroused in some of the young men of foreign birth who attended the Rochester Center was strikingly suggestive of the possibilities for public school community work in a democracy where the Americanizing of opposing views of life is one of the serious social problems. Two of the most vigorous and effective clubs in the Rochester Social Center were organized by Italians. "Here for the first time, I find realized the dream of what America would be, which I dreamed when in Italy," exclaimed one of the members in his enthusiasm for the work.

Children are very prone to accept the judgment of the older boys of their community, or racial group, regarding the worth of an institution or obligation. This judgment need not be given in words but may be expressed by a general attitude of approval or disapproval. The different communities in a city have their own system of social values, depending, among other things, upon the active traditions of the locality. Some of the communities are almost as isolated, socially and intellectually as they would be on an oceanic island. This is true of certain foreign settlements in our midst, as well as of others of a more heterogeneous nature. Ideas spring up and are perpetuated within these social groups without any definite relation to the larger civic life beyond. To harmonize these social variants so that they may be adjusted to civic progress is one of the perplexing questions which city life has forced upon society, and it is one with which the schools are peculiarly fitted to deal. The public schools are the part of the social organism which comes into the most natural and intimate contact with the welfare of the community. They are free from the traditions and emotional adhesions that cluster around religious and charitable organizations, and which arouse prejudice, unwarrantable though it may be, against their endeavor to improve conditions.

There are, of course, those who believe that the work of the school ends with good instruction in the subjects of the curriculum. But I venture to assert that the fundamental purpose of elementary and secondary education is to train children in habits of industry and conduct so that they may have good judgment. Incidentally a small part of what they learn will be useful in exercising their good judgment, and the rest, fortunately or unfortunately, will be forgotten.

The schools in the congested districts should be made an essential part of the life of the people. The Rochester movement shows how much may be accomplished by opening the buildings in the evening, with equipment for games and athletic sports and a director to organize the boys and girls into clubs as well as to help in their amusements. Men are no less gregarious than the animals immediately below them. It is the social instinct and this instinct is especially strong in those who have not the resources within themselves which education gives, and who work all day at manual labor. They crave companionship, and those who understand this fundamental human need should supply a place where it may be satisfied in a manner that shall lead to social growth. Why should not the school buildings be equipped to compete with nickelodeons for evening patronage? If this were done, the parents would come to feel that the schools belong to them. It would awaken a community spirit which is the essence of democracy. Here men could hold their meetings for the discussion of labor problems. The political nature of the meetings could raise no reasonable objection if the buildings were at the disposal of any party that wished to reach the people of the community. "The school houses are the real places for political meetings," exclaimed the chairman of the democratic county committee at a meeting called in Rochester to decide whether the request of a republican club to use the school building for committee meetings should be granted.

There was a time in the history of our country when the school house stood second only to the church in the affections of the people. Here our forefathers came together to discuss public questions, and here the children gathered because the parents felt that its interests were theirs. We have grown away from this conviction that the school buildings belong to the community, and with the loss of this idea the sentiment of attachment for the old school has also disappeared. The school is no longer regarded, at least in some communities, as an essential part of the life of the people, and this is disastrous in a democracy where community spirit is vital to good government.

By organizing as evening social centers, the schools will come into closer relation with the communities and the teachers become better acquainted with the needs, while the residents in their turn, will discover that the schools have something to offer which is worth acquiring. The younger children, also, finding that the older boys and parents frequent the buildings in the evening, may lose some of their aversion to the school. Truancy and the early withdrawal of pupils are always less perplexing among those whose parents feel the importance of education.

School administrations are not altogether to blame for the lack of appreciation among the masses for education beyond the three R's. Industrial and social conditions have changed so rapidly that it would be unfair to expect the new demands to be foreseen. Today, however, we are squarely confronted with the necessity of re-adapting the schools in the congested portion of cities to the life and needs of the people.

Modern cities are too large to sustain a uniform and continuous civic spirit. Municipal reforms come in waves and during the interval, between the crests of civic enthusiasm, the people appear indifferent to the quality of their government. They require something closer to them, something more intimately associated with their daily lives, something more tangible than the abstract idea of good government or the city hall. And the schools are pre-eminently adapted to foster this community spirit. But to accomplish this the residents must be made to feel that the school house is their own. They must see it frequently and gather in it for such companionship as their nature craves.

I am aware that there are those who insist that the school should not interfere in what is thought to belong more properly to the home. So effectually is this policy carried out that, in many instances, the schools are closed to all the interests of the community and the only contact with the parents is the truant officer. After all, public school education is intended to train good citizens and it is quite possible to defeat this end by too narrow limitations of the function of the school.

Paternalism has always been a bugaboo to the popular mind. Words often suggest terrible possibilities and the vaguer the words the more dreadful are the calamities which they portend. Great opposition to medical inspection in the schools arose in some cities a few years ago. Parents thought that pedagogy was to become medicated. Today, medical inspection is not only an accepted fact but school nurses are quite common and no very loud protest is heard against dental inspection. Paternalism in the schools, if there be any such thing, is, after all, only an interest in the welfare of the children so earnest that it seeks to promote conditions favorable to their development instead of trying to teach them something which they cannot acquire or do not want because of the effect upon their body and mind of the surroundings amid which they were born.

Disposal of wares requires more than merely offering a good thing at a low price. This is equally true whether we try to sell goods or education, and the lower the price the harder it is many times to find a taker. During the Saint Louis Exposition a man who had just purchased an entrance ticket received a message calling him down town on business. As he did not wish to throw the ticket away he tried to give it to some of those who were waiting in line. To his astonishment not one of the half dozen to whom he offered it would accept the gift. It was so cheap that they were suspicious of his motives. It is much the same with public school education. It is so easily obtained that those who do not appreciate its value think we are trying to overreach them. To secure acceptance of even a good thing it is necessary to create in others a desire to obtain it. This is the public school problem.

Investigation has shown that large buildings drawing pupils from a wide area are a mistake from an educational point of view. Public schools, like playgrounds, have a certain radius of efficiency and beyond this distance, in the congested districts, they do not exert sufficient influence over the residents to draw their children to them. In the immediate outlay smaller buildings scattered through a region now cared for by one large building would be more expensive, but it is cheaper to train boys even in this comparatively expensive way than to support them later as criminals. Further, the most skillful teachers who can be secured should be placed in the schools in the congested portions of cities. What can be accomplished with small classes and exceptional teachers is shown by the report of the superintendent of the Boston Schools. Speaking of two disciplinary classes the superintendent says, "In both classes" (composed of truants and others who had made trouble in their school) "the deportment of the pupils has been excellent, the attendance regular, the interest in the work great, and the progress of the pupils satisfactory. . . . The most serious difficulty that has been met in these classes arises when the attempt is made to return some of the boys to the schools from which they came."* In other words, the boys enjoyed the work in the disciplinary classes so much that they did not require attention from the truant officers, but the old antagonism to study reappeared as soon as they were returned to the regular classes.

Human nature is about the most perplexing thing in the world, and its difficulties are increased by the fact that each of us possesses it. The trouble is that we assume too much similarity in motives of conduct and, of course, our own state of mind is thought to be a sample of what that of others should be. As a matter of fact human nature is exceedingly diverse and coquettish. It must be studied in order to ascertain the effective motives of action among different groups of men, and then the schools should be organized to appeal to these motives. I am entirely willing to admit that the incentives to which we must adapt ourselves in any particular instance may be narrowly utilitarian, but you, on the other hand, will hardly deny that the first thing to do is to bring the boys into the school and keep them there. After they have been won a skillful teacher can freight even utilitarian subjects with much that makes for good citizenship and culture. But the fundamental thing is to win the co-operation of different communities by appealing to their several points of view. Probably the curriculum of schools in the congested districts should be different from that in other parts of the city. Trade-learning should, perhaps, be introduced into the higher grades of the grammar school. In Muskegon, Michigan, the number in the high school doubled during the nine years from 1900 to 1909, though the population of the city decreased more than 1000 during the same period. This remarkable increase began with the introduction of manual training.

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*Report of the Superintendent of Public Schools, 1908.

"The Chicago Parental School is situated at Bowmanville. A little boy in Chicago was seen throwing stones through a window. A lady, attracted to the spot by the noise of breaking glass, said, 'Why, what are you doing that for?' 'Cause I want to go to Bowmanville.' 'Because you want to go to Bowmanville?' 'Yes, my cousin he broke winders and things like that and **he** got there. Oh it's lots of fun at Bowmanville.' 'Why Bowmanville is a school.' 'Yes, I know yer hafter to go to school, but yer can **make** things.' It is interesting to learn that the little boy finally arrived at Bowmanville, and that his brother has joined him there.*

The problem is perplexing, but that only means that it requires investigation and study. Buildings enough should be erected to bring all of the inhabitants of a city within the radius of efficiency of one of the schools. The schools should then become a part of the daily life of the people by opening their doors to neighborhood gatherings and by furnishing opportunity for entertainment, popular lectures, debates, games, and athletics, suited to the needs of those among whom the schools are located. This will also afford opportunity for the discussion of the curriculum by the residents of the community, and they are the ones whose good will is to be secured if their children are to be retained in the school. Experiments must, of course, be made and mistakes are to be expected, but the difficulty of the task is never a sufficient reason for not trying, and especially is this true in the present instance, since success is vital to the conservation of democracy.

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*The Report of the Committee on Handicraft in the Public Schools, P, 14.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH

BY PROF. A. CASWELL ELLIS, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

There are many interesting social aspects of education in the South. Some are bound up with our peculiar local conditions; others are of universal import. The limits of this paper make it best that I confine attention to two recent educational moves in the South which in my opinion have the most far reaching significance and hence have the widest ultimate bearing upon the general problems of charity and correction.

The first of these is the establishment of schools for manual, industrial, domestic, and agricultural education. The second is the organization in connection with our public schools of clubs composed of parents and teachers, and variously termed Mothers' Clubs, Parents and Teachers' Clubs, School and Home Clubs, and School Improvement Leagues.

First, let us consider what actual results are likely to follow from the establishment of a complete set of separate industrial and agricultural schools such as they have in Germany, and what different results would follow from placing the instruction in these subjects in departments established within the regular common schools; and, second, let us see why we need school and home clubs and what they may do for society.

Few of our educational and social leaders seem to realize whither we are drifting and the full social import of these two educational movements.

All thoughtful men and women who have studied the matter recognize that a large part of the charity and correction needed in America is due to the fact that so many of our citizens do not find in our schools any adequate preparation for the duties of life. All, likewise, agree that one serious inadequacy of our present facilities for educating citizens would be removed by the introduction of the right kind of manual, domestic, industrial, and agricultural education for a large body of our citizenship, but there is a wide difference of opinion as to the best method of providing this industrial and agricultural education.

The older countries had attacked this problem before we did, and when it was realized that it had to be met here, our leaders looked abroad to see what others had done in order to profit by their experience. In the states of the old world they found that industrial efficiency had been greatly promoted by special trades schools for the city population and special agricultural schools for the farmers. At once a movement to establish such schools here was set on foot, and separate trade schools are being established in our cities, separate agricultural schools in our rural districts, and in some cases, even manual training has been relegated to a special type of high school. This plan of developing agricultural and industrial education in a new set of separate institutions seems to me open to several objections. First, it is needlessly expensive, as we in the South, who, because of our race problem, are already running two sets of parallel schools, well know. Second, it is not efficient, or at least not as efficient as is the work in the same lines when it is connected with other courses in a well-rounded institution, as has been shown even in higher education, where such class schools are not so objectionable. It is a well known fact that those agricultural and mechanical colleges which have been located as an integral part of the State University have on the average accomplished far more than those set up as separate institutions. These two objections to this system are, however, not so serious nor do they bear so on our question today as does the third objection, namely: That these separate sets of parallel schools for the different economic classes will develop in our people a narrow class spirit, leading ultimately to a class system of social organization in America based upon occupation, with all the vice and injustice that have ever been the universal accompaniment of such a class system.

Germany, with her inherited class distinctions and her limited suffrage, naturally educates her peasants and trades folk in her folk schools and separate agricultural and trades schools, while her professional and middle classes are taught in her gymnasia, and the nobility receive instruction through private tutors. No better plan could be devised to keep the various classes in the state of ignorance of one another, to narrow each one's life down to the limited interests of his own set, and to preserve thus the hereditary class distinctions so dear to the average German. At present we have no rigid class distinctions in America. If we have become persuaded that this is a mistake and wish to establish them, then by all means establish these separate systems of schools for the different classes of occupations, and bring each class up ignorant of and out of sympathy with the others. But, if we are to preserve our democracy and universal suffrage, by which every one has equal voice in determining measures relating to all classes, is it not absolutely essential that each class be provided opportunity to get an intelligent appreciation of the character, the worth and the needs of all classes? This opportunity our one universal common school system has thus far provided with marked efficiency. It has been the glory of our American school system that the children of Frenchmen, Germans, Americans, carpenters, cooks, merchants, doctors, poets, and politicians all were turned into our common schools together and came out with common American ideals and with a common democratic spirit of tolerance and mutual appreciation.

It is true that as civilization has brought about specialization in industries, so must the school allow for specialization in studies. In order to obtain efficiency we are obliged to narrow the class work, and to restrict the studies of the boys preparing to be farmers largely to studies bearing upon farming. This is narrowing enough without putting these boys off in a separate school in which all the pupils and all the teachers are studying exactly the same subject. By this not only will the farmer lad lose the stimulation and broadening knowledge of life and society which he would gain by being taught in the same school with children from the various classes in society and with varied interests, but the children from these other classes would lose on their part the stimulus offered by the presence of the farmer boys. Each will be narrowed and weakened, and society will tend to fall apart from sheer lack of common interests, common knowledge or mutual appreciation. As soon as we have brought up in America a generation of farmers, workmen, professional and commercial men who have neither studied together nor played together while young, the establishment of separate classes ignorant of and hostile to each other will be an accomplished fact.

Recognizing this grave social danger, Texas has refused to follow the example of some of the older states in setting up separate schools for industrial and agricultural education, but has introduced these courses into her regular common schools. The state several years ago offered a subsidy to such high schools as would add an approved department of manual training and domestic economy, with the result that over twenty such departments were established within three years, and many more have been established since, most of which are doing excellent work at a minimum of cost. The last legislature offered a similar subsidy of $4,000 each to such high schools as would add an approved department for agricultural instruction. During the past year six high schools have added this department and many others are preparing to do so next year. This will doubtless be extended until we have at least one such school in each of over 200 counties. The economy of this plan is obvious, and the superior efficiency of the work could be shown also did the limited time not compel me to restrict my remarks to the still more important social aspect. We are prepared now to follow the same plan in introducing trade education into our cities. Under this democratic school system the children pursuing the industrial and agricultural courses are kept during their impressionable and formative school years under the broadening influences of a school of general culture, and are receiving from their teachers and companions training for intelligent citizenship and decent social living, as well as for industrial efficiency.

While extreme specialization may possibly be necessary for the highest efficiency in advanced institutions patronized by mature students, let us in democratic America, which places individual worth above industrial or military efficiency, brook no narrowing specialization of our educational institutions during those years of childhood and youth when our schools should be striving first of all to help children find themselves and to make men and women—free, self-respecting, self-governing citizens. Let all of our children grow up together in a common school and the varieties of needs and capacities be met by a system of limited election of studies even in the elementary schools. There need be no fear that this industrial work will not be efficiently done in common schools, nor that its presence there will injure the literary courses. If the University of Wisconsin can with marked efficiency teach thousands of farmer boys how to milk a cow and feed a pig without injury to her splendid work in philology and Greek art, we can certainly teach our children in our regular common schools how to grow plants or put in plumbing without interfering with their study of Wordsworth or their interest in the Roman villas.

Before taking up now our account of the movement for the organization of school and home clubs in the South, let us, in order to get a better conception of the vital import of this movement, recall just a few facts in the history of the development of the home and of the school. The anthropologists have shown us that it was the long period of helplessness of the human infant and the consequent necessary care for it that first forced primitive man to dress skins, to build a shelter, to start the various household arts, and helped to develop pair marriages and faithfulness between father and mother in place of promiscuity. Later, after the industries had been developed and differentiation of labor had separated father and mother in their work, it was still the training and education of their immature child which was the center of home life and furnished the one common labor, and the chief point of contact and co-operation between father and mother. In short, the nurture and education of the child originally made necessary the development of the family and of the home. This nurture and education of their children have always been the center of home life and are now the chief common labor left for father and mother.

Among primitive people, father and mother did practically all the teaching of their children, but as the processes of living became more complex this became impossible and specially qualified teachers were called in to co-operate and to supplement through schools the training and education given in the home. It has, however, come about that instead of co-operating and supplementing, the schools are about to rob the home of that which made the home, namely, the nurture and education of its children. It is no wonder that we see so much evidence of the weakening of home life and the loosening of conjugal and filial ties. While no one would contend that the schools are responsible for all of this menace to our civilization, no man who will stop to observe and think can doubt that the dumping of their children into the schools from six years old to maturity, and giving up all active co-operation in or even intelligent oversight of the formal education of their children does in many cases sadly lessen the sense of personal responsibility, as well as weaken the home and filial ties. This is bad for the home, bad for the school, and worse yet for the children and for our future civilization. If our present type of civilization is to survive, then the school must be made a supplement to and not a substitute for the home; and if our children are to get a rationally co-ordinated development and education, then there must be a better understanding and more intelligent co-operation between the two agencies that are working on the same child at the same time. Would any sane man allow his dog or race horse to be trained for five hours a day by one set of trainers and nineteen hours a day by another set of trainers, each working without knowledge of what the other was doing and with no common plan of procedure. Never! Any fool would know that his horse or dog would be ruined instead of trained, and nothing but the superior resiliency of human protoplasm enables our children to survive this process with somewhat less injury.

Recognizing the necessity of providing a means for better co-operation between school and home, wise educators have long given the matter serious consideration. The best plan that I have been able to discover or devise has been the organization of school and home clubs. These clubs are composed of the parents, the teachers, and interested friends, who meet usually once a month on Friday afternoon in the school building. These clubs have very brief constitution and by-laws, a president and vice-president, who are usually mothers, and a secretary, who is usually a teacher. There are usually committees on program, on buildings and grounds, on library, on entertainment, on social life, on attendance, on club membership, on music and art, and so on. Occasionally the meeting is prefaced by an exhibition or entertainment given by the children. Occasionally a lecture from a specialist or a musical program takes the entire hour. The usual meeting would have some such program as the following: Ten minutes devoted to an account of the year's work in the first grade, stating what the children usually know and don't know on entering, what they are expected to learn, the methods and means that are employed in teaching these things, and how the parents may co-operate most advantageously; ten minutes devoted to reading and trying to answer anonymous questions, if there be any, that timid ones have written and put into a question box; 20 or 30 minutes devoted to a carefully prepared paper on some important topic by a specialist or by some parent or teacher who has been appointed a month or so previously and has made a special study of the subject. Such topics as the following have proved most stimulating and helpful: Proper food for children, sanitation and protection against contagious diseases, plays and games for children, social entertainment for children, proper reading for children, the punishment and discipline of children, how to teach honesty, how to teach unselfishness and helpfulness, and so on. After this set paper ten minutes is given to discussion, after which the meeting ends with informal social intercourse, sometimes with very light refreshments and sometimes not. During this period these teachers or parents who feel special need of help or of better understanding in dealing with their common charge hunt out each other and talk over matters.

In addition to the educative and social features of the afternoon meetings, which are attended largely by the mothers, and of the occasional somewhat different night meetings, which are attended by the fathers also, these clubs through their officers and committees have accomplished a remarkable work in the way of obtaining better financial support for their schools and providing numerous kinds of physical equipment which it had been impossible to secure through the regular channels. For example: The study of the proper feeding of children led to the establishment of hot wholesome school lunches in place of school girl pickles and street vendors' candy; the study of contagious diseases led to sanitary drinking fountains, the school doctor, and more intelligent co-operation in enforcing the quarantine law; the study of the reading of school children resulted in devising means to secure better school libraries; the study of art and music led to putting pianos and reproductions of the best works of art into our schools and in providing free musical entertainments at school; the study of plays and games led to the establishment of playgrounds and the enlargement of school yards. In Austin, Waco, San Marces and several other towns after the school boards had failed several successive times to carry a school tax, the Mothers' Club took up the fight, waged a militant campaign and carried the election. A good illustration of the possibilities of these clubs is found in our little city of Houston, where within three years fourteen white and three negro clubs were established with 817 members. During that time these clubs raised privately and spent $21,547.00 in equipment such as could not be gotten through the regular channels. They placed pianos in twelve schools and kitchens and hot lunches in fifteen schools; equipped three ward schools for manual training and domestic economy (one negro club equipped a room for sewing and provided a teacher). These clubs provided yard seats, arbors and playground equipment; framed the pictures presented to the schools by the Art League; provided free public lectures, musical entertainments and many other similar things. Supt. Horne writes in his last report that while the physical improvements made for the schools by the clubs have been worth a great deal "the interest aroused among the mothers themselves and the kind spirit fostered between the school and the home have been worth even more."

While these clubs have generally helped the schools to secure better financial support and better equipment, it shows a total lack of understanding of their deep significance to look upon this as their chief end, as so many seem to do. In the old South they are usually called School Improvement Leagues. But they ought not to be mere school improvement leagues. They ought to uplift and improve the home as much as they do the school, and ought to bring about intelligent cooperation betwen the two in their common labor with the child.

Think of what it will mean in my state to have a School and Home club in each of our eleven thousand public schools. It will mean that hundreds of thousands of dollars more will be yearly put into school buildings; that thousands of schools will be kept sanitary and adorned with beautiful pictures and statuary; that thousands of school grounds will be beautified and made ornaments to our cities and rural districts; that hundreds of thousands of children will have better playgrounds to keep them off the streets and out of mischief; that manual and domestic training will soon be given to hundreds of thousands of future fathers and mothers; that hundreds of thousands of children will have in their schools and homes new opportunities for books and pictures and music and art; it will mean that twenty thousand tired, struggling teachers will be encouraged and inspired to better work; that a hundred or two hundred thousand tired and perplexed mothers will be helped and given an additional and more effective interest in their children and their schools, will learn in these clubs something about dietetics, sanitation, and art for their homes, something of the general truths discovered by specialists in child study, will be put to work at intelligent co-operation with their children's teachers, instead of blindly surrendering their children each day to the school or working at cross purposes by criticising the work which they do not understand; it will mean that a hundred or two hundred thousand women will be given a broader view of life and a new inspiration towards self-improvement and civic usefulness and away from idle gossip and dead routine; it will mean that a hundred or two hundred thousand women, not now organized, will be organized and trained into an intelligent, reachable army of civic workers, with a common purpose and mutual understanding, who, can be counted on to carry through irresistibly any reasonable social or political measure which is brought to their attention, whether it be for the betterment of schools, for the securing of more just and more humane laws, or for the establishment of higher civic and social ideals.

This is the greatest opportunity ever offered to philanthropy to secure large returns for small outlay. An organizer of such clubs can be placed in the field in any state and the needed literature and help provided at a cost of from two to five thousand dollars a year. Every club becomes a self-sustaining and active agency for civic betterment as soon as organized, and in a few years the entire work of organization would be done. Instead of these clubs demanding constant support as do most charities they become at once large contributors to the other agencies for social betterment.

The University of Texas, recognizing the importance of this work, has just employed an able young graduate and former county superintendent as an extension lecturer, who will go into our rural school districts and organize these clubs, and will prepare literature which will be helpful in their conduct. One bulletin has already been issued on the subject and others will follow. A loan library of books helpful to mothers and teachers in preparing papers on topics discussed in the clubs has been provided and a book will be loaned without charge except for postage upon request of any officer of any club. The Federation of Women's Clubs and the Congress of Mothers both have active state committees, which, as volunteer workers, have organized several hundred of these clubs, are promoting the work in the press, and are endeavoring to raise funds to put other paid field workers in the field. In most of the states of the old South a cultured devoted woman has been placed in the field as organizer, and helpful bulletins have been issued. These workers are as yet too few and are inadequately supported from various private sources. They are accomplishing a great deal, but some of them still do not fully appreciate the broad social significance and the immense possibilities of this work. This movement has already quickened the public interest in education all the way from kindergarten to university. What has been done in Texas and elsewhere is but a crude beginning of a great new social and educational movement which will open newer and larger possibilities as soon as the adequate time, talent, and substance are devoted to its prosecution. Surely there will soon appear some broad-minded far-seeing man or woman who will provide the funds necessary for making this a great national movement and a most effective means of making America a land of efficient schools and real homes.

EDUCATIONAL ADJUSTMENTS AND DEPARTURES IN THE SOUTH

BY CARLETON B. GIBSON, COLUMBUS, GA.

We are interested not alone, nor even primarily, in feeding the hungry and clothing the naked, but in bringing about the best possible condition of society under a democracy. Our notions of government have changed with our notions of education. Public education is a department of government, or a medium through which government seeks to express itself for the people. The education of the children of all the people at public expense has long been regarded as a legitimate function of government; first, that the State might not have ignorant citizens, who would be in danger of becoming criminals; later, that the State might have a higher average type of citizenship.

It has perhaps been left for the latter years of this decade to bring out a more liberal view of the functions of government. We are beginning to realize that the highest purpose of government, as expressed in education, is not alone protection against crime and ignorance and pauperism, but that it is the full and complete development of all its citizens. It is not sufficient that school houses and churches be established to supplant or lessen the need of courts and jails and police. There must be developed in all citizens constructive and creative ability to contribute to the wealth and general welfare of the community. The ideal citizen must be not simply a person of intelligence and culture, but he must be also an efficient economic unit; he must have not only living power, but also creative earning power. Living power without productive earning power is un-American.

But when we look at the South's place in the national tables of illiteracy, we are inclined to be humiliated and wonder whether anything is really being done to develop in her sons and daughters any sort of power. Tables of illiteracy, however, are neither the most discouraging nor the most stimulating facts we can face. After all, they are only conventional modes of rating conformity to standards more or less traditional and arbitrary.

There is in the last census a little table of comparative statistics that concerns me as a Southern man far more than ordinary illiteracy tables. It is a table showing startling relations in the several groups of states between time and cost of schooling and the per capita and family production of wealth, or commodities—or, if you please, the per capita and family contribution to the nation's economic welfare. Some of us may be socialistic enough to find a bit of offensiveness in the term wealth. I submit the table:

	SCHOOLING.		PRODUCTION.	
	Days.	Cost.	Factory Worker.	Farm Family.
North Atlantic	87.5	$3.98	$459	$600
North Central	82.2	3.23	448	892
South Atlantic.	41.9	1.36	306	370
Western	80.5	4.08	556	1108
South Central	41.2	1.05	344	490

Thunder tones ring from every part of it. It speaks eloquently and pleads for a stirring of the Southern people to livelier efforts and a more liberal support of schools. The South Central and the Western States are agricultural sections with natural advantages in favor of the former—less than one-third paid for the child's schooling and about one-third produced by the farm family! One-half the time of the child in school and about one-half the factory worker's output, even with longer hours. As long as the workers produce little there will be found abundant opportunity for organized charity work. The surest way to improve social conditions is to increase the earning power and productive capacity of the masses of citizens without respect to nationality or race. As Mr. Clarence Poe has put it, "the prosperity of every man depends upon the prosperity of the average man."

But the South has not been inert. She has had her own peculiar problems and has carried her own especial burden. Out of the horrible strife into a period of pitiful poverty and prejudice more horrible, the Southern white men began the education of their own children and the numerous children of their brothers in black, their former slaves. And, my friends, but for the gravest mistakes in all American history in that black period following the battle of bullets, this work would have continued in sympathy and love. It has continued, but too often in bitterness and resentment. No mistake has been made in bearing the burdens of taxation to educate the children of the black race, but a stupendous mistake has been made in the white man's withdrawing his intelligent, sympathetic, intimate direction of the negro's education. It has taken nearly a half century to bring the first faint glimmerings of dawn of a new reconstruction when Southern white men will not only tax themselves, as they have always done, for the education of the negro, but will give personal, sympathetic, effective direction to that great work. This is one great distinctive problem in education for the South, and efforts now being made toward its solution constitute one of the most important educational adjustments in all that section.

But there is a brighter side. While the per capita expenditure for schooling is low, it is encouraging and gratifying to have recent reports come from Virginia and Georgia that in each State within the past two years the total expenditures for the common or elementary schools alone have increased from three million to more than four and a quarter million dollars per annum. All Southern States have made large increases in their expenditures for education.

There is another little extract from national statistics which is somewhat more encouraging and creditable to the South than was the last given. In 1906 the following percentages of increase in public high schools over those of the preceding year are given:

North Central States	5.46
North Atlantic States	6.52
South Atlantic States	6.77
South Central States.	7.25
Western States	13.52

In being outstripped by this great, wildly leaping, Western section, we are consoled by the fact that we surpassed New England in growth.

But when we pass from the high school to the kindergarten we find that in no section of the country have those basic forms of education found in the kindergarten received more general attention and thorough approval than throughout the South. Within the last few years kindergartens have been planted in every Southern State. No city system of public schools is now considered complete without a kindergarten preceding primary work. In many cities these kindergartens are as numerous as the first grades. They take the children, especially of the poorer classes, between the ages of four and six, and give them at that impressionable stage of life the foundation of character building which is essential to good citizenship. Through these little children much is done to improve home conditions. In no educational work are there so close relations between the school and the home, and nowhere do teachers do so much real uplift work throughout the homes of the community. Every kindergarten child soon becomes an important factor in building better home conditions. Many communities throughout the South are not only supporting kindergartens but are wisely providing for the training of kindergarten teachers, who go out as missionaries to establish kindergartens where they have not been known before. There is no surer way of increasing the number of kindergartens and their general usefulness than by training a large number of good kindergarteners. Not only are school authorities and communities establishing and maintaining kindergartens, but many corporations, which are not entirely soulless, are building in their communities of workers artistic and attractive kindergarten homes and generously maintaining free kindergartens for the little children of their workers.

In Columbus three cotton mills are maintaining four kindergartens. One, the Eagle and Phoenix mill, has set aside valuable sites and built and equipped as attractive and efficient kindergartens as can be found anywhere in the country. Community gatherings are held in these kindergarten homes, which have really become the community centers of interest, and in them fathers and mothers, and occasionally grandfathers and grandmothers, may be seen on the circle led by an enthusiastic kindergartener in the skips and games of the real kindergarten. These kindergartens have done much through their close contact with the homes and their hold on the people, to lessen the demands and burdens upon the organized charities. They have shown the people who come under their influence better ways of living and therefore have made them more self-respecting, steadier in their work, more productive and more saving. Kindergartens throughout the South have by no means been established exclusively for the child of the well-to-do man, but in most instances have been opened for the children of the poorer classes. Nor have they been confined to the whites. Many kindergartens are maintained at public expense for little negro children, and those who have been in close touch with these negro kindergartens know how readily the little children of the blacks respond to kindergarten training and develop under its influence.

While increasing expenditures for common school education the South has done much to establish manual training and domestic science centers in the urban and rural schools; and this training is now recognized as a legitimate part of school work. Time is given these subjects in the regular school hours and the value of the training is recognized as that of the older traditional subjects. My belief is that the type of manual training given in the classrooms and school shops of the South is less formal and more closely related to vocational training than in any other section of the country. The South has not been burdened with the old idea of manual training for its educational value, but it is usually given for its practical, utilitarian, bread-and-butter value. In educational gatherings there is less energy and eloquence expended in elaborate arguments to justify its usage upon the basis of educational value, whatever that may mean. The definite aim in domestic science is to teach cooking that there may be better cooking in the homes, and that the homes may be happier for having good cooking. They aim to teach manual training that the boy may more readily and effectively take his place in life and contribute to the good of the community. Ninety-two per cent of the elementary school graduates find their occupations in some form of hand work, as was shown by investigations of the Young Men's Christian Association, this manual training should seek and is seeking in the South, not primarily to develop certain lobes of the brain, but to make the boy a better worker, a larger earner, a more efficient servant and a better citizen in his community life. This practical training is not confined to city schools, but is given in many rural schools where better organization is brought about through consolidation.

In some communities manual training has extended even further in its practical aims, where certain types of industrial schools have been established to meet special needs. If public funds are to be used for the public good, and the public good is best conserved in making more skilful, intelligent, productive workers of larger earning capacity, as well as larger living capacity, public funds used for public education ought to contribute to the public good by recognizing the dominant interests of the community in training the young. To make intelligent, moral, law-abiding citizens is not sufficient. They must also have constructive, creative, economic efficiency. In most communities there is a close relationship between social efficiency and economic efficiency.

In Georgia there are several interesting schools established to meet these special local needs. Miss Berry's Industrial School at Rome has had phenomenal success, even with its limited resources, because it sought to do a special work needed by mountain boys. It is gratifying to know that a movement is on foot to extend this excellent school service to meet the equally urgent needs of mountain girls.

The Rabun Gap School, in the heart of the North Georgia mountains, has, after a recent reorganization, started upon an era of great usefulness in training mountain boys and girls for more effective and productive service and a happier mountain life. The intelligent consecration of the principal, Mr. A. J. Ritchie, and his wife, the self-sacrifice and courage they have displayed, are inspiring to school workers everywhere, and they are entitled to all possible encouragement and support. Both were poor mountain children and grew up without education. By persistent struggles Mr. Ritchie became a graduate of Harvard University and his wife of one of the South's leading normal schools. Refusing all tempting offers to go elsewhere, they went back to their people to build a great school for the children of the poor mountain folks. The story of their struggles reads like a romance. They now have a prosperous industrial farm school, with accommodations for fifty boys and girls, who at $5.00 a month, or its equivalent in work, are getting an education. They need accommodations for five times that number.

A remarkable school has been built from very small beginnings in the heart of the cotton mill section of Augusta. A few years ago Supt. Evans, with keen foresight and wise discrimination in school administration, established a special school for the little children of the mill operatives, who in the absence of compulsory education, could not be persuaded to attend the public schools. In the absence of adequate funds, the school was opened in the small second story of a corner grocery. By recognizing that special methods of education must be substituted for the ordinary public school work, and by adapting the work of the school to the particular needs of those children, the necessity of compulsory education laws was found to be not so urgent. The school outgrew its quarters; a large frame building was constructed, and this soon had to be enlarged still further. Recently there was completed and opened in that community, at a cost of more than $100,000, one of the largest and most remarkable elementary school buildings in all the South. Provision is made for the housing and training along modern lines of more than 2,000 children in daily attendance.

Columbus has had in successful operation for several years three distinct types of educational efforts to meet special needs. These are supplementary to and a part of a public school system which gives two years of kindergarten training in every elementary school, the usual forms of elementary school work, including manual training and domestic science, and a four year academic high school preparatory to college. These special schools are known as the Primary Industrial School, Secondary Industrial School, and the Industrial School for Negroes. The first is sometimes called locally the "Dinner Carriers' School," because it meets the special need of a large number of the mill operatives' children, who must carry dinner to the older members of the family working in the mills. It is in session from 8 to 10:30 and 1 to 4, giving a long intermission in the middle of the day, that the children may go to their homes, aid in the preparation of the noon meal, carry it to the family workers in the mill, and return to school. In the absence of compulsory education laws it was found wise and necessary, and wise because it was necessary, to adopt special methods of education, to get the children into school and retain them. At first little formal book work was done and there was no effort to make it of primary importance. It, however, has not been neglected. For the formal lessons in reading, writing and arithmetic, simple elementary lessons were substituted in ethics, civics, sanitation and health, house-cleaning, cooking, serving, housekeeping, gardening, yard decoration through vines, shrubbery, etc., sewing, manual training, laundering and sundry forms of handicraft, to which were gradually related more and more the elementary studies of the graded schools in rather an ungraded fashion. No traditional examinations are allowed to test the thoroughness of that school; nor are the public school laws, as inexorable as the laws of the Medes and Persians, applied to that school. The definite, immediate aim of the school is to improve the lives of the children and their home condition. The little girls, practically all of whom are under mill age, are taught to cook that they may have part in a better preparation of the noonday meal, and also that they may show their mothers better ways of cooking. They are taught to launder, that their own clothes and bed linen may be clean and more attractive to them. They are taught to dress a bed that their own home beds may be more comfortable and refreshing to the toilers. They are taught to garden that their uncouth back yards may be converted into wholesome places of beauty and usefulness in the family life. They are taught to sew that they may patch well and find a joy in patching—that they may make their garments better and more economically, and while teaching these pupils to mend their clothes they are also taught to mend their ways. The school has shower baths and a swimming pool, which are open to the young people of the community. A not inconspicuous feature of the school is its play-grounds. The school does much settlement work, is a sort of a charity clearing house for the community, so far as it is needed, and is the community center of interest.

The Secondary Industrial School is a latter outgrowth of the Primary Industrial School and the manual training of the elementary schools. It is an academic-trade high school. The essentials of academic studies are pursued by all students. All girls are given extensive courses in household economics and all boys in mechanical drawing. Every boy or girl must, on entering, select one trade or bread-winning occupation and pursue that throughout the entire course of three years—eleven months in the year—eight hours a day. The school plant is utilized and the school is in session practically all the time. The trades are the important local trades and the school is closely linked to local interests. Students, after meeting all the requirements of the school for graduation, must serve satisfactorily two months in an industry of their trade before receiving diplomas. This links them to the industrial life of the community and insures them good employment upon their graduation.

The definite aim of industrial training in the negro schools of Columbus is to fit young negro boys and girls for immediate, efficient service in the community life. The training of wise and helpful leaders in the colleges is important and should be encouraged; but there are only 17,000 young negro men and women in all America in preparation for such leadership, and only a few of these will ever attain to very great usefulness as leaders. There are, on the other hand, more than 1,700,000 negro boys and girls in schools who should be trained wisely for useful living. No one of them perhaps will ever so much as go into training for leadership. We must seek to fit this great army of nearly 2,000,000 for their greatest usefulness without college or university training for leadership. Efforts in this direction have in Columbus resulted in holding more pupils, especially boys, to the end of the school course and giving them at once remunerative employment, instead of turning them loose in idleness to run the streets and drift into crime and the courts. Better cooks, seamstresses, housekeepers, home-makers, carpenters and blacksmiths have been supplied by this school to the community which maintains the school. Both negro and white citizens believe in it, appreciate it, support it.

When, forty-two years ago, General Armstrong sought to establish a school especially suited to the needs of the negroes, he was perhaps not aware of the great contribution he would make in Hampton Institute to American education. This great institution, which has been a blessing to the colored people, has done more than any other institution in America to promote and crystallize the ideals of industrial education, or training for efficient service in industries, agriculture and home building. From it have grown the excellent institutions at Tuskegee, Fort Valley, Mt. Meigs, Calhoun and other places, and these have contributed in no small measure to the South's educational adjustments to the needs of modern life.

In connection with public education of negroes in the cities, there is a gratifying movement on foot to provide more adequate housing and facilities for teaching. In the list of Southern cities that have acted liberally in this matter, Little Rock, Ark., deserves perhaps first place. Birmingham is beginning the provision of accommodations that will not only enable the school authorities to carry on more wisely, and more economically when results are considered, the work of negro education, but it will also add lustre to the name and reputation of that excellent system of schools.

Perhaps nothing is going to contribute more towards the effective training of the masses of negro children, especially in rural communities, than the wise use of the Janes' fund. While this is not a Southern undertaking, it is worthy of note and very gratifying, and really epochal in Southern education, that a gentleman of good old aristocratic Southern birth and training, should be willing to give up an honorable and attractive position in one of the South's largest universities and put himself so heartily into the task of improving negro rural schools. And it is also noteworthy that this has been done without the sacrifice of one iota of his social prestige and popularity. This could not have been done twenty-five years ago.

An interesting departure from city school organization and administration has recently been made at Roanoke, Va., by Superintendent Hart. While the plan was worked out independently, the conclusions are practically the same as those of a committee of the National Education Association, whose report is soon to be published. In this respect a Southern city has taken the lead in a departure that will do much to solve troublesome problems of adolescence and modern vocational training. It has founded centralized intermediate schools in which certain high school methods are begun and the vocational training, following the elementary forms of handcraft in primary schools, and preparatory to more advanced and specific trades of the high schools, is given. It is demonstrated that these intermediate schools are matters of administrative economy and productive of greater efficiency.

The great drawback to any substantial progress in Southern education has been the existence in large numbers of uncouth, dilapidated, demoralizing, isolated, one-room rural school houses, where, without intelligent and effectice supervision, a makeshift of school is kept and extravagant waste indulged in. The only thing that commends such a schoolhouse is that its extreme and unintended ventilation makes it approximate the open-air school for which there is now such demand in large Northern cities. Possibly the great men of old who came from these one-room log schoolhouses on the old red hills of Georgia, and numerous other hills, were made great, not by any specially good methods of teaching found in such schools, but by the abundance of fresh air for which I heard a Chicago gentleman pleading at the Indianapolis meeting of superintendents. A great general movement has been launched by the combined efforts of the Peabody Board and the several State departments to consolidate these schools for closer supervision and more effective teaching. State organizers have been selected from among the brightest and most successful school men of the South to do this work. Under Mr. J. G. Thomas of Virginia, the first in this field, a unique and very interesting piece of what might be called educational engineering has been done in Halifax county. Isolated schools and patrons' homes and county roads were surveyed and plotted, centralized schools located, financed, built, organized, beautified and made effective.

This is only one of several really great educational developments in Virginia under the dynamic leadership of State Superintendent J. D. Eggleston. One of them is the beginning of thorough medical inspection and physical study of all the rural school children of the State. If the study of city school children has been of so much interest and has thrown so much light on physical conditions of city children, this study of all the rural children of a typical State will be much more interesting and the results carefully shown will be more valuable. The eradication of causes of physical weakness and waste and the great work of body building in the masses of children and adults, white and black, are matters of tremendous economic and social importance.

While it is impossible in this paper to speak of all developments and adjustments in Southern education, there must not be omitted some reference to the agricultural training that is being given in the schools and on the farms of this great agricultural section. The demonstration farm work among adults out of school and the corn clubs among the boys in school, have brought results far greater than were anticipated, and added materially to the economic and social welfare of the South. When such effort in schools enables a seventeen-year-old boy to produce 157 bushels of corn on an acre that produced not more than 20 bushels by the old methods, a benefaction has indeed been wrought. This effort with the boys is beginning to be extended to the country girls in clubs and contests in poultry raising, cooking, and dairying with the definite aim of enriching country home life.

For a long time the South has occupied a humiliating place in the illiteracy lists, but in the dawn of this new day of modern education we have cause to lift up our heads and feel proud that so many beginnings in this great movement are made here. While ignorance is always a curse and a cure for nothing, is it not possible that failure of the South to provide adequate facilities and attain high standards under the old ideals of education will make this field open and fertile for the readier working out of saner, more helpful, more effective types of schools that can easily be done in sections that have reached higher places in illiteracy statistics? It may prove fortunate that in this educational renaissance the South is an open field for the building of ideals and types of schools that will more adequately meet modern economic and social demands.

MEDICAL INSPECTION OF SCHOOL CHILDREN

BY DR. JAMES STEWART, ST. LOUIS, MO.

In discussing the subject of Medical Inspection of School Children before this body, I take it that it is not necessary to present evidence of the need of such inspection, but that we all regard it as a necessity. Therefore I shall touch upon the work in its several relations, and in the order of the importance of these relations as they appear to me.

I. As it affects the educational progress of the child.

II. As it affects the home and the family.

III. As it affects society in general.

IV. As it affects the family physician in his practice.

V. As to conduct of medical inspection—whether by boards of education or by boards of health.

I. The Effect of Medical Inspection upon the Educational Progress of the Child. This relation is naturally the most important because the educational progress of the child is the base upon which medical inspection of school children primarily rests. As already stated, there is no need for presenting evidence as to the necessity for such inspection, and it is only my purpose to bring out here the educational benefits resulting to the child from such inspection.

A study of statistics shows that in every school system there is a marked retardation among the children. This retardation has been greater in the past and through medical inspection, compulsory attendance and other efforts will be less in the future. The causes of retardation as found by educational authorities are many. Chief among them, however, are (a)the neglect on the part of parents in sending their children to school, and (b) remedial defects in the child's physical being, existing in most cases without knowledge of the child or parent, and in a small percentage of cases time lost because of contagious disease.

Medical inspection has only to do with the second of these causes, namely, the existence of physical defects and the prevention of the spread of contagious disease.

The principal physical defects which hinder the child's progress in school are visual defects, nasal obstruction, impaired hearing, dental caries, malnutrition and defects of speech. These, if uncorrected, impair the child's mentality, cause a lack of concentration, and inability to grasp expressed thought that is clear to the normal child; and leave the afflicted children physically debilitated and more susceptible to contagion. If uncorrected for any length of time such defects are often indirectly the cause of death, and more often through bad environment and weakened moral character lead to a criminal or at least a worthless after life.

The removal of visual defects allays nervous irritability and waste of energy; the removal of nasal obstruction relieves the respiratory organs, permits the requisite supply of oxygen to the body, thereby awakening perceptive faculties and strengthening the power of concentration. The removal of the causes of impaired hearing, such as the presence of foreign bodies, hardened wax, catarrhal conditions, increases alertness and responsiveness.

Proper care of the teeth, preventing abscess formations, oftimes the source of bacterial invasion, aids the child in the proper mastication, digestion and assimilation of food, and, in a measure, prevents malnutrition.

Medical inspection, by preventing the spread of contagion, reduces the number of contagious diseases to a minimum, increases school attendance and lessens retardation.

Another field of work for the medical department of schools is in dealing with that class of children found in every public school, who are congenital defectives. Dull and defective children have always been found among the intelligent in public schools. The ratio of these children to the total school population in any community may vary, but statistics collected in different countries lead to the conclusion that probably one per cent. is so dull or defective that such children cannot be taught in the ordinary classes.

II. As Medical Inspection Affects the Home and the Family. One of the objections to the regular examination of school children seems to have been that it was an unwarranted intrusion in matters purely personal to the parents. But that cannot be an intrusion which has for its only object the improvement of the health of future citizens and which interferes with or usurps the rights of no one.

General conclusions can be obtained, of course, only from a consideration of statistics from all schools in the different cities having medical inspection. Such statistics have been compiled and are available for study. There is a surprising uniformity in these reports and the results of our examinations in St. Louis vary but little from them. Everywhere we find comparatively little attention given by parents to the physical condition of their children and everywhere the need of examination by a regular authorized board of inspectors. In our work we may classify parents into at least three groups: First, those who regularly employ physicians and have for some reason or other not been informed as to the physical abnormality in their children. They generally do not resent any examination and are usually glad to have such abnormalities corrected. Second, those parents who are rather indifferent as to the real health of their children, providing they do not suffer from any of the usual well known "dangerous" diseases. It is rather difficult sometimes to convince these parents of the necessity of correcting ascertained abnormalities, but they can be convinced. It is in these instances that the family physician, if capable and interested, and especially the school nurse, can accomplish most. The nurse can explain carefully to the parents, preferably in their homes, the value and necessity of medical or surgical attention. Third, those parents to whom children are accidental, unnecessary and almost utterly neglected. With them little can be accomplished.

I have spoken at length about parents for the reason that we must depend upon them finally for results and any system of examining must make provision for following up cases of manifest abnormality or deficiency. The need of nurses or social workers to follow up many of our examinations is immediate and imperative. The examiners' recommendation secures to the child medical or surgical attention in many instances, but definite results in almost all cases could be secured if some one could personally enforce our recommendations in the homes of the children. It is the impression of other workers in the field that only by a systematic follow-up plan can best results be attained.

The correction of physical defects as it affects the family is apparent. The removal of abnormality is not only of the greatest aid to the child but it brings to the home a blessing immeasureable and elevates that home in its rank for the common good.

III. As Medical Inspection Affects Society in General. Unfortunately the average citizen and, it would seem, the average physican, is not vitally and actively concerned in the betterment of the race of the future. Only by a regular systematic examination of the children in the schools and by repeated suggestions and recommendations regarding ascertained abnormalities can we secure for the men and women of the future that health and happiness so essential to culture and efficiency. Sanitary science has taken its proper place in the affairs of man and we may reasonably expect that hygienic conditions will obtain in public buildings and soon in all dwellings. Sociologists everywhere are endeavoring to convince men and women of the necessity of hygienic surroundings and of normal life habits. Enough attention has not been given to the physical and mental abnormalities of children during that period in life when most can be accomplished, namely, during the first two decades. Correction of abnormalities early in life is more easily accomplished and promises more certain and permanent benefits than any other time.

What business can a community possibly find more profitable? Our insurance companies are writing millions of dollars of insurance on lives that will be unnecessarily shortened by reason of abnormalities unrecognized and not corrected early in life. Why not begin to insure our physical condition in childhood? We know that many abnormalities of children result in impoverished blood, lowered resistance to infections, over tension of special senses and early degeneration. One can easily see what immense returns would accrue to a community by the investment of moderate sums to prevent such deterioration of physical and mental power. The wealth and stability of a nation must depend, in the final analysis, on the physical and mental stamina of its citizens and the children of today will soon be active integral parts of the nation. The more one thinks on the matter the more he wonders that inspection of school children has not been insisted upon earlier.

In a general way, socially and economically considered, one may easily see the value to the public of such regular systematic examination of school children as will insure the best health and efficiency and definite specific benefits may easily be adduced.

What can a child learn who is constantly annoyed by blurring in reading, by headaches, by sensitiveness to light or who is always fatigued by close attention of any kind? What can one accomplish whose blood is impoverished by deficient oxygenation and whose brain is anaemic or inundated with unoxidized products? Is it not of value to the public to produce mentally and physically perfect men and women to carry on its work and its plans? In after years these physically defective children fall an easy prey to infection, to nerve exhaustion and frequently become a burden to the state. With a lowered resistance and probably inherited tendency to abnormality what chance has such a child in the modern struggle for existence? Whose is the responsibility if not that of the general public which neglected to provide a means of detecting and correcting conditions at the most favorable time? This matter has for us no mere theoretical interest. Distressing, even alarming conditions, confront us and we must have practical consideration and must show practical results. In a few months St. Louis will be able to furnish a report of practical significance.

A great part of the work of the medical inspector and school nurse must be done in the homes of those who are too poor or uninformed to look after such matters themselves. We must never forget, however, that the health and the lives of the children of such parents are of as much potential value to the state as the health and lives of any of its children. On the one hand we do not know how great or valuable any of them may become, and on the other hand we do not know what a menace morally and physically many of them will become unless freed of abnormalities which must unfavorably affect their outlook in life.

IV. As Medical Inspection Affects the Family Physician in His Practice. One of the most vital considerations involved in the hygienic inspection of the public schools is the relation to be sustained by the medical inspector toward the general profession. We can only hope for the most perfect results when we are sustained by the sympathy and moral support of the profession at large. That cannot. be expected if our duties are to place us in antagonism with their interests. The aim and object of the movement is to prevent the dissemination of infectious and contagious diseases, to discover any such physical defects, general or special, as will handicap or retard the progress of pupils; and indirectly to educate and stimulate the parents to the proper care of the health, morals and faculties of their children. We watch for infection; we look for defects of organs of special sense; we look after the general hygienic condition of the school buildings, and one of our most urgent duties is to promote personal cleanliness. A physician said to me: "This thing is all right if it is done rightly, but it is neither right nor proper for a corps of doctors living at the public expense to treat our patients and work into our families after we have spent years working up a practice." Medical inspectors should not be allowed to prescribe, nor even commend any physician or school of practice, but should advise treatment where necessary and suggest that the case be taken to the family physician without delay. They should emphasize the importance of early treatment and the dangers of delay and thus the family physician should get cases which would otherwise not go to him at all or, if at all, too late for him to do any good.

But so far as I can see there is but one place where unpleasant relations might arise with the family physician. We must place him on record in our search for infectious contact so that he will not be able to conceal infectious cases. I don't believe he wants to conceal, but oftentimes it looks to him as if his holding his cases depends upon his gratifying the prejudice and the request of his families not to report. They say: "Doctor, this would spoil my business, and its none of their business what goes on in my family." Medical inspection would shield him from pressure and the temptation not to report. He can say: "The school medical inspectors know of the case, or they soon will, for they are on the trail; it is bound to be discovered and you and I will be subject to fine and scandal, so why break the law?"

In cases of tuberculosis especially is there great horror of publicity on the part of the family, and the physician often regards it as a great hardship to have it known that a teacher, a preacher, a nurse, or a magnate is a fertile source of infection and danger.

He who conceals an infectious case is morally guilty of every death and every physical and every mental defect that results to others from that concealment. In order to avoid appearances, the other children of school age in the family are sent to school bearing infecting germs in their clothing, their throats, their ears, or their lungs. They come in contact with hundreds of non immune children and even thousands may be the ultimate victims of that one concealment. Can men, whose aim in life is to save life and relieve infirmity, reconcile such actions to the noble aims of their profession? Can men, of culture and education, who boast of their position in the foremost ranks of citizens, be guilty of practices that would be condoned and countenanced only in days of ignorance and superstition?

When the inspector reports these things in the line of official duty the odium and family resentment falls on him and not on the family physician. The inspectors should send notes to parents or guardians informing them of conditions and advising treatment by their family physician or dentist, but in a great number of cases there is no family physician and no money to pay one. We must then resort to some form of charity and that which we advise is a clinic at a medical college or hospital, and instantly here arises one of our difficulties. Clinics at medical colleges are instituted for the purpose of furnishing material for object lessons in the diagnosis and treatment of disease and injuries. At the hospital they are for the same purpose and controlled by some college teacher. It goes without saying that if we inspectors refer an indigent pupil to one of these clinics those interested in the others will raise a cry of discrimination. If we express favorable opinions on any specialist the same condition prevails. What must we do if we want results?

The clinical teachers should get together and amicably arrange this matter so that ample facilities may be afforded for the relief of the conditions found by the medical inspector. Then they will know what to do. Clinics will grow, the poor will find the relief and medical inspection will have difficulty smoothed out of the path of its progress.

V. The Conduct of Medical Inspection. Should it be by Boards of Education or Boards of Health?

The need of medical inspection in this country is fully admitted. The great question seems to be whether such inspection should be undertaken by boards of health or by boards of education. By their nature boards of health are charged with the duty of preserving the public health and therefore must be responsible for the prevention and detection of contagious diseases. Their work in this regard is applicable to school children as well as to the public generally. It therefore follows that medical inspection of school children so far as it relates to contagious and infectious diseases should be conducted by the board of health or by a body working in harmonious co-operation with the board of health. However, this relation of the board of health to medical examination of school children properly extends only to those afflicted children whose presence at school is detrimental to the public health by reason of their afflictions being transmitted to others. But the effect of the presence of contagious diseases upon the advancement of school children is very slight indeed, only four per cent of all exclusions from school are made on account of contagious diseases.

The main importance of medical inspection, as such, is in connection with the discovery and correction of physical defects. The presence of a child in the school who is afflicted with some physical defect cannot be said to affect the public health in such a way as to properly bring the examination and care of such children within the duties of the board of health. The presence of such defects affect only the child, and the injury resulting from their presence consists not only of the pain and annoyance caused the pupil but in the retardation of such an afflicted child in his school work. It is because the presence of physical defects hampers the child's progress in school, and does not affect the public health, that the duty of detecting and remedying such physical defects rests clearly with boards of education and not with boards of health. Because of the greater importance of discovering and remedying physical defects a department in medical inspection should be in charge of the board of education and the work of such department so far as it will necessarily relate to contagious disease should be done in co-operation with the rules of the department of health.

As a matter of administration medical inspection being under the control of the board of education removes the dual responsibility for the complete care of the children that would exist if such inspection were under the control of the department of health.

To sum up: What is the aim and need of medical inspection? A healthy body is the only absolutely secure foundation for a sound mind and strong intellect upon which depend the stability of society, the progress of humanity. The health of a child should therefore come first, and when that is secure, his mental education can be built upon it.

"WHAT MACHINE-DOMINATED INDUSTRY MEANS IN RELATION TO WOMAN'S WORK: THE NEED OF NEW TRAINING AND APPRENTICESHIP FOR GIRLS

BY MRS. ANNA GARLIN SPENCER, NEW YORK CITY.

All educational and labor reform topics may well be treated by the National Conference of Charities and Correction along the line of its own historic genius and permanent function; namely, as a part of study and effort toward wiser and more effective care and aid of the weaker, the less competent, the more unfortunate members of the human family; leaving to other organizations such approach to the "School and the Community" and to "Occupational Standards", to "Recreation Facilities" and the like efforts toward general environmental change as cannot be properly allied with charitable work. In this belief this paper presents the problem of the industrial education of girls from the point of view which concerns those of the poorer classes who must leave school at 14 to 16 years of age to engage in paid work outside the home. The industrial conditions of this class of girls is intimately bound up with five specific and important social evils which demand constant attention from all who work for "needy families" and all who try to aid human failures or unfortunate individuals toward a better condition.

These five social evils as related to charity and correction on one side and to industrial training of girls on the other are:

I. Prostitution: Its causes and its treatment.

II. Poverty: As caused by physical weakness and disease.

III. Poverty: As caused by character weakness and by mental incapacity not due to actual defectiveness.

IV. Poverty: As caused or increased by the lack of thrift, of judgment, of household capacity on the part of the house mother.

V. Poverty: As caused or increased by the general economic incapacity and weakness of the deserted wife or widowed mother upon whom children depend.

First, then, Prostitution requires for its substantial diminution not only laws well enforced to abolish the traffic in womanhood; not only better social protection against harpies who try to seduce young girls seeking an honest livelihood; not only better chaperonage of young girls in exposed occupations; not only better opportunities for natural enjoyment of youthful pleasure under morally safe conditions; not only these but most of all greater power on the part of the average young girl to earn her support under right conditions and for a living wage.

Second. Poverty resulting from physical causes, (and it is well known that this includes at least one-third of the causes needing relief), demands for its substantial diminution not only all the effort indicated in other fields of social reform but also the prevention of the health-destroying overwork under bad physical conditions of the young girls who are potential mothers and whose vitality and vigor are our dependence for the people's strength.

Third: Poverty, as resulting from character-weakness or mental deficiency, depends for its substantial diminution not only upon the general disciplinary and educational influences of enlightened charity, but especially upon a training of young womanhood which should raise the standard of the home environment in early life, and this means particularly a higher grade of mother, more definitely trained for her work with her children.

Fourth: Poverty, as resulting from specific economic incapacity of the house-mother in her function as buyer, conserver of material, user of work opportunities as cook, housekeeper, etc., cannot be substantially diminished by any sort of appeal or aid after the house-mother's heaviest burdens are upon her. It must be an early training and discipline that prepares in advance of the home demand.

Finally, poverty caused, or terribly increased by the inability of women to get suitable work or sufficient wages when left widowed or deserted to care for themselves and children, can never be treated intelligently by the charitable public until the factor of the mother's economic power and adaptability is given its proper place.

These considerations all unite in the requirement to study the problem of women's industrial position on its pathological as well as on its normal side.

What is the problem of women's industrial position? Not that women are newly in industry. They have always been there. Marriage customs and laws fixing the value of their services to the family reach back to the beginnings of social organization. Women have but recently acquired a "pay envelope", it is true; their compensation through unnumbered centuries being given them "in truck" or "in kind," but that fact did not prevent their constant labor. It is the movement from domestic handicraft and personal tool and individual process to the present power-driven machinery, with its capitalized plant, that makes the worker go to it for his labor,—that which created the shop and the factory makes the new element of women's work. They are doing the old things,—spinning, weaving, making garments of all kinds, manufacturing the food products and doing a thousand things that give comfort to personal and domestic life, but they are doing these old tasks in a new place and by a new method.

The majority of women, however, have not changed that method and place of work for the whole of their lives. They have only as a large and increasing minority, which promises to become a majority of the sex, adopted the new methods in the new place of work for a portion of their lives. Herein lies the reason for much that is confusing in the problem of women's labor today.

Let us examine these conditions:

From 20 to 25 per cent of women and girls between the ages of 10 and 60 years are listed in the United States census as in "gainful occupations", that is, in receipt of wages or salary; as contrasted with between 30 and 85 per cent of men and boys of the same ages. But this is not an accurate indication of the relative numbers of men and women engaged for any portion of their lives in such gainful occupations. The facts show that fully one-half of the women over 16 years of age spend from three to ten years of their lives in some form of compensated labor outside of their own homes, one-third of the young women between 15 and 24 years being so employed. The average working term for the wage-earning women is from four to five years so that in a period of twenty years in which the personnel of the wage-earning class of men would be fairly stable, the personnel of the wage-earning class of women would be four or five times changed. That means that the number of women and girls at work at any given moment is not a fair showing of the number of women and girls working during some portion of their lives, and it must be noted that this wage-earning period is in early youth. The overwhelming majority of women engaged in gainful occupations are under twenty-five years of age, and most of them, the larger number, under twenty-one. The youth of these workers, and their short term of service in organized industry outside the home, are two facts bearing directly upon the pathological elements in women's work.

These twin facts make natural another fact, namely, that about 75 per cent of girls who enter trades and occupations between the ages of 14 and 17 years, (and this class constitutes a large part of that army of 6,000,000 or more women), enter those occupations which have no future in them of either financial or educational advance. The work is taken up without serious choice or preparation, without personal ambition or special training, and of such work only the lowest faculties are demanded and hence it can never furnish a living wage on the basis of a really human standard of living.

Moreover, added to the facts respecting the proportions, the age, and the low grade, and therefore poorly paid labor in which working girls engage, is another of great importance, namely, that although 205 out of the 303 industries, listed in the census, employ women, they are for the most part doing the unskilled parts of this varied industry even when that industry offers a chance for rising in skill and in compensation, and even when they continue many years in it. This shows that the minority of women of unbroken employment who do continue for a long period in a trade or occupation suffer permanently from constant competition with an ever changing army of young girls who enter and leave without really feeling themselves a part of the organized industry.

This again leads to the slowness of perception on the part of employers of women and girls that they must be dealt with as men are dealt with on the basis of an independent self-supporting class.

The "working girl" (and the youth of the average woman worker makes the name most appropriate), is still looked upon as one engaged in a transient effort to help in the family support and her employment for wages outside the house is still looked upon as either a temporary if necessary evil or a neglible incident quite outside her true and permanent way of life. Most people have yet to learn that this new way of doing the old duties of "woman's sphere" is simply a new form of the economic contribution of women to the world of work and hence must be adjusted to the new labor conditions as a permanent part of labor in such fashion as will best conserve the well-being of men and of women and of the family. Among the adjustments imperatively demanded is that which has to do with the present divorce, both in interest and in process, of the wage-earning period of the young working girl from the home life she usually re-enters after this wage-earning period is passed.

The old forms of domestic work were not only trained for in the home, not only directly aided the comfort of the home, but they were admirably calculated to prevent the woman from too early specializing in her work and were particularly helpful in the development of an all-round "faculty" and adaptability in the mastery of things for human use and comfort. The girl learned all the manifold processes of the old-fashioned household industries from the mother at home; she specialized indeed to some extent as natural talent indicated, becoming noted as a "good cook," or a "skilled weaver" on the hand loom, or a gifted dyer of the home made cloth, or an expert cutter or maker of clothing or what not; but it was a purely natural specialization and never could become a narrow and monotonous doing of but one thing. This was hard upon the genius, and almost equally so upon the woman of marked talent, intellectual or artistic, who should have been released from the universal bondage to "general housework", but it formed a fine technical and moral discipline for the average girl. And it resulted in saving for nature's uses in the family of one-half the race at least from that tyranny of over-specialization which has hampered the average man in his personal development. Now the girl who at 14 to 16 years of age goes to work in a shop or factory is specialized at once and usually on the least educational parts of the industry she is employed in, and along some line she cannot pursue at home as a house-mother, and therefore her brief incursion into this outside world of organized labor is not only short, not only made at a time of life when she is least able to take educational advantage of it without educational guidance, but it is so unrelated in obvious detail to the marriage she wants, and the re-absorption in home life she seeks, that all concerned fail to see its relation to her character development.

The experience of the race shows that we get our most important education not through books but through our work. We are developed by our daily job or else demoralized by it as by nothing else. The training of books is recent and superficial for most of the race, and only touches the outer or upper edges of the social consciousness. The training by one's daily task reaches back to the beginnings of human discipline for social ends, and is so vital a part of physical, mental and moral training that for one-third or one-half the race, and that the mother half that perforce stamps its quality most irrevocably upon the offspring, to spend three to ten years in work entered upon without plan, pursued as a mere and often disliked incident on the way from the father's to the husband's home and therefore accepted with all its evil concomitants of poor wages and bad conditions as something not to be bettered but to be escaped from as soon as possible, this constitutes a social evil of the first magnitude. Any work not made an education and a discipline becomes inevitably a source of mental or moral injury and the greatest evils connected with the modern forms of women's labor are the failure to treat the wage-earning of women as a serious and a permanent educational opportunity. The low wages, the philanthropy which makes a hard working girl a subject of charity in the provisions of boarding homes to piece out her too low wage, the long hours, the unpaid overtime, the tyranny of inhuman or vicious overseers—these evils would not be tolerated a decade if it were clearly understood that the working girl in gainful occupations is a fixture, that the married woman earning salary or wages is in the field by right if she can guarantee society that her motherhood is not injured thereby, that the deserted wife or widow, held responsible for her own support and for as much of her children's as she can justly meet, that these are all women fulfilling their old economic debt to society under new industrial conditions, in a new place and by a new method, and must be aided to fit the new process of self-support into harmonious relation with the social demand upon women. The poorer the class of women the greater the demand for this readjustment and the greater the need for social aid in the process. With this in view let us refer again to the social evils bound up with pathological industrial conditions of women's work.

I. Prostitution. I do not believe with a celebrated minister that "prostitution is solely an economic question." The ancient enemies of human progress, greed and lust, and the ancient drawbacks to human progress, ignorance, laziness, self-indulgence, vanity and lack of moral responsibility, are now as ever causes of the social evil. But prostitution is and always has been in part, and often in large part, an economic question.

Women in older stages of social and domestic organization were mostly cared for within the household, but not all in a form of marriage we should now consider honorable. With the increase of individual economic responsibility among women there has been a corresponding increase in the ease of access to young girls by exploiting forces of evil. There has been also a clearer conception on the part of young girls of what economic conditions are and of that "easiest way" of earning the more luxurious life, which so soon becomes the hardest and most suffering way. We have often had pictured to us the effect upon the hard-working man who comes home at night with a dollar or a dollar and a half, of the home-coming into the same tenement of a man whose begging has resulted in a total of three to five dollars. This produces paupers we rightly say, and we beg people not to give to beggars. Who can rightly picture the effect upon a young girl of 14 to 18 years of age, living in a tenement house where every one knows every one else, returning from a week's hard work with her pitiful wage of two, three, four or five dollars, of receiving the visit of a friend who has earned in nameless ways enough to buy finery to wear on "rides" and to "shows" for which the youthful soul longs? The low wages of women are a direct incitement to vice; they constitute the great disadvantage of virtue; they make it easier for all the evil elements that prey upon ignorance and innocence and weakness to secure their horrible maiden tribute each year. The only lasting protection of womanhood is in its own power of self-support and self-direction. We are handicapped in our endeavors to eradicate the social evil until girls enter the industrial field better safe-guarded by intelligence, better trained for special work which the industrial condition needs and hence will pay for, stronger industrially to demand and secure decent treatment, and above all with greater desire to do good work and rise in their positions by merit and not by favor because made conscious by preliminary education of the real significance of their partnership in organized labor, however brief that may be.

Second, the health of working girls in its relation to the poverty which is due to physical causes, is made so obviously a matter of serious consideration by the youth of the poorer girls employed, that it is beginning to demand the attention it deserves. This subject will be discussed in other sections. It only remains to be said in this connection, that there is grave difference of opinion between those on the one side who fear that protective legislation for women workers, not shared by men with whom they compete, may retard the general advance of women in industrial freedom of opportunity and a just wage; and those on the other side who approach the question of occupational diseases and the effect of certain kinds and extent of labor upon the health of women from the standpoint merely of women's relation to motherhood. This difference may be eased if not wholly resolved into agreement, if the youth of the average wage-earning girl and the short time of her service are considered. We may well be cautious about interfering too partially by law with the work of women of mature age, and those who have an industrial experience leading them to trade union or organization through which a more democratic form of protection may reasonably be hoped for. But there can be no question that girls under twenty-one are fit subjects for as much legal protection from industrial exploitation as we can possibly secure and enforce. And there is no question that to deplete the vitality, to injure the health, to undermine the constitutional vigor of the potential mothers of the race, before they have reached their legal majority, is to poison the fountain of life at its very source. Hence, whatever may come to be the decision as to what the state shall do, or not do, in respect to women over twenty-one, or in regard to women who have been employed over five years in a given trade, there can be no question that the working girl, flitting about from one bad employment to another, and not stopping in any one long enough either to learn its value or master its conditions, and flitting out of all organized industry back to the home in less than a decade, should be protected against evil conditions she neither understands nor can change.

But legal protection is only one side. Better training for more skilled and promising employments that pay better at first and offer more rapid advance is the other and quite as important side. The proof that ill health and consequent incapacity to give vigor to offspring does result from a long list of evils connected with the working life of young women even when not continued above three or four years is ample. The proof that many trades are specially inimical to women's physique, that monotonous and too rapid machine work injures the delicate nervous organism of young girls, and produces a positive poison of fatigue, and that all this is connected with undervitalization, the indolence of weakness, the general debility that does not kill but hopelessly incapacitates, which so invalidates motherhood, this is clear and sinister in suggestion.

III. Poverty as related to lack of character and work-efficiency in the individual is directly traceable to defective homes. Dr. Warner gives us as "subjective causes of poverty" "shiftlessness," "unhealthy diet," "lack of judgment" and other elements of personal character which depend markedly for their eradication or substantial diminution, upon an improved home environment in early youth. The finer elements of relief, which involve education and disciplinary measures to increase the personal power of "the charitable patient," are all the outgrowth of a clear perception that in the case of many people it is themselves and not their conditions that first and most needs mending. The inability to use rightly existing opportunities for bettering one's lot is a common complaint, one that no proposed mass uplift, by change of circumstances without any active co-operation of the classes or persons to be benefited, will wholly cure. The connection between the capacity to make the best and most of existing possibilities for personal advances and family health, thrift and well-being, and the mental and moral power of the house-mother, needs only mention to be appreciated in this connection. But the connection between the untrained, unambitious, shirking, careless, attitude of the girls at work for wages and the lack of character and ability to manage a home afterward, is not so often clearly seen. It is not alone the absence of that specific training which the old domestic forms of industry gave the girl in the specific processes she would later need in her own home, that makes her brief wage-earning period ineffective as preparation for later responsibilities. It is also, and quite as important a factor, the positive injury to the work sense, the demoralization of the faculty of true service that the shallow and transitory connection with outside trade or occupation so often gives.

If a person has been really disciplined by her task in any form of effort, she can transfer that power of using means intelligently to ends of mastery over obstacles, and of capable and effective use of work processes, from one to another sort of effort, with an ease proportioned to native power and the thoroughness of this previous training. But if she has merely "held down a job" for three to five years without interest, ambition, mental grasp or moral faithfulness, she has acquired no capital of work power to invest in the new occupation. Herein is the worst of all the effects because the most subtle and far reaching in moral character of the short wage-earning experience of the average girl of the poorer classes.

IV. Poverty as related to work of women after marriage and in widowhood is a vital concern. The fact that a decent standard of living cannot be maintained in many families without some compensated labor of married women, and that further fact that widows and deserted wives must generally use their full earning capacity in the care of self and children, relate themselves to women's present industrial training and opportunity. The further fact that among the most pitiful of all charity cases are those of women of mature years suddenly confronted with necessity for self-support and having only "general ability," and that of a low grade, to bring to the market, shows that the education of the average girl does not fit for real "life" because leaving out that great essential the fitting for earning a "livelihood." If these three classes of women, married mothers, widowed and deserted wives, and middle-aged self-supporting women, are forced to take the "labor leavings" as it were, the poorest paid and most sweated kinds of work, it is a social evil as well as a personal wrong.

The amount of work that a mother of young children can safely and properly do is a matter of dispute, but it is already clear that she is the last person in the world to leave untrained and unprotected to suffer the worst evils of industrial exploitation. The finest social use of the average "post-graduate" house-mother needing occupation has not yet been devised, still less applied, in work opportunity, but it is already clear that any person who wants compensated labor, especially when past the bloom of youth, must not only be "good" but economically "good for something" the world wants done and will then pay for. And to leave a woman to find out that fact at the age of 40 or 50 is a grotesque and inhuman mistake.

All labor difficulties center in their final and most puzzling questions about the home, the adjustment of the work of men and women to each other's task, and of the tasks of both to family and social welfare. And to settle upon a more reasonable and a more self-protecting and a more economically effective relationship of the average woman to the modern industrial order would be to aid greatly toward the solution of the problems of a "living wage" and a "better standard of living."

This detailed explanation of the need of a new industrial training and apprenticeship for girls leads to a conclusion respecting methods of education demanded that can be briefly stated.

In the first place it seems clear that women in general, especially women of the poorer classes, have a double approach to vocational work: namely, that of a wage-earner until marriage, and after that, if continuing to earn, requiring for their own health, the well-being of their children and the good of the family special arrangements of industry suited to their special needs as house-mothers. It seems clear also that under present conditions the skill and capacity needed by the successful house-mother are not sufficiently developed by domestic training in the home. The average conditions of city life make it almost impossible to secure adequate domestic training in the home. Moreover, the changes in our population, the incursion of vast numbers of an immigrant population, ignorant of much that our present civilization requires for health, cleanliness, and comfort, create an imperative demand for standardizing domestic training, and the public school is the only medium by which a common standard of the requisite intelligence can be taught. These things, if true, mean that there is needed as a foundation for all industrial training of girls a better knowledge of, and practical skill in, the basic processes of domestic labor.

Whatever extension of specialization there may yet be in women's work we now need a modern substitute for the old-fashioned household training to fit the average girl for the demand which the average lot makes upon the average woman for the power to make and to maintain a healthful, tidy, thrifty, comfortable family life in a private home. For this we must have not a school study simply, but a school practice that shall develop a fixed habit that becomes a "second nature." The domestic power that the average woman needs most and often needs for the longest period of service, must be gained first if it is to be an easy mastery of obstacles. The specialized earning power which all women need, and the poorer classes of women must have for self-protection, must be gained second if it is to be a successful entrance into the field of organized industry. If all this be true then our pedagogic course is clear as to sequence of industrial training for girls. First: In the grade school a genuine, not a make-believe, apprenticeship in simple domestic arts such as the simple housekeeping of the ordinary family requires. Cooking, washing, ironing, setting and serving table, buying judiciously right kinds of foods, getting to know by constant use the right kinds of foods for health, strength and pleasure of taste, all this fits in with the average little girl's liking to do real things (and the boys' similar liking often as well) and can be accomplished before the ordinary girl is 14 or 15 years of age. "Domestic science," fitting for the profession of dietitian or matron of an institution or teacher may be properly left for the high school and the college. But before there was a household "science" there was a domestic art, and it is the art in the simplest forms that the average woman needs to "get by heart" in a constant drill of "learning by doing," such as the old-fashioned home supplied. Now it must be gained, if at all (in the universal sense now demanded with a uniform standard of excellence and a scientific background in the course of instruction to meet health requirements of our more complex life), by the public school. But how? How give a constant drill in domestic art in a school house. The answer seems to me easy. We are engaged in a crusade against preventable disease and it leads us to see that underfeeding or bad feeding of school children is a physiological sin. Some say give school lunches to those children who need more or better food. Others object on grounds of possible pauperization. The answer to this new demand seems to me educational rather than charitable. The need for school girls' constant practice in domestic arts; the daily lunch at school directed by competent teachers but furnishing real work under sense of responsibility for the results to others, the health and enjoyment would furnish the ideal pedagogical method of training. Why not thus combine the two needs?

We are demanding also more fresh air schooling and more outdoor activity for boys and girls. We are demanding also a longer school day and a longer school year as necessary to give proper fitting for life for children obliged to leave day school at the end or even before the end of the grades. These needs all point to a possible municipal use of vacant lands for "school gardens"; to a possible and needed training of boys in raising the raw material of food for use by the municipal schools at the midday school lunches which that longer school day would make necessary. If our boys and girls in the grade schools from ten to fourteen years of age could live thus over again in actual experience of daily work, safeguarded from fatigue and guided by the best instructions, the basic training of the race in getting sustenance from the soil and in converting raw material into food, shelter, clothing and comfort, they would be able to face the modern world of specialized industry without fear of tyranny of greed or the weakness of ignorance; being secure against adverse circumstances in the power of mastery over primitive processes to meet primitive needs. There is every economic, every social, every pedagogical, every health reason, for giving our boys simple agriculture, our girls simple domestic art in the grade school instruction, and this in an apprenticeship an actual long-continued, constantly-repeated process activity. Do we interpret this as an attempt to divide school children into social classes? Far from it. The grade school should give the universal elements of education, the things all our boys and girls need most to learn. I believe that the basic, historic, occupations of the human race indicated above have a universal educational value and therefore should be in the lower schools. Simple forms of use of tools required in many varied manual activities may well be added to the industrial training of boys and girls alike during the latter grade instruction. The period between 14 and 16 years, however, our most difficult period both for the favored in circumstances and the poorer class children, must be held specially sacred for trade teaching in the case of those who must earn their living as soon as possible. This is beginning to be seen clearly in the case of boys. It must become equally apparent, and that soon, in the case of girls. For the reasons already given it is being socially criminal to leave a young girl without training for some specific form of vocational work which will yield her a fair living wage and will furnish some opportunity of rising in her work if she remains in it, to a position of honor and excellent compensation. The few attempts at vocational schools for girls prove their feasibility.

The kinds of trade teaching for girls must be varied and adapted to the locality, being in line with the need for women workers in or near the girls' home. Trade schools must doubtless also be more or less organically related to the public school system according to local conditions. For the most part the "three roots" of women's employment on which the curriculum of the Manhattan Trade School for girls was based will probably be constant guides. These are:

First: The needle, leading through plain sewing up to millinery and dressmaking.

Second: The hand-machine, leading up through simple to elaborate clothes, gloves and shoe manufacture.

Third. The paste brush, leading up through "sample cards" and small fancy articles, to bookbinding or works of art.

These three roots of trade teaching for girls meet the needs of the majority. The demand for trade teaching for girls is not one of charity or aid of a few in poorest circumstances. It it not created by reformatory effort for the wayward. It is a demand of social requirement that girls be trained to make more effectively in the new industrial order the same contribution to economic common wealth which they so well made by the old methods under the old regime of labor.

We shall work out the right ways of this industrial training for girls when once we have clearly and definitely perceived the higher social demands for it. Tax supported schools should and must supply this imperative need in education.

Families and Neighborhoods

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

BY MISS MARY E. RICHMOND, DIRECTOR OF THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT OF THE RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION, CHAIRMAN

THE INTER-RELATION OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

At the suggestion of a group of field workers in a number of national organizations for social betterment, I undertook this spring to prepare a list of such national movements. The list is not complete, though it has been printed and will be distributed at the door after this meeting. Even in its present incomplete form it shows some things that ought to interest those who have been attending these National Conferences. It shows, for instance, that more social movements, national in scope, have been organized during the last ten years than the sum of all the movements organized before that date and still surviving. It shows, as might have been expected, that, of the thirty-nine separate national organizations launched since 1900, those that have to do with public health (eight in all) head the list. The interests of children come next with seven agencies; and the organization of the Christian Church for social service gives us seven more; then comes ''Social Service in General'' with five; the protection of the industrial worker with four; education with three; prison reform and city problems with two each; and the protection of the immigrant with one.

Of the five national movements invited to take part in this evening's meeting, only one (the National Consumers' League) was in existence in the year 1900. It was the pioneer in a new development which we can understand better if we turn back, for a moment, to examine the order in which the earlier movements emerged.

The oldest organization on the list is an association of alienists, founded in 1844. Between this date and 1870 we have only the American Medical Association, the National Education Association, and the Superior Council of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. But the decade beginning with 1870 was a remarkable one, for it saw organized, in the order named, the American Prison Association, the Association of Instructors of the Blind, the Public Health Association, this National Conference of Charities and Correction, the American Purity Alliance, the National W. C. T. U., the American Academy of Medicine, the American Association for the Study of the Feeble-Minded and the International Y. M. C. A. Thus, it will be seen that in this one decade our interest in the criminal, the insane, the feeble-minded, the licentious, the drunken and the destitute assumed national proportions, and we have beside the first awakening of concern as to public sanitation and the use of leisure by boys and young men.

There is a rhythm in the long, slow process of our weaning from selfishness. At least, my list shows a distinct drop in the '80's, due also, perhaps, to the fact that this was a period of intense local activity, a period of the beginnings of many women's clubs, charity organization societies, children's charities, etc., none of them old enough to have found national expression within the decade. Social settlements had their beginning in 1890, and the new discoveries of the '90's, nationally speaking, were cities, immigrants and laborers. This was the decade of the National Municipal League, of the Baron de Hirsch Fund and of the Immigration Restriction League. It also brought us, in the National Consumers' League, the very first of a series of new movements which are all characterized by their emphasis upon the word prevention—the prevention, that is, of the preventable causes of poverty. So inspiring a watch-word has this become that at least twenty-five of the thirty-nine national associations organized since 1900 have adopted it as their own. For their more speedy extermination, the evils of our modern life are being assailed one by one. We are passing at the moment through a period of social analysis and social specialization.

All of which leads up to the practical question of the relation of these national developments and new organizations to the daily tasks of those of us who are striving, by a retail method, to rehabilitate families and to rehabilitate neighborhoods. Where, if anywhere, de *we* come in? Are we more necessary than ever, or are we soon to be superseded? Is our task limited, or is it broadened and dignified, by these new developments? In how far have they modified our methods and our aims already and what further are they going to do to us in the immediate future? I ask these questions not with the purpose of attempting to answer all of them, but to invite frank and sincere valuations of our work from the speakers who are to follow.

Our obligation to the typical social movements represented here tonight is already great. When I recall my share in the deliberations of the district committees of other days, which strove in perfect good faith to find work for the children of widows and of disabled fathers; when I recall, in our strenuous efforts to make applicants self-supporting, the willingness with which we found underpaid work at home for the mother of the family; when I remember the hopelessness of our home care of the consumptive, the blindness with which we ignored the re-creative value of recreation, and the fatalism with which we accepted bad housing conditions as part of the natural order, it does not seem too much to say that the case work of all but the least progressive of our charity organization societies has been made over by the national organizations represented on this platform tonight and by their forerunners. It is true that in some instances they owe their very existence to the settlements and to the charities which have lived closest to and cared most for intensive work with families and neighbors, but they have repaid the debt an hundred-fold.

Let us consider for a moment not only what they have already done, but what they can still further do for those who are responsible for carrying forward what may be called the retail processes of social reform. If consciously and deliberately we could study our own case work and neighborhood work *at the point of intersection* with each of these national movements—not merely with the five represented here, but with all the others —and then consciously and deliberately set to work to improve the endeavors of our own agencies at that point or those points, I believe that we should discover a means of strengthening the whole fabric of social reform and, incidentally, of developing our own work. To illustrate: When a charity organization society assumes new burdens in order to meet all possible hardships resulting from the strict enforcement of a new child labor law, invariably it aids every part of its own proper work even more than it helps the child labor cause. Its workers learn to deal more thoroughly with the whole group of families having widows or disabled fathers as their heads; its directors acquire a new courage and a clearer idea of the society's relations to industrial and educational problems; and the community itself is more willing to turn to the society for guidance, to give it more adequate support in the next forward step.

Or to take tuberculosis work as an illustration: When a relief agency is willing to meet the tuberculosis nurses more than half way in planning aid that will really cure the disease, it gains a kind of experience that reacts favorably upon its relief program in all other cases of physical handicap.

Sometimes—we have to acknowledge it—the specialists wear blinders. A tuberculosis specialist who was remonstrated with for permitting families to send their children during school hours to a milk station under his control, excused himself on the ground that children from such germ-laden homes were far better off out of school. Obviously here was one whose frame of mind was calculated to alienate the interest of educators in all his health policies, some of which were admirable. He missed also that better and saner view of his own work which comes from a willingness to study the work of others with sympathy.

Your section on Families and Neighborhoods has asked these representatives of national movements, to whom, as I have indicated, we are already under such a heavy debt, to tell us tonight just what we of the settlements and other neighborhood activities and we of the charity organization societies and other agencies dealing with families can do for them. And, as turn about is fair play, I am going to venture to suggest to them one or two things that they can do for us.

In the first place, they can do the same thing that I have proposed to ourselves (no doubt they have done it already, but they can do it even more consciously and deliberately); they can study their own work at the point of intersection with our work and strengthen it just there. As I have hinted, specialization has its dangers. In medicine, for instance, we could not possibly get on without the specialist, but we are sometimes left a little breathless in the effort to get on *with* him. It used to be said of a distinguished throat doctor in my native town that he had treated throats so long that he was beginning to *look* like a larynx.

It is only to be expected, perhaps, that a new worker in a new movement embodying a newly discovered principle of social action should be impatient of the adjustments necessary with older but equally true principles. But sometimes the mood survives the newness, and "after me the deluge" becomes, by a strange meeting of extremes, a social service motto. The national organizations on this platform are not guilty—they are already well broken in—but the habit of mind which sets up the school lunch, or the model creche, or the day camp, or the out-department medical service as ends in themselves, is not unknown among us. Years ago a woman of my acquaintance became a director of a girls' reformatory. There were many things that needed changing, for it had been the ambition of the well-intentioned gentlemen of frugal mind who managed the institution to make it self-sustaining from the work of the inmates. One day, when his patience had been tried too far by the reforming woman, one of these gentlemen exclaimed, "Really, Mrs. Blank, it seems as though you cared nothing for this *institution;* you care for nothing but the girls." I like to link this sentence with one that I found in an annual report a few years ago, which read as follows: "A few lines written to a senator or representative, or some other small bit of work well placed, may, through deciding the fate of an important piece of legislation, have more effect upon the welfare of one's fellow citizens than many hours or even months devoted to social work of a more detailed and personal but less constructive sort."

The old man who adored his girls' reformatory and the young man who loved his own legislative program were both specialists gone wrong. Just as if it were necessary to drop all interest in larger programs in order to do the next little thing well; just as if, human nature being what it is, we were not ten times as likely to write the letters and bombard the legislature after some retail task had brought us into personal contact with bad living conditions and had given us a sense of fellowship with those who must endure them!

This brings me to my second plea: namely, that the rehabiliation of families and of neighborhoods should be recognized, if not as specialties themselves, then at least as very necessary and important branches of the profession of social service. They say that the old family doctor (to borrow another simile from medicine) is being replaced by a new type of general practitioner, who is a good all-round diagnostician and a specialist in linking together specialties. We need some such linking together badly in the field of social reform, and a good share of it, I believe, is going to fall to those general practitioners who are residents in the settlements and district workers in charity organization societies. In their quite different ways they have a very important task to perform. The adapting of these large measures to the needs of the Jones family and to the needs of the newer importations whose names are more complicated than Jones; the realization of the neighborhood point of view and of the neighborhood difficulties which stand in the way of an immediate acceptance of our sanitary and other programs—these are a very important part of the process of assimilation, a very important part of the prevention which really prevents. This part of social work might almost be called a handicraft—all of the practical sciences have their handicraft side and all of the national movements can help our work by calling attention to this side often, by illustrating it copiously for the benefit of the wholesalers affiliated with their various reforms.

My third and last plea is for a linking together of specialties, not only in their relation to the handicraft workers in families and neighborhoods, but in their relation to one another. Throughout the whole field of social reform we need, as it seems to me, not organic union in any sense, but an "exchange of insights," which, correcting and supplementing one another, may not only enlarge our conception of the whole, but may greatly enrich social work in all its parts by the co-operative working out of effective and significant details. In other words, we need in addition to the social analysis which is now going forward and must continue to go forward—we need in addition to this a social synthesis.

In the old days we had to struggle hard in mid-stream against the sentimental people who had no social policy, no conception of a concrete whole, or even of a little part of the whole that could be described as concrete. Now, if the present trend is unchecked, we shall find ourselves again in mid-stream contending against those whose conceptions are not lacking in definiteness, indeed, but whose devotion to some one very definite means of social advance has blinded them to the main outlines of the situation.

When we of the handicraft group try to rehabilitate a family we have learned that, first, the circumstances must be understood, and that then all who are interested in their fortunes must work together, on a plan co-operatively thought out, to get the thing done which will put them on their feet. Could not our social movements agree in time to deal with the needs of whole communities in this way? Could they not agree to make a social diagnosis of a city or town and then decide together upon the next thing that most needed to be done in that particular place? We have not compared notes, but when we do shall we not find that there is a logical order of social development; that a playground campaign, for instance, must seek new allies in a town where most of the children work in the mill all day; that a consumers' league will die in a community which still places all its dependent girls in the almshouse; that a city beautiful movement cannot make up for the absence of drains, and cannot hide the ugly facts of overcrowding? Not only is there a logical order of social development, but many organizations die because they were born out of due season. Overstimulation of any particular social activity by a campaign of publicity which is not carefully followed by personal field work and by a series of delicate adjustments to local needs, increases this death rate. These separate social movements should, as time goes on and our social work becomes even more highly specialized than it is now, build up a social synthesis, a technique of inter-relations, involving more careful preparation of the ground for both our legislative and our field operations, and then a generous making way for one another, a hearty lending a hand to one another for the sake of the harvest.

THE SOCIAL WORKER AND THE PLAYGROUND ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

BY HOWARD S. BRAUCHER, SECRETARY OF THE PLAYGROUND ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

With great concern we have learned from the report just read that the family of national organizations is of Rooseveltian size; that there is danger that representatives of national organizations shall soon come among the workers with neighborhoods in such numbers as to produce confusion and disorder; that neighborhood workers must be protected from the ravages of national secretaries. You will all be glad to know that the threatened danger has been averted, that the national secretaries have been converted and are now harmless. The chairman of this section brought the national secretaries together at a luncheon. When once the secretaries were seated around the table it was as if they had gathered together to "tip tables." We are all familiar with the way in which the leader in a "table tipping" exhibition thinks hard as to the plan she wishes followed, gets the others around the table to think hard on this same plan, and finally the plan is carried out, the group as a unit exerting the kind of physical pressure needed to make the table stand on one leg. So the chairman at the luncheon thought hard upon the sins of the national movements and of the plans which should be tried. As she thought one secretary arose and suggested that informal meetings of the national secretaries be held regularly—**co-operation.** The leader then concentrated her thought on plan number two. Another secretary, thinking he was expressing his own ideas, suggested that national organizations could work more intelligently if the social workers in each community would make surveys of their social conditions and resources—**investigation.**

Thus gradually the national movements are forming the habit of working together just as local organizations have done. No one can tell in just what form the unity of national social organizations is finally to express itself, but we have already reached the stage of investigation and co-operation. In time efficient national organizations may seek as local associations have done, the protection which comes from having a responsible

"Friendly Visitor" representing a number of federated organizations and therefore able impartially to observe the work of each and make suggestions regarding the efficiency of the work done.

May it not be that the various social movements will agree upon the schedule for local social surveys; that there will be developed in time a corps of trained social surveyors in whom all have confidence who will be able to accept invitations from different cities to aid them in organizing their surveys, so that they may "know themselves" and form wise comprehensive plans for social advance giving each social movement attention at the proper time, trying to solve the most pressing problem first. The Playground Association of America would then have reliable information so that it could decide intelligently whether the time is ripe for accepting the invitations from any city to help begin an active playground campaign or whether the campaign should be postponed until after the child labor program or some other social program had been worked out.

The modern play movement will never reach the kind of development it should unless the other social movements are also strong. We stand on the threshold of a great awakening in which the religious forces of the community are to be massed back of the great social movements. The share which the Playground Association of America is to have in this awakening depends upon the degree to which the different national movements stand together, the unity of the social program they can agree upon.

Workers with neighborhoods can greatly aid the development of the recreation movement by carefully gathering and pooling all the information available regarding their local social conditions. If the knowledge now possessed by local social workers could be placed in the hands of all the members of our communities, far greater provision would be made for the play life not only of the less fortunate but also of the well-to-do.

A social worker in Chicago, as president of the Cook County Commissioners, had opportunity to observe closely the county hospital, the jail, the poor infirmary and the hospital for the insane. He felt keenly the need of a constructive work which should lessen the disease, the crime, the poverty. Henry G. Foreman, seeing this need, has for more than ten years devoted a large amount of energy to working out the recreation centers of the South Park Board of Chicago. Eleven million dollars have been expended in establishing these centers. A half-million dollars is spent each year for their maintenance. In many other cities the development of recreation facilities has been due to similar personal experiences.

It is hard for the busy social worker to stand off from his work, take a long view, see clearly the forces which he may utilize to make his own work unnecessary. The economic question in associated charities work has at times over-shadowed all others. Economize, save, work harder, have sometimes been watchwords—if we may judge from the social literature of past years. Now all recognize that even these economic ends are better promoted when greater incentives are given for economy, saving, and harder work; when attention is directed to making life itself more worth while. "Man does not live by bread alone." Nor will desire for bread alone bring out the best there is in man.

The economic problems the social worker cannot escape. The conditions under which the women in his neighborhood are working, force him to co-operate with the Consumer's League. The problems of tuberculosis, housing, and child labor are obvious and the social worker realizes that he must understand these problems and be in touch with these national movements if he is to do efficient work. The necessity that the social worker understand play problems has not been so obvious to many. Two great and fundamental heresies have often prevailed—if not in thought at least in practice: (1) Play is a luxury rather than a necessity. (2) Play is for children only. It is because we now recognize that play is a necessity for all that we are not willing longer to leave provision for play for adults to commercial interests for exploitation. The social worker is beginning to recognize that many times the reason for his own inefficiency is that he has neglected to play, fancying himself above the universal law that efficient life is possible only where there is work, play, and rest. He sees that for himself the alternative is play or premature old age and possible breakdown. He realizes that many of his less fortunate friends are failing—just as he himself has to some extent failed—because the vigorous play spirit of childhood has been allowed to disappear. Finally there comes the consciousness that the test of the value of social work is not the economic condition of the friends with whom he has labored. The test rather is the fullness and richness and vividness of life. To labor simply to make a treadmill life economically successful is not worth while for the social worker with red blood in his veins. The time is coming when public opinion will not permit any associated charities to mark a family record closed when the economic life only is self-supporting. In the days to come when the "community organization society" shall have redeemed the word charity from its economic taint, more time will be given to bringing each family in touch with recreation opportunities, making each family conscious of the joy of life and helping the men and women to retain throughout life the play spirit of childhood, providing sufficient incentive for life to make the economic fight seem worth while.

The play movement needs certain ideals long recognized by the social workers gathered in this Conference. We need to recognize that the family is the recreational unit; that effective work upon the playground can only be done when the workers are employed throughout the year; that the personality of the play leader is more important than the playground equipment or the recreation building. If many of the municipal leaders in our communities are to recognize these axioms of playground work it will be because the social workers of the community out of their own experience emphasize these ideals and help to form a right public opinion.

I would not consider it proper to mention here the way in which neighborhood workers can at present render the national play movement the greatest aid for the great need at present is financial support for three field secretaries—in other words additional gifts to the amount of $15,000.

THE NATIONAL HOUSING ASSOCIATION

BY LAWRENCE VEILLER, SECRETARY AND DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL HOUSING ASSOCIATION, NEW YORK

I appear here with some diffidence. The organization I represent is an infant, and I really ought not to be here without a nurse. On the other hand, that diffidence is tempered to some degree when I realize that in other respects I appear as a grandfather. I am sure of that because I recall not more than twelve years ago when I suggested to one of our leading charitable societies that we ought to get at some of the preventable causes of poverty and seek to eliminate bad housing conditions, I was told that that was not the function of a charitable society. When I recall how few voices there were then crying in the wilderness, laying emphasis upon prevention, I realize how very aged I am. So I am swinging from one side of this platform to the other, like a pendulum, in the attempt to find a mean between these two extremes.

I know I am very young, because I am going to do what the chairman has asked me to do, a thing which none of my predecessors has done. It is only extreme youth which leads me to attempt it.

Our chairman spoke of the happy day that would arrive when we should reach the period of co-operation; when the larger movements would join with the social workers and settlement workers. I am happy to announce that day has come. That spirit of Christian co-operation now prevades this platform. One of the speakers who preceded me mentioned some point and my confrere on the left turned to me and said, "When you get up, soak him." Being young I was greatly shocked. Turning from this cruel and hardened view to my confrere on the right, expecting a gentle womanly sympathy, imagine my horror when I heard fall from her lips, "Yes, hit him." I suppose, therefore, I can do nothing better than to hit him right now. This speaker dared to express the hope that we should soon reach the time when there would be a *corps*—that was the word—a corps of social surveyors, a sort of flying squadron, which could be detached and sent from one city to another to survey it. I want to assure the audience right now that they need have no fear of this coming about. I declare unhesitatingly "There ain't goin' to be no core."

To be serious for a moment. My vintage is so old that I remember the day when they had no name for us. During that terrible panic of 1893-4, when for months thousands of working men could get no employment and hundreds of thousands of people were in danger of starving to death, some of us in New York devised the plan of putting from ten thousand to fifteen thousand men to work sweeping the streets of that city.

While we were toiling night and day, harassed with the problems that beset us, down in that extraordinary Ghetto in New York's lower East Side, they put a play on the local boards in one of the Yiddish theatres, the title of which was the "Street Sweeper." The hero was a poor East Side tailor who, because of the panic, had been compelled to sweep the streets, and there were the usual other characters carefully enumerated; but when it came to the mob, there were listed, among the others, "Philanthrops." *We* were the philanthrops, and for many years this was the only name we had, until more recently they began to call us "social workers." I am sorry the term "social worker" was ever invented because we are really social doctors.

I use the term in its broad sense. We are the physicians who heal, and we are the doctors who teach. As physicians, our function extends over a larger field than the individual patient who happens under our influence. Of course, we start with the individual patient. We get our practical experience that way; as our practice develops, we look around over the larger field and try to become physicians to the whole community. In that sense we are true social doctors.

Your chairman has said that we are specialists. We are all specialists, and no one more so than the chairman of this section, who is a specialist in wisdom and common sense as applied to human relationships. Though we are all specialists, we are not all specialists in that way, I am sorry to say. Our nurses and physicians are specialists, our investigators and district visitors are specialists, quite as much as the housing and child labor experts. In this respect, as well as in others, we are sharing the change that is pervading the medical profession. In a few years, in social work just as in medicine, we shall have what is known as the "Chinese system." It is called that, I suppose, because it is *not* the system that is in vogue in China. It's the system by which people pay their doctors so much a year to keep them well, to prevent disease, and the doctors are fined when their patients become ill. It is this kind of social doctor that we are getting to be. My function, for instance, is to vaccinate the community against bad housing.

Our chairman has asked the question why should we not all get together, study a community, diagnose its social needs, and then co-ordinate its work. We who are here are quite ready to do it, but while we are physicians, we still have the problem "How are we to get the people to take our medicine?" Have you ever tried to bring about a co-ordination of existing organizations, tried to get them to merge? If so, you know how spontaneously they do it, over night! Those of us who are on the platform at this meeting will be only too glad to lay out such a scheme for any city, if you will tell us how to get the people to take the medicine.

Your chairman has suggested that we have an interchange of insights. I am going to expand on that thought and suggest that we have an interchange of hindsights and of foresights, because so few of us have insight.

I said a little while ago that I should try and do what the chairman had asked us all to do, namely, to indicate the ways in which social workers can aid and utilize these larger national movements, and I am conscious that thus far I have said nothing along these lines. Perhaps I should be wiser, if I sat down now without attempting anything of the kind. Because, if I tell you what I think you ought to do and how social workers should help, I fear I may hurt many people's feelings. If I am asked how social workers can aid the national movements represented here tonight, I should say by learning something about them. That may seem very rude. But I am sorry to say that the average social worker does not know much about housing, for instance, and does not seem to think he should. Too often it is a sealed book to him.

Another way in which the social worker can help is to practice discrimination. I am constantly amazed to see how uniformly the social worker blames the public official, no matter what happens. There seems to be a sort of natural feeling that a public official cannot do right; that he must do wrong. This is frequently observed in connection with housing work. A social worker sees some unsanitary tenement house, and sends a complaint to the health department. Then a week or so later, finding the conditions unchanged, she is apt to remark, ''What an incompetent health department we have.'' Not recognizing that to remedy such evils takes weeks and frequently months; that the health officer must necessarily work under the limitations of his office and of the laws. We expect to see righted in two or three days evils which have grown up through a period of half a century of neglect. With a family we recognize that there must be time; that the habits of a lifetime in an individual cannot be changed over night. No more can the social conditions of a city which have developed through half a century be changed over night or in a week or in a year.

Another way in which social workers can aid, is to inform the community. The chairman has said that about 1890, at the time of the development of the settlement movement, we discovered bad housing and a lot of other things. Why was it? It was because then for the first time a group of intelligent people went to live in the poorer quarters of our cities, and observed at first hand the conditions of life of the people there. They didn't stop there, however. They spread that knowledge throughout the community; and that is the great function of the social worker—to inform the community as to the facts, and to do it always. We often forget to do this, because we know the conditions so well ourselves, we forget that people living in other parts of the city do not know, or else have forgotten; and that there are new generations all the time growing up which have no knowledge of these conditions.

Finally, the social worker can aid by directing the energies of benevolent people into the right direction, by teaching them, for instance, that it is better to get laws preventing child labor than to give money to so-called charitable societies who send children to work at night in glass factories.

One of the previous speakers said that what is needed is to make garden cities out of all the congested districts and that when this has been done our task will be ended. Unless my memory plays false, it is related in a book, which once had greater vogue than it has now, but which some of us still occasionally refer to, of a famous "garden city" of ancient days, in the time before there were congested districts, that it lost all its inhabitants, not because of adverse environment, but because of that element of human frailty which after the lapse of many thousand years we social workers still constantly see exemplified in our daily work, as well as in our daily lives. Not until the element of human weakness is eliminated may we expect our task to be ended.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE PREVENTION OF TUBERCULOSIS

BY ALEXANDER M. WILSON, DIRECTOR OF PHIPPS INSTITUTE, PHILADELPHIA

On being called upon at a late hour to substitute for my good friend, Dr. Favill, in this program, and in the absence of specific instructions from the Chairman, I have chosen to depart slightly from the subject as indicated in the preliminary bulletin of the Conference and spend my ten minutes, not in telling "What Social Workers in Families and Neighborhoods Can Do for the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis," but rather in showing briefly how the tuberculosis propaganda has affected social work generally and more specifically how it is related to other measures of social advance.

It is now about eight years since the organized fight against tuberculosis began in this country and six years since the National Association was started. These few years have seen an entirely new emphasis laid on the health of the individual or family dealt with by social agencies. The physician and the sanitarian have come into a new relation of intimacy with our whole social program. The proper adjustment of cause and effect would be difficult to make, but the results are apparent on every hand. From the physical examination of the child, required by a children's society before boarding out or adoption is decided upon, to the large movement for the conservation of the health of the nation, the tuberculosis agitation has had its deep influence. Medical inspection of school children, housing reform, social work in hospitals and a score of other movements have gained an added impulse from this new crusade directed against the spread of a disease that traces its causes back into all the ills that accompany ignorance, poverty and social neglect. And the argument that the proposed measure will be an added weapon against tuberculosis has been used in support of every sort of cause. Indeed, the longer one devotes himself to this particular field the more clearly he sees that in his day's work he may touch any possible effort to raise the standard of human well-being.

The wide ramifications of this presumably narrow specialty may be inferred from the last luncheon the writer took before leaving for this Conference. And, parenthetically, he would suggest that the time is about ripe for the organization of a Society for the Protection of the Lunch Hour. The modern city club is an ingenious device for lengthening the social worker's day and for the destruction of the digestion. The luncheon in question was partaken in fitful spasms of interruption of a study of Boston's method of municipal accounting and budget making. And the occasion for the luncheon and discussion was a previous study made of that part of the city's budget allotting the funds for carrying on its tuberculosis activities during the current year. This preliminary study had revealed a weakness in the department's accounting system that had but to be pointed out to secure the adoption of a completely new method. While the immediate needs of the tuberculosis situation were thus met, it was realized that the advantages gained would be but partial so long as the rest of the city departments were permitted to continue a slipshod, unbusinesslike method of accounting, hence the indigestible luncheon with a group of people of varied interests and the attack on the big problem of municipal budget making.

It will begin to be clear why the writer, after a brief and stormy season in the broad Charity Organization movement, returned with relief to this narrow specialty where he finds ample room for the play of his exuberant energies.

In setting out to write this paper an attempt was made to show the interrelation of the tuberculosis crusade with other social movements, but the family connections proved to be so many that the limits of a ten-minute paper forbade. The effort to recall the various movements in which the writer as a tuberculosis secretary had enlisted, and the other varied activities in which his aid had been sought because of a real or fancied connection between them and his special interest, has proved so interesting that the list in part is given. A little exercise of the imagination will help to see a real relationship in most instances.

School hygiene
Factory legislation
Playgrounds
Housing
City planning.
Clean milk
Home economics
Outer parks
Charity publicity
Temperance
Dental hygiene
Public baths
Industrial insurance
Child labor
Prison reform
Clean money
Medical quacks
Patent medicines
Common drinking cup

Visiting nursing
School nursing
Medical inspection of schools
Day sweeping of streets
Smoke nuisance
Vital statistics.
Employment for the handicapped
Lodging house evils
Social service in hospitals
Conservation
Summer outings
Shorter hours and higher wages
Christian Science
Use of electricity vs. gas

Clean markets
Meat inspection
Nursing in almshouses
Promiscuous kissing
Workmen's compensation
Home gardening
Moving picture shows
Long skirts
Corsets
Bill-board advertising
Union label
Hours of women
Architecture
Nine-foot sheets
Carpets vs. rugs
The Pullman sleeper

No place has been given in this list to several matters of personal hygiene which are intimately bound up in the effort of the tuberculosis society to reduce the possibility of infection, such as the anti-spitting crusade, or the attempt of a clergyman recently returned from a convention to induce us to come out in denunciation of the cherished Chautauqua Salute. He had just come from a banquet where the guest of the evening was greeted by a joyous waving of pocket handkerchiefs over the groaning table. One woman makes periodical visits to secure our help in reforming street car conductors so they will no longer moisten the thumb before tearing off a transfer.

Other persons ride hobbies into our office which on close inspection are not found to be so nearly related to the prevention of tuberculosis. For instance, in the recent tariff adjustment an attempt was made to have us formally indorse a movement for placing wool on the free list, as this would reduce the cost of clothing so that people could dress more warmly and not catch colds and consumption.

Several propagandists of dress reform have enlisted our aid with a show of reason, but we have yet to be asked to support legislation reducing the length of the projecting hat pin. There are bounds even to the imagination of the reformer.

The radical change in customs and habits that are required before tuberculosis as a disease of our civilization is stamped out makes the work of the tuberculosis committee loom large and important. The mere substitution of the Franklin stove for the open fireplace in the little fishermen's huts along the coast of Newfoundland has permitted the battening of windows through the long winter and is reflected in a rapidly ascending tuberculosis mortality curve. Steam heat in our schools, factories and apartments has encouraged a habit of semi-suffocation in a super-heated atmosphere of Sahara-like humidity which counteracts much of our tuberculosis instruction. The lowered dietary which is involved to the workingman in the present increase in the cost of living will have its due effect in decreased vitality and lessened power of resistance to disease.

The tuberculosis worker cannot afford to spend much of his energies, however, in the larger movements to overturn the existing economic order of society. He will find plenty to do near at hand. The recent visit of a tuberculosis secretary to the chief city of a neighboring state will serve to show the more immediately pressing problems that present themselves for his help toward a solution. He had been invited by the Mayor of the city to address a joint meeting of the Aldermen, City Council, School Committee, Board of Health and Overseers of the Poor on the subject of tuberculosis. He arrived in the city at noon. A rain spoiled the automobile tour of the city planned for his entertainment, so he started out on a program of his own to prepare his speech for the evening. With the City Clerk and two members of the Council, he visited the almshouse, the only institution in the city receiving tuberculosis patients; he visited a public school, where the janitor was caught in the act of using a feather duster on the banisters so that a whole flight of stairs had to be climbed in one breath, and where every school room temperature stood above 72 degrees, one being as high as 76 degrees, and where mouth breathing betrayed the need of medical inspection; he visited the Board of Health, where the collection of vital statistics was found to be faulty, where it was learned that a state law requiring the registering of tuberculosis by physicians was almost uniformly ignored, where the milk inspection was found to be in the hands of an untrainel person who was merely able to determine if milk contained the required percentage of butter-fat, bacterial count as an index of cleanliness and healthfulness being beyond his powers. On being turned over to the police matron, he visited the lockup, which amply deserved its impending demolition, and some of the worst tenements, finding water closets in pitch dark, unventilated compartments, a kitchen one room removed from access to outer air, back yards that reeked with the accumulated filth of the year and other conditions quite surprising to find in a city that boasted of having no housing problem. The talk to the city fathers that evening covered not alone the need of a city hospital for tuberculosis and a dispensary and nurses, but went into several allied lines of municipal action that must be undertaken if that city is really to deal in a large way with the social conditions that are manufacturing the disease faster than any narrow policy of direct tuberculosis relief can check it. The automobile trip, postponed to the following day, was into the outskirts of the city in search of a site for that tuberculosis hospital, and before leaving town the secretary had placed his friends of the Council in communication with experts on jail construction and had started the ex-patient Councilman who had inspired the visit to thinking of a future career of usefulness as paid tuberculosis secretary—a field that is crying for enthusiasm combined with practical sense.

THE NATIONAL CHILD LABOR MOVEMENT

OWEN R. LOVEJOY, SECRETARY OF THE CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE, NEW YORK

I shall go a little farther than the last speaker in obedience to the plan of the program, in trying to outline in detail what I think local social workers should do for these various national organizations. Miss Richmond asked the question whether in view of this widespread development of national organizations there is really any place for local organizations, whether they are to be of less or greater service than formerly. There never was a time when the need for the development of strong local organizations and strong local workers was as great as it is today. I believe thoroughly in the democratic principle of social improvement. At the most these various national organizations can hope to be accelerators, purveyors of advice from other communities. We cannot claim to have any knowledge except that which we take from our local co-operators in different parts of the country. In trying to outline in my mind while listening to these papers what sort of service people in different localities can render to the National Child Labor Committee, I asked the question, what are the kinds of aid we particularly need, and I jotted down these four:

More definite local information. Efforts have been made in a number of communities to require careful, or in some cases, rather hasty, physical examination of children seeking employment certificates. Many children show physical defects which must have been of years' standing, when they come out of the public schools and seek employment certificates. No effort in any of these States has been made on any large scale to trace the earlier stages of these physical defects. Hence we have children coming up to fourteen years of age showing a marked percentage of defective vision, defective hearing, spinal diseases and other physical defects which may follow them all through life. We want more information than that about these children who are going into our industries. We want the day to come that when, in our schools and public agencies, a child comes to the age of fourteen he will not have his first physical record taken; but that every child in the kindergarten will have his physical history written in a card index and that history shall follow him year after year until he is fourteen. Then we shall know when these various diseases took hold of him, how long they have been following him, and to what extent they have been wasting his life. We need other facts about communities that I believe charity organization workers and social settlement workers can collect more readily than official inspectors. I attended a series of meetings in Buffalo recently following a survey that has been made of the Polish community in that city, of some eighty thousand Poles. I was much impressed by a chart showing eleven thousand unskilled laborers among these Poles. The aggregate deficiency of wages, in the past year, based on a careful estimate of the lowest minimum standard, was $2,338,000. Another chart showed that the charity organization society had given these people in the Polish community $8,000 during the year. That was a generous contribution to help meet their needs. But put the two figures side by side and you have one fact that relates closely to the information we need in all our child labor campaigns. They had come $2,330,000 short of enough to meet actual necessities. This deficiency related to 96 per cent of the employes among the Poles—the very class of people least able to bear such a sacrifice. I imagine the investigation of eleven thousand unskilled laborers in the city of St. Louis, or any other of our large cities, would show a similar deficit from the irreducible minimum of the standard of living. What is the cause of this pitiful wage scale? Doubtless a combination of causes, but I am willing to express my belief that 90 per cent of these eleven thousand unskilled workers in Buffalo had been child laborers. If you could go back fifteen or twenty years in their history you would find burdens too heavy to be borne were thrown upon their shoulders, when they ought to have played and gone to school. Now they come more than two million dollars short in a single year, of sufficient wages to maintain themselves. Would it not be best for us, even if unable to go into such details as have been followed in that very exhaustive investigation in Buffalo, to follow out these families and neighborhood cases, to get some of these facts that would throw light upon the relation of the child to the wage-earning capacities of the family and the community?

The second thing we need is local public sentiment against the popular infractions of child labor laws. Everybody in America believes in the abolition of child labor, but 79,000,000 people believe in it only in the abstract. When they come to the concrete they know that this particular child is better off working than he would be in school; or he needs his job because otherwise his widowed mother would starve; or that other child is better off working than he would be in the streets. We need local sentiment that shall frown upon any breaking of child labor laws. If the State passes a law registering its protest against the employment of children under fourteen, and puts an amendment to that, saying, for instance, "if the child is hungry, or if his parents are poor, then let him go to work at twelve;" such a community needs enlightenment. And I don't know of any one who can enlighten the community as well as the social settlement or charity organization workers. They can set the community right. These national organizations cannot do it. You have recently been told here in St. Louis that in certain parts of our country it is a great blessing to put children into cotton mills to work twelve hours a day, because that is the only way to save them from the ravages of the hook-worm disease which they get up on the mountains; that in the cotton mills within a year the pallor of that dread disease will disappear and leave their cheeks fresh, and blooming with the joy of health; that children of this character working in the textile mills of North and South Carolina, with an incarceration of ten or twelve hours a day, will get well. We appeal to you local organizations and local workers. Try to set the community right upon this debated point. There are no people so free as those who have dedicated their life and all their energies to the service of those who are down and helpless; and if you do not speak the brave, courageous word, it will not be spoken.

In the third place we need to supplement child labor laws with constructive policies and educational opportunities. When our schools must begin to fit youth for life in a civilization which demands work and efficiency, and a boy comes to the period when he may wisely be employed, some one must be provided who shall stand by his side and tell him where to go, instead of leaving him to struggle to find a place for himself. Many of our industrial workers are industrial misfits. Movements have been started to direct vocationally children who are seeking employment. It will make children more willing to remain in school if they believe that when the time comes to work they can work to better advantage, and that they will not be wasting a number of years and their resources working at employments for which they are unfit. So I urge your interest and co-operation in the development of this modern movement for the direction of the vocations of youth.

The fourth aid we need has been suggested—co-ordination of these various national activities. Let me say as a representative of the National Child Labor Committee we do not want the local co-operator who believes that all the ills from which America suffers will be solved, if we can solve the problem of child labor. We want the man and woman who see the need also of having people in decent houses, getting adequate wages for healthful occupation, guarded against accident and against disease. We need well developed schools and direction of youth when they come to the period at which they can safely seek employment. We need the intelligent consumption as well as production of goods. We need play-grounds, anti-tuberculosis societies and all the other organizations that are working for the common good. Our best co-operator is the one who sees all these movements in their relation. Our chief service will be to get in contact with the man and woman who can see the importance of all these activities, and who have vision large enough to see the needs of all the larger social movements for the betterment of our communities. The burden of responsibility for improving the conditions of child labor in your community or state we expect you to bear. If you can use us we are at your service.

THE SOCIAL SURVEY; ITS REASONS, METHODS AND RESULTS

BY JOHN DANIELS, DIRECTOR OF THE BUFFALO SOCIAL SURVEY

If a land survey is valuable in the measurement and building up of land, how much more valuable should not a social survey be in the measurement of social forces and the building up of social institutions?

Here in seething America, with its tide of humanity constantly flooding in from the four corners of the earth, its many diverse races brought together to be welded somehow into an American race, its vast industries, its millions of laborers, its stupendous concentrations of capital, its swarming cities, and withal, its never-ceasing onward urge, social conditions of unprecedented and bewildering complexity have arisen, and social forces of unprecedented power, for good or ill, are in perpetual action and reaction.

Equally unprecedented is the mass of inquiry, the volume of discussion, which these conditions have called forth. The magazines abound with articles on social problems. Every day the book store windows display dozens of new books dealing with social subjects. Universities and foundations are turning out sociological theses by hundreds. City, state and national commissions are holding hearings and collecting evidence on all that is or may be, and the investigations of the ever-growing army of social workers send up a constant sound like the hum of bees.

Yet nearly all this social inquiry is confined to some particular condition or particular group of conditions, and comparatively little attention is devoted to the connection between these and other conditions. Many of the inquiries are penetrative, but few are comprehensive and inter-relating. So it is that their very profusion produces confusion, both as respects conditions and the means of dealing with them. Moreover, much social inquiry is undertaken, and many conclusions drawn, by persons not specially equipped, as they should be, for such inquiry; all too frequently the time spent in collecting the facts is insufficient; often, when both ability and time are brought to the task, the money essential to its adequate performance is not to be had; and finally, access to the requisite facts sometimes proves difficult or impossible on account of resistance in quarters where the facts must be sought, and the absence of any authorization sufficient to overcome this resistance.

It is, on the one hand, the vital need that present complex social conditions be understood, and, on the other hand, the deficiencies in existing knowledge of these conditions and existing methods of inquiry, which have created a demand for, and brought into being, the Social Survey. The Social Survey is, as the word survey itself signifies, first of all a comprehensive study of social conditions and social forces. Being comprehensive, it is necessarily a study of these conditions and forces not separately, but in their inter-relations. And finally it is a study undertaken under the conditions essential to thoroughness: namely, with specially trained investigators; an ample allowance of time; an ample provision of funds; and some effective authorization and backing, in the form of public or semi-public action or attitude. In short, it is social inquiry put on a professional and accepted basis.

The Social Survey, thus defined, is not limited, in its potential sphere of operation, to cities. But it is in our cities that social conditions are most critical, social problems most pressing, and social betterment most imperative. A city, moreover, is a social vortex which may be isolated and surrounded, and so, in the Social Survey's formative period, while it is trying its abilities, it might wisely be confined to cities, and perhaps to cities not too large to be comprehended at this stage. The social surveying of New York, which must finally come, will prove a Titanic undertaking.

Of Social Surveys, the Pittsburg Survey must be regarded as the powerful prototype and forerunner. But those who directed the Pittsburg Survey would be the first to urge that the comprehensive and complete Social Survey is yet to be made. In the Pittsburg Survey it was deemed expedient to sacrifice comprehensiveness to conconcentrated power of attack upon certain excrescences and enormities in the Pittsburg situation. It was believed that comprehensive inquiries and constructive work would surely follow, and such, indeed, is the work which is now being carried on by the Pittsburg Civic Commission.

There has been conducted in Buffalo, for the past six months, an inquiry, started, supported and supervised by a small group of citizens, which has been called the Buffalo Social Survey. Actually, however, this is only the beginning of a Social Survey which will be completed if local interest warrants and sufficient funds can be obtained.

The six months' inquiry has been limited to Buffalo's colony of 70,000 or 80,000 Poles—the largest in any American city except Chicago. But the need for this inquiry, the methods followed, and the results are comparable, though on a smaller scale, to those of a complete survey.

The Poles have been in Buffalo forty years, yet the investigator found, at the outset of his inquiries, that next to no attention had been devoted to the problem of their Americanization, and that most people knew next to nothing about them. Some said they were very thrifty, others that they were a lot of paupers; some that they were peaceable and law-abiding, others that they were rowdies and criminals. The Poles themselves, moreover, possessed no exact knowledge of their own conditions. For the facts, therefore, recourse was had to first-hand investigation and to consultation of such records as those of the city assessors' department, showing ownership of property; of the savings banks; of a recent city census, giving the number of people in each house; of the courts; and of the school census board and the department of education.

Now, in place of general ignorance and either indifference or vague talk of a "problem," have been substituted an accurate knowledge of the conditions of the Poles; an aroused interest, on the part both of the general local public and of the Poles themselves, in these conditions; the beginnings of a movement of co-operation, for betterment and mutual advantage, between the Poles and the rest of the community; and withal, a clearly defined question of social economy. The needs of these people having been shown, and also the steps necessary to meet their needs and make them a strong, integral part of the community, will the community take these steps?

If a survey confined to one part of a city's population, or focused upon one phase of a city's conditions, is able to accomplish results of value to the city, it is reasonable to believe that a complete Social Survey of a city could accomplish results many times more valuable.

Such a complete Social Survey should study a city's conditions at all their vital points and in all their vital phases. If a city has a large foreign population, like Buffalo, where in 1900, 75 per cent of all the residents were either foreign-born or of foreign parentage, the Social Survey ought by all means to include an inquiry concerning the various racial groups, with the purpose of ascertaining the conditions that are common to all these groups and those which are peculiar, the qualities and conditions which should be fostered and those which should be eliminated. But any study of racial groups would be subordinate to a study of the community as a whole; socially; politically; economically, and physically. In the inquiry into social conditions, the first question would be that of how to weld the different racial groups into a single community. A second, closely related question would be how to bring about a better understanding and more sympathetic relations between the so-called lower classes and the so-called upper classes. Then the conditions which produce poverty, congestion, disease, immorality and crime, would be investigated, and after that the measures which need to be taken, along the lines of caritation, education and religious endeavor, to bring about improvement. With respect to those city conditions which may be termed political, the Social Survey would ascertain the facts relating to naturalization, the means of promoting alert and honest citizenship, and would attack the problem of the most appropriate and effective plan of city organization. The specifically economic part of the Survey would be divided between an inquiry into the condition of the laboring classes, with attention to the questions of wages and hours, labor unions, welfare work, and industrial education; and to an analysis of the business situation, from the point of view especially of measures designed to promote business progress and to add to the efficiency of the organization of business interests. Finally, the portion of the survey devoted to studying the city physically would deal with the many problems of civic improvement and city planning.

There are many cities where a number of these conditions are being studied, but none where they are all being studied at once and by one body of investigators. The tremendous advantage of having them studied thus would be that then they would be studied in their inter-relations, and the findings systematized and brought together. The fund of concrete and exact knowledge of conditions thus obtained would be comprehensive and complete enough for nearly every practical purpose. And instead of the usually unconnected, and indeed sometimes hostile movements to better city conditions which are now being made, a general forward civic movement, unified and correlated, would be possible. Such a movement could accomplish wonders.

I have not said anything of the vital interest which the thousands of social workers in all parts of the country, who are represented at this conference in such large numbers, should have in the development of the Social Survey, and of the inestimable value the Social Survey would have in furthering their endeavors. For I have thought that what I might have said concerning this is implied in what I have said, and moreover, I have not been desirous, in this particular discussion, of distinguishing any special class of social workers, but have preferred to assume that we are all social workers, each in his special way, and that, whether we are business men, heads of settlements, or city officials, we are equally interested in social betterment, and so in the Social Survey, which is full of promise for social betterment.

And now to return, in conclusion, to the comparison of a Social Survey to a land survey. Since the days of the ancients, the importance of measuring and defining land has been understood, and, because land is visible, physical, and stationary, geometry, on which land measurement is based, has for centuries been an exact science. But only in the last century has the importance of measuring and defining social forces begun to be generally understood, and because social forces are invisible, psychical, and ever in motion, sociometry, as the science of the measurement of these forces might well be designated, is still far from being exact. The endeavor to evolve a sociometry of an exactness consistent with the nature of the subject matter is, however, undoubtedly the dominating movement of today. I believe the Social Survey is the nearest approach to exact measurement of social forces that has yet been achieved.

THE SETTLEMENT PROBLEM OF A CHANGING NEIGHBORHOOD

BY GAYLORD S. WHITE, UNION SETTLEMENT, NEW YORK

A social settlement presupposes neighbors. It is essentially a neighborhood institution. But it is not concerned primarily as to the particular kind of neighbors who surround it. All it demands as a condition of its work is that living about it shall be people—men and women and children, who need help in working out the social, industrial, civic and moral problems which confront them. Whether these neighbors are black, white, brown or yellow makes little difference. Whether they are Jews or Gentiles, Protestant Christians or Catholics is of no importance. If the settlement is to do its work there must be people with whom to work.

In this respect, one may remark in passing, the settlement differs fundamentally from the church, so far at least as regards the work of the church in our great cities today. For, while the church also presupposes people among whom to work, it is a matter of vital consequence to the church that these people shall be of a certain kind. There are, for example, certain classes of the community among whom few Protestant Christian churches would think of undertaking work, with any prospect of success. What church, for example, would plant itself in the heart of the Ghetto with any hope of finding a fruitful field of service?

But the social settlement stands on different ground. It undertakes no propaganda. It preaches no specific gospel of reform or regeneration. It looks for results not to any particular element in the neighborhood, but to the neighborhood as a whole. Its first business is to survey its field, to find out what needs to be done. Then it seeks to make contacts—to get into touch with all the elements that go to make up the social life of the neighborhood, to organize and correlate the neighborhood forces for good, that the conditions may be improved for all. The effort to fulfill this aim involves ordinarily the expansion of the social features of the work. Provision must be made for clubs and classes and all sorts of neighborhood gatherings and a plant is soon needed to house the activities of the settlement. This means the holding of real estate, the erection of buildings, and these buildings often come to represent a large investment. The plant is adapted to the purposes for which it was erected and its very presence testifies to the belief of its promoters in its relatively permanent value.

But what if the neighborhood change? This is by no means an idle inquiry. With the striking movements that are taking place in all great cities today, the question becomes a very practical one. I have heard real estate men in New York quoted as saying that the "life" of a building is estimated nowadays to be about twenty years. And this is not due, of course, to structural difficulties, but to the changes that take place in localities, which makes it impossible to predict anything as to the character of a given district twenty years from now.

It would be easy to give many illustrations out of my personal experience in New York (the only city with which I am familiar) if it were worth while. The urban movement from the country districts, together with the inflowing stream of immigration which seems to get itself largely dammed up in the cities by social and economic barriers to distribution, is constantly modifying the character of large sections of our cities. A few years suffice to alter completely the physical aspect of a whole district, when the real estate operator touches it with his magic wand. Here by the capricious decree of fashion a section, hitherto given over to cheap dwellings, improves in value and high-class residences spring up; there a neglected piece of marshy land is filled in and made to blossom, not exactly like the rose, but more like the cabbage, with row upon row of ugly tenements.

We may roughly classify the neighborhood changes which have special significance for our purpose into, 1 Social; 2 Industrial; 3 National and Racial Changes.

1. Social Changes. By this I mean those changes which affect the social standards of the people who live in a given neighborhood, shifting the whole character of the neighborhood in the social scale. These changes come about frequently through the caprice of fashion to which I have just alluded. Sometimes a district will improve in desirability for residence purposes, but more often the process will be one of decadence, from a neighborhood of homes to a boarding house section, and finally to a tenement district. It is conceivable that such changes may be brought about by other causes, as for example new means of transportation, the opening up of cheap dwellings in better sections of the city, and the development of local improvements, such as the cutting of new streets, the building of bridges, the opening of parks and play grounds—all these may affect the social condition of a neighborhood and alter its standards and character.

2. Industrial Changes. Another class of changes in a given neighborhood we may term industrial changes. While it is true that the factories attract the workers, it is also true that the workers

attract the factories. Here, let us say, is a crowded tenement neighborhood. What is more natural than that the presence of thousands of potential workers should suggest to the enterprising sweatshop proprietor the desirability of locating his factory at their very doors. That this is no fiction of the imagination is abundantly proved. In that neighborhood of New York with which I am most familiar, this industrial change has been taking place within the past few years. During the recent shirtwaist strike in New York several new shirtwaist factories sprang up in my neighborhood; and one constantly notes the location of new factories where sewing, feather-making and similar poorly paid trades are represented. In connection with the Exhibit of Congestion of Population held in New York two years ago, an interesting and instructive study was made of the location of the homes of the workers in different types of factories with reference to the factories themselves. In the case of those who worked long hours for little pay, the homes of the workers were seen in the chart of the results to be grouped about the factory like flies about the molasses jug; while those who worked in the organized industries, where the eight-hour day and better wages prevailed were found to be located at distant points, and in many cases far from the congested sections of the city.

3. Nationality and Racial Changes. The changes which are due to the shifting of races and nationalities within the boundaries of the city, are perhaps the most striking and the most rapid of those with which we have to do. In New York these changes have constantly been taking place since the great tide of immigration has been sweeping to our shores. To recur again, for the sake of illustration, to the neighborhood in which I live, a complete change has come about in the character of the population within the past few years. Before that time, our neighbors were chiefly Irish, German and American. Many of them had lived here for more than a decade and the neighborhood appeared to give promise of possessing a fairly stable character. But about six years ago the change began. The Jews from the lower East Side, forced out by the pressure of the more recent immigrants and to some extent also by the demolition of many houses occasioned by the building of new bridges, turned their attention to other districts. Many crossed the new bridge to Brooklyn and many more found their way to the Upper East Side of Manhattan. Thus a complete change has come over the face of the neighborhood of our settlement. These people bring with them their customs and habits and the familiar problems of the Lower East Side reappear. The presence of some 60,000 Hebrews has meant in certain streets the push-cart problem. It has meant an appreciable reduction in the number of saloons, but an increase in the moving picture and second-rate vaudeville shows.

And now the Italians are extending their borders. Our neighboring "Little Italy" is rapidly growing and has recently begun to push out in the direction of the Jews and already is forcing them to withdraw from certain streets. It is a veritable procession of the nations, reminding one of the parade of all nations which used to be the opening feature of the orthodox circus performance. We have watched the German displace the Irish, the Russian Jew the German, and now the Italian is beginning to displace the Jew.

III. We come now to the question that immediately concerns us. What is the effect of these changes upon the settlement? What are the problems for the settlement to which this shifting process gives rise? We know in New York what the effect has been upon the churches—especially the Protestant churches. Scarcely one is left on the Lower East Side. It has been a case of starve to death or move to a more favorable locality. It has been a confession of complete failure through lack of adaptability. Must the settlement suffer from a similar lack of ability to adjust itself to a changed or changing environment?

Before we can answer this question we must inquire what problems the various changes which we have mentioned create for the settlement?

a. Where the changes in a neighborhood are what we have called social changes they may seem to involve the very existence of the settlement. Here, let us say, is a neighborhood that has vastly improved in character. The vicious elements have disappeared, order has become established, city ordinances are better observed or enforced, social and recreational facilities have increased, the health and morals of the neighborhood show a decided improvement. Perhaps this toning up of the neighborhood has been largely due to the persistent leavening influence of the social settlement group. We should at least like to believe that this was the case. At all events, the situation has changed. The opportunities for social enjoyment and sane recreation are more numerous; a public library and public bath have been provided, the schools are put to social uses, play grounds have been opened, etc. And at first blush it would seem perhaps that the settlement had done its work (provided it has brought about these improvements), or at least that its usefulness to the neighborhood was at an end. Its position would be analogous to that of a physician who would seem to have put himself out of business by the success with which he had devoted himself to preventive medicine.

But would this really be the case? Would the settlement be unnecessary in the improved environment? Moral and social reform never "stays put." If the improvement is to continue, somebody must make it his business to prevent a slump and to help the process forward; and what agency is better adapted to do this than the settlement? Where the municipalization of social and recreational activities had gone forward, the settlement might find itself compelled to take a particularly active interest in local politics, to guard against the interference of political influence of the sort to which we are accustomed. Other services might the settlement render for such a neighborhood, but these in themselves would be sufficient to justify its continuance.

b. When the changes are industrial in character a different situation is presented. Here the labor problem will come to the front and the settlement will naturally undertake to know the conditions under which its neighbors work. If, as we have intimated is likely to be the case, the industries which seek the tenement resident are those which exploit the worker—demanding long hours and paying a low wage, attracting the women and children and depending largely upon home work—the conditions will require activity along the line of organization and protective legislation. And the settlement will have the opportunity of offering a meeting place where the workers can discuss their interests and where employer and employee can be brought together on an equal footing.

c. While the changes just referred to are possible they are hardly the changes most frequently to be reckoned with in the experience of the majority of settlement workers. With the constant inflow of immigration we must expect a movement of population that will affect primarily the neighborhoods in which the settlements are ordinarily to be found. Here I can speak again from experience. For several years our work at the Union Settlement developed among a reasonably stable population of Irish and German Americans. There was little that could be done with the boys and young men in literary lines and debate. Athletics furnished about the only method of approach. The gymnasium and the play ground were among the chief activities. For the older people there were frequent social gatherings and a monthly concert was an established feature that drew large audiences. A men's club grew in numbers and influence. Then came the change in population, so gradual in the beginning as scarcely to attract attention. The effect was manifested at first by the withdrawal of members from the men's club, as family after family moved away. Almost before we realized the cause, the club had become seriously reduced in numbers. Perhaps we were slow to realize the reason because the large and active women's club continued to flourish—the women evidently finding the attraction of the club life greater, and the weekly journey back to the settlement easier to accomplish than the men. The effect was seen more slowly, but quite as surely in the reduced attendance at the monthly concerts. These have since been given up altogether and the men's club has been reorganized with the distinct understanding that no man is to be excluded on the ground of nationality. In the case of the young men of the athletic club it seems easier to hold the members even after they have moved to a distance, but here again the race question is an issue. The Jewish boys are accepted with little objection, but the line is drawn rigidly at the Italians.

The problem, of course, is one of readjustment. How this can best be accomplished is the question. The ideal and the practicable seldom coincide. The race question is perhaps the most serious with which we have to deal. At present in our athletic club, where the difficulty is acute, we are not meeting it in any satisfactory way, our only effort being to bring about a better understanding without forcing an issue that could scarcely accomplish any good. Another question that the situation raises relates to the wisdom of encouraging the old members of our clubs to continue their active membership after they have removed from the neighborhood. This is a matter that can hardly be settled by an offhand judgment. As a general principle one might say that where similar clubs exist in the neighborhoods to which our members move, they should be encouraged to identify themselves with the neighborhood organization. But in the newer sections of the city to which our young people are moving social clubs and organizations of the settlement type are scarcely to be found. And yet how great is the need of such neighborhood centers under proper leadership. The social influences that dominate the rapidly developing districts in the outlying boroughs of New York are largely those which are controlled by the commercial interests—the real estate operators, the boards of trade, etc. And if the higher social and civic forces are to be generated and given scope—those which concern themselves with health and housing and education and recreation, from whence shall the leadership come, if not from the group of social workers? In these undeveloped but rapidly developing districts, if one gets on the job early enough, preventive work can be done, instead of the palliative and reconstructive work that the old districts with their stereotyped evils demand. Perhaps a leader will arise from among the young people who have been trained in the settlements in the old neighborhoods; but somehow the leader must be found and the ground must be possessed. Is not, then, one of the problems of a shifting population the following up of those who are thrust out by the process and the occupation of the new territory for neighborhood organization for social service? In this view of the matter it may be the duty of the settlement group to see that this phase of the problem is met and new centers placed where they are needed.

But so far as the question relates to the settlement's duty to its immediate environment under changing conditions, the problem is plain, if it is also difficult. It is a matter of forming new contacts as a means to a fresh social organization of the neighborhood. This must inevitably take time. It means often the discovery of new methods of approach. It means a knowledge of racial traits and national customs and character and point of view, that the possibilities of the new environment may be appreciated and its needs met with sympathetic understanding. That the social settlement is capable of meeting new situations and adapting itself to changed conditions, no one will doubt who has grasped the essence of the thing. Flexibility is one of its most striking qualities. No other social institution has yet been evolved which seems quite so capable of being the center of the social life of a neighborhood and the clearing house of its activities. With the movements of population much needs to be done to interpret one race to another, one national group to another, and to bring to our foreign-born neighbors an understanding of the best that our American democracy has to offer. And the social settlement is especially well fitted to do this work.

And finally is it not worth something to have, amidst all the changes that are taking place in our city life, one constant factor—one established neighbor, rooted and grounded in the neighborhood? This is a function which the settlement may fulfill. Other neighbors may yield to pressure or be drawn by superior attractions and move to other fields, but the settlement goes on forever—gathering facts, supplying leadership and forming a rallying point for all who strive to hasten the dawning of the Better Day.

DISCUSSION.

MISS MARY E. McDOWELL.—The settlement, unlike the church or mission, is generally in a neighborhood of a shifting population because its method is of that special service. It purposely chooses such a socially strategic position because it does not plan to build up an institution, and cares more for permanent ideals in a moving population than for permanent membership in its organization. Its function is to serve this changing community. It may not be able to follow its neighbors or its club members as they move. If the settlement residents have themselves considered the little corner where they live, and serve it as a part of the greater community, then those club members who have gone away will carry with them some of this same obligation. If, as Mr. Woods said a long time ago, the settlement is "an attitude of mind," then we must trust this mental bias may be contagious and may be carried. Why not urge your club members to use the public school as a social center, to organize an improvement association, or a club, or perhaps just to serve the neighborhood where they are placed? We need, as settlement folk, to remind ourselves that we are servants of the community, and to shape our policy and our methods accordingly. After all, the paramount need in all neighborhoods is a community consciousness, and not the founding of another institution, for that consciousness will express itself in civic service, using the institutions already established.

THE RELATION OF COMMERCIAL BODIES TO OUR CHARITABLE AND SOCIAL STANDARDS

BY HOWARD STRONG, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, CLEVELAND

The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce is concerned with any movement for the betterment of Cleveland or the uplift of its citizens, whether from a commercial, civic or social standpoint. Medical inspection, infant mortality, industrial betterment, public baths, prevention of tuberculosis, forestry, playgrounds, milk inspection, civic service, housing reform, all these come within the scope of this organization. Its membership includes clergymen, educators, physicians, publicists, social workers, as well as business men. It is, therfore as much a chamber of citizenship as it is a chamber of commerce.

I shall, however, confine myself to a discussion of the relation which this civic body maintains with the charitable organizations and work of the city. The Chamber has in its relation to the charity of the city, assumed as a fundamental principle, that the charity which receives its support from the public is, in a sense, a public institution, and that the public has a right, and a responsibility to know its methods and to demand its conformity with an accepted standard of efficiency. Fully 80 per cent of the money which is collected each year for the support of Cleveland charitable organizations is given by members of the Chamber of Commerce or by their families. The chamber, in recognition of its responsibility, therefore has assumed supervision of the charitable organizations of Cleveland.

Because certain of the wiser contributors of Cleveland recognized the existence of a misconception of the standards of charity, the committee on benevolent associations of the Chamber of Commerce was appointed. Because members of this committee discovered the existence of institutions "which would rather give to an unworthy recipient a Sunday dinner a thousand times over, than let him break the Sabbath day by working for it," and because they found organizations which believed in "giving to whomsoever asks and whatsoever he asks, and leaving the good Lord in heaven to see to it that it does him good," the committee has continued its efforts and broadened the scope of its endeavor. As fundamental principles for an effective scheme of municipal charities, the committee has insisted upon efficiency, non-duplication, co-operation. The development of each factor implies, of course, a similar development in the other two, for no one factor can be fully realized without the other. In order to make effective its principles, the committee stipulates as far as is practicable, that organizations comply with the following requirements before endorsement is granted:

1. The organization shall fill a need not already well filled by an existing organization, and not capable of being thus filled.

2. The need shall be relatively great enough to warrant the equipment and support of a separate institution.

3. The organization shall agree to co-operate with other charitable institutions in promoting efficiency and economy of administration in the charities of the city as a whole, and in preventing duplication of effort.

4. The administrative committee of the organization shall meet at least quarterly.

5. All funds shall be collected according to a method approved by the committee on benevolent associations.

6. The accounts of the organization shall be regularly audited and a copy of the annual report shall be filed with the committee on benevolent associations.

7. The operations of the organization and its accounts shall always be open to the investigation of accredited representatives of the committee on benevolent associations.

The committee's operations at first consisted of a personal investigation to discover the character of work done by the various charitable organizations of the city. In addition a report giving in detail the essential facts regarding the organization was required. A card of endorsement was granted to such as complied with the committee's standards. Members of the Chamber and the public at large were requested to contribute only to those bearing the card of endorsement. In the beginning this had very little effect. Contributors were inclined to rely upon their own judgment, not realizing that a careful investigation, backed by trained judgment and adequate conceptions, was necessary to determine the need of an organization and its fitness to do charitable work. The committee, therefore, inaugurated a campaign of education. When it was found that a contributor had given to an unendorsed institution the contributor was called by telephone, the reason for the committee's refusal to endorse was carefully explained, and an effort was made to impress upon him the justice of this action and the mutual advantage which would obtain through his co-operation with the committee. The Chamber by means of circulars notified its members of hopelessly unworthy institutions which were receiving the support of the public. The newspapers gave their cordial co-operation. Many organizations were prevailed upon in making their solicitations to present a card of endorsement whether the contributor asked for it or not, thus bringing to the attention of the public, the existence of the system. After years of education and development the community has come to recognize the value of this committee's work and to rely almost universally upon the committee's action. Strong institutions now consider the card of vital importance in operating funds. Smaller institutions say that the committee's endorsement is essential to their support and that existence would be impossible without it.

It will be seen that up to this point the primary effect of the committee's work was of a negative character, it was not essentially constructive. The committee gave its endorsement to all organizations complying with fundamental standards, and institutions without this endorsement continued in existence if they could. As public confidence in the committee's position increased, and as the committee became better acquainted with the field of charity and with the essentials of effective work, there was naturally an enlargement of its function. The refusal of the public to support institutions not having the committee's endorsement, has given it the power to demand greater efficiency, less duplication, more perfect co-operation. The functions of the committee, therefore, developed from those of censorship to those of co-operative supervision. The committee's experience has given it an adequate conception of efficient standards of charity, and has made it possible to insist upon the adoption of these standards. The greater part of the committee's time, therefore, is now employed in distinctively constructive effort. As a condition of the endorsement of the various organizations, the committee each year requires evidence that the standard of efficiency is gradually improving. In addition to that, the committee plans to select perhaps half a dozen organizations for special attention. Their methods are carefully studied, conferences are held with boards of management and, if necessary, fundamental changes are insisted upon to bring about the very highest standard of efficiency. For instance the support behind one institution was ample, the plant itself was large and particularly well fitted for the work to be done, and the need for the work was great. There was, however, an entire absence of system, a lack of conception of the needs and opportunities of the work, and consequent meagre results. The committee carefully studied the operation of several institutions doing similar work, and the possibilities for this particular field. Numerous conferences were held with the officers and a careful plan of organization and operation was submitted. This resulted in the adoption of an entirely new policy, the election of a number of business men to the board of directors, and the development of the work in the direction suggested by the committee, with the result that the institution is doing its work in an economical and effective manner.

In the case of another institution the board of management has been almost entirely changed, a new building occupied, additional work assumed, and the outcome is a practically new institution. These instances are suggestive of a large number.

It is worthy of consideration that the co-operation effected by the committee has never been resented, but that it has resulted in establishing the warmest relations between the various boards of management and the committee, and in an increased reliance upon the committee's guidance. It should be particularly emphasized that the committee does not require as a condition of endorsement the immediate realization of the ideal; it does expect evidence of a reasonable degree of efficiency, and of progress toward the ideal for the particular character of work under consideration. Thus does the committee seek to increase the efficiency of the charitable organizations of Cleveland.

Again, the committee has continuously endeavored to prevent a duplication of effort. Several institutions have been led to abandon their work, because other organizations were doing the work more efficiently. Others have been absorbed by larger or more capable organizations, while still others have been persuaded to limit their activity to a given field, leaving other fields free for other associations. The committee has been able in several instances, to discourage the inauguration of well intended, but unwise movements aimed to accomplish results already attained, or possible of attainment by efficient existing organizations. Further the committee endeavors to anticipate the possible inauguration of movements, which must eventually prove useless or inefficient. For instance, two men in resplendent military uniforms and abounding in pious expressions, made known their intention of opening a local branch of a certain national religious and social organization. After they had fully committed themselves as to their intentions, the secretary of the committee was able to confront them with a detailed account of their previous operations in other cities, including certain defalcations and police experiences, and they were given six hours to leave the city. They were told also that their uniforms might prove to be of special interest to the police. With great haste hat bands and other removable insignia were taken off. They begged the committee's indulgence for six hours, and lack of further evidence indicates that they left Cleveland for a more hospitable region. As a complement to this work the committee has an equal interest in the inauguration of movements to meet needs not already provided for,and it has been able in a number of instances to aid in the incentive of such movements.

A most important element in the committee's work has been the development of a spirit of co-operation. In the beginning, competition among the charities in the city was the general rule. There was a constant effort on the part of individual institutions to get into the field and to do work already undertaken by others—competition for orphans, for the aged, for the sick, for relief cases, and, of course, for public support. The committee on benevolent associations takes the position that all social needs are component parts of the same general problem, that each effort to meet these needs has its particular responsibility and its relation to all others. Therefore, anything in the nature of interference or competition with an organization properly performing a legitimate work, must retard the common purpose. So the committee has required that all relief organizations clear through the charities clearing house, that all child saving organizations act through the general bureau of the Fresh Air Camp, that all organizations for delinquent and dependent children utilize as far as possible the facilities of the Juvenile Court. Since this element in the problem is one of mutual relationships, as distinct from the supervisory relation of the committee on benevolent associations, a separate committee on co-operation has been appointed. This committee was organized upon the joint initiative of the Chamber of Commerce and various social workers, with its chairman a member of the committee on benevolent associations, and its secretary, the superintendent of the Associated Charities. The committee is supported by the Associated Charities, as the organization essentially responsible for the development of the principle of co-operation in Cleveland, but it is not under the control of that organization. It is virtually a self-perpetuating body, and its members represent not individual organizations, but groups or classifications. These two committees, the one representing essentially a standard of efficiency in organization, the other a standard of inter-relationship and personality in service, are working together to produce a degree of unsurpassed effectiveness in the charitable field of Cleveland.

There is time simply to mention the final step in its relationship with Cleveland charity, which is now proposed by the Chamber of Commerce. Because social needs in most cities are recognized more rapidly than the responsibility for the support of agencies to meet those needs, charitable organizations are finding a continually greater difficulty in raising money to meet their yearly budgets. It has seemed necessary for those organizations which hire solicitors on a commission basis, to increase these commissions, in some cases, from ten to thirty percent. Paid officers upon whom devolves the duty of collection, have to give an increased proportion of their time to the mere collection of funds, while each year it is more difficult to secure voluntary officers and boards of management, because of the financial responsibility involved. A million and a half dollars (more accurately $1,483,197.47) were expended last year in support of Cleveland charitable organizations. Approximately five hundred thousand of this is secured by public solicitation and the committee estimates that directly and indirectly it costs sixty or seventy thousand dollars to transfer the money from the pocketbooks of the contributors to the treasuries of the organizations.. The committee has proposed, therefore, the creation of a federated board of thirty, with ten elected by the organizations of the city, ten by the givers as a body, and ten by the Chamber of Commerce. All collections for charity are to be made by this board and any contributions through the board. During the past three years, the committee has twice taken a census of all supporters of charity in Cleveland, and we have a card list which shows the amount given by every contributor to every charitable organization. The plan of federation has been taken up with many of the largest givers. About thirty per cent of the entire budget is already pledged and we believe that most of the balance will be pledged in a short time. Of course many difficulties are presented in a scheme of this kind. It is suggested that the element of personal relationship will be largely eliminated, that the scheme will have the benumbing effect which is sometime produced by the existence of a large endowment, that it will be impossible for any board to make an equitable distribution of funds. If there were time I think I could show you that our plan will overcome those difficulties and that we shall be able to develop a close personal relationship, greater vitality and a more effective distribution and expenditure of funds than exists today.

The Chamber of Commerce hopes to be able to report to you within the year, the completion of a plan under which funds for the support of all of the charities of Cleveland will be collected with a minimum of cost and a maximum of efficiency, and which will secure an increasing knowledge and interest on the part of contributors.

DISCUSSION.

MR. FRANK PERSONS, New York:—Mr. Strong's able paper, in a striking manner has called attention to the responsibility of the contributor for the standards and the usefulness of the charity which he helps to support. He has described a method intended to discharge this responsibility. Its purpose is to eliminate fraudulent and wasteful agencies, and to improve the efficiency of those allowed to survive.

The effective instrument employed is the card of endorsement. The existing charities of the city have been divided into two classes: Those complying with certain fundamental requirements of accounting and service have been endorsed as worthy, the others have been disapproved. The endorsement committee represents those persons contributing 80 per cent of the funds devoted to private charity in the city. This amount of money, however, is contributed by only 11 per cent of those who are interested in and help to support the charities of Cleveland. Furthermore, this relatively small group of generous givers are all members of a single civic organization whose authority and prestige are back of the endorsement committee.

It is at once apparent that this committee possesses great influence and wields it with unusual directness and effect. So far as its power is concerned, it is in position to become autocratic. This is a dangerous tendency inherent in any endorsement scheme that is dominant. When it is admittedly impossible for a new social movement to enlist any public support, unless first approved in plan and principle by a group of persons who may, for any reason, be unsympathetic, then there is danger that social initiative and experiment may be suppressed, or inhibited. It will be difficult in the extreme to make the prospectus of a new charity project so convincing that it will pass the judgment of those who would apply to it the principles governing commercial investments. Enthusiasm and insight born of special knowledge and experience will be discounted by a committee charged with the public responsibility of positive endorsement. Such a committee will always be conservative.

Another essential danger in the endorsement plan is that in practice it may increase perfunctory giving. The card of endorsement when issued in the same form to all approved charities in a city is not, in any instance, a certificate of the highest standard of excellence. It does not signify even that a common standard has been attained. It means only that the minimum standard has been achieved. Endorsement on a dead level standard is not sufficient. There is just as great a tendency to accept the endorsement, as final, as there is to act, without further inquiry, in accord with the committee's disapproval.

If it is assumed by the community that all endorsed agencies are about equally entitled to support, then those which are most active in soliciting funds will gain support and others will lose. The result may be to intensify the evils of personal solicitation. This result may be expected to follow the assumption that a successful appeal can be made on the basis of endorsement alone.

The tendency to give without full inquiry must be combated and endorsement must be supplanted by other and broader educational methods. Otherwise the effect will be to diminish intelligent and discriminating support of social work. The important question is not, "shall I contribute something?", or, "may I contribute without doing harm?" The giver should ask instead, "how much help does this society deserve from me and ought it to enlist my active personal interest?" It is deadening to substitute extraneous endorsement for personal knowledge. Yet this result is apt to occur. Mr. Strong has stated that, in Cleveland, "the community has come to rely almost universally upon the committee's action."

The extension of the responsibility of an endorsement committee to include the budget making and the raising of funds for each of the federated charities of a city may be a logical development, but it seems to be fraught with danger of great injury to the progress of social work. Even more than the plan of dead level endorsement it would tend to displace a feeling of personal responsibility and of the need of personal service. It would be like placing the various charities of the city permanently in the hands of a receiver. The stockholders in business enterprises which have met such a fate, having lost necessity for and in large measure opportunity for participating in their affairs, withdraw their interest and help. Some such result would seem to be certain and even more disastrous in the case of social movements; for these, to be progressive, must be alive with the personality of those who support them. It is not sufficient to have funds alone.

It is essential that there should be within the community some agency to gather and to keep, complete, critical information concerning its charitable activities. This agency should be an educational force.

It should be ready to give information concerning any institution upon request from those entitled to know the facts. It should be ready and able to advise established societies how best to increase efficiency and to extend their fields of work. Such an agency should be representative of the whole community, commercial, civic and social.

In Cleveland the Chamber of Commerce may be the appropriate agency to undertake this service. In another city it may be the Society for organizing charity. When that society has public confidence, it would seem to be peculiarly adapted to take this responsibility, because it is in close touch with the personal needs of the poor and in position to know in what degree these needs are met. It is quick to appreciate the need of constructive effort. It is itself subject to criticism and comparison and will, therefore, be discriminating and sympathetic in estimating the value of service and in establishing standards.

The Charity Organization Society of the City of New York four years ago organized a Bureau of Advice and Information under the direction of a standing committee which commands confidence and is representative of the business sense and the social sense of the city. We believe the bureau holds a logical and useful place in the work of the society and that it is potentially a satisfactory means of enabling contributors to charities to discharge their full responsibilities.

During the first three months of the present year 750 inquiries were received and answered. In those answers no endorsement is given, no opinion of worthiness expressed. The reports made are based upon careful investigation and contain adequate statement of facts concerning the purpose, plan and field of work, efficiency and value of service, methods of accounting and raising money, and of the manner of administration. The contributor is enabled to decide for himself concerning the standards and the value of the organization. Such reports do influence contributors. I believe that to a large extent those in New York city who contribute to charity because of a broad conception of the needs of such work, depend upon this bureau to provide the information they desire. Their number is rapidly increasing and effort is being made to extend the service to the general public.

The managers of organizations are constantly seeking suggestions. Within a few weeks this bureau has been requested to make critical analysis of six different organizations. Those requests were made by members of the governing body or by the executive officer in charge of the institution. These studies are now under way. The list includes a hospital, a settlement, an industrial farm school for boys, a convalescent home, an institution for aged persons, and an institutional church. All are important institutions and in good standing.

I believe that it is possible for such a Bureau of Advice and Inmation to educate the community to give wisely, to afford constructive assistance to existing institutions, and to eliminate those which are wasteful and unnecessary.

State Supervision and Administration

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

BY GIFFORD S. ROBINSON, IOWA BOARD OF CONTROL OF STATE INSTITUTIONS, CHAIRMAN

When the resistance of the barons to the aggressions of the Crown culminated at Runnymede in the Magna Charta, the foundation was laid for safeguarding the lives, liberties and property not only of the subjects of King John but of unborn generations in many lands who were to base their laws upon the principles of the Great Charter. That provided that "no freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseized, or outlawed, or exiled, or anywise destroyed; nor shall we go upon him, nor send upon him, but by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land." The cause "lawful judgment of his peers" did not, as is commonly believed, refer to a trial by jury. The clause "by the law of the land" was intended to guarantee judgment by a recognized method of trial and to give protection against unauthorized and arbitrary proceedings. The provision for trial by jury was adopted later. (McGehee 5.) Our ancestors brought with them to this country the hatred of oppression and the love of justice which distinguished their forefathers and in due time incorporated in their fundamental laws the chief provisions of the Magna Charta as originally granted and as subsequently enlarged, which were designed to protect the life, liberty and property of every citizen. Thus Article III. of the original constitution of the United States contains the following: "The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury." Of the first ten amendments adopted four years after the constitution itself eight were especially designed for the protection of the people. The Fifth Amendment contains the following: "Nor shall any person * * * be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law." These amendments apply to the administration of Federal laws by Federal courts, but are not restrictions on the powers of the states and do not apply to state courts. (Hurtado v. California, 110 U. S., 516; Howard v. Kentucky, 200 U. S., 172; Brown v. New Jersey, 175 U. S., 174; Maxwell v. Dow, 176 U. S., 548.)

The Fourteenth Amendment adopted in 1868 did not have the effect to make those amendments apply to the states (Maxwell vs. Dow, supra.), but the Fourteenth Amendment itself does so apply. It provides that no state shall "deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law." Similar provisions are found in the constitutions of the various states of the Union.

These provisions are referred to because of the great influence they have had upon the commitment and treatment of the insane, and their relations to the control which may be exercised over persons threatened with insanity. In many states the examinations of the insane for the purpose of committing them for custody and treatment have been regarded as purely judicial proceedings and they are conducted much as are criminal prosecutions. There is the application for the examination of the person alleged to be insane which corresponds with the information or indictment charging crime, the formal trial in open court by a jury, with the person under investigation present, the finding as to his mental condition and the commitment to some institution for care and treatment and the taking in charge by the sheriff for conveyance to that institution. And because of lack of knowledge and experience the sheriff frequently manacles the patient when not necessary and employs brawny assistants when not needed. The proceedings include all the horrors which the trial of a criminal case and the sentencing to prison would have for an innocent defendant.

Of the forty-six states of the Union thirty-five and also the territory of Hawaii require that the proceedings to determine the mental condition of a person charged with insanity be conducted in open court or under the direction of a judicial officer, in most cases the county or probate judge. The general practice in the District of Columbia, in Porto Rico and in seven of the thirty-five states referred to is to have a formal trial in open court with the aid of a jury. Of the thirty-eight states in which such a trial is not usual ten give to the person charged with insanity or to his relatives or friends the right to demand and have a trial by jury on the original inquest, three give to the judge who has charge of the proceedings the right to summon a jury, and in several states in which the inquest is by commissioners the right of appeal to a court which grants a trial by jury is given to the person under examination. Several states provide that persons found to be insane are entitled to have their sanity tested by habeas corpus proceedings.

It is the purpose of this paper to discuss the necessity for formal court proceedings under the constitutional provisions to which reference has been made.

The right of the state to take into custody persons alleged to be insane is derived from its police power; that is, the power to make and enforce all manner of reasonable laws for the protection of the lives, health and property of the citizens of the state, to maintain good order and promote the public welfare. (Bierly, 9, citing Patterson v. Kentucky, 97 U. S., 501; Powell v. Commonwealth, 114, Pa. St., 659; Thorpe v. Railroad Co., 27 Vt., 149.)

It is within this power to regulate the practice of medicine, to provide sanitary regulation for drainage, ventilation, and the supply of water; to regulate market houses, butchers' shops and the sales of foodstuffs and drugs. It is within the range of legislative action to define the manner in which everyone may so use his own as not to injure others. (Id.) Continental jurists include among the police powers of a state not only the restraint upon private rights imposed for the general welfare of all, but also governmental institutions established with public funds for the promotion of public good and to alleviate private want and suffering. (Tiedman on Police Powers 2.) And this policy is generally recognized as lawful in this country.

The police power is especially concerned with the protection of persons under legal disability. (Bierly on Police Powers, 34-3.) It includes the right of the state to place in confinement and to subject to regular medical treatment those who are suffering from contagious or infectious disease, danger to the public if the persons affected were allowed to go at large justifying the existence and use of the power. (Tied. 102.) Weak-minded persons, drunkards and spendthrifts who are unable to take care of their property may properly be made wards of the state. (Tied. 33, citing Colt's case, 215, Pa. St. 333; Simon v. Craft, 182 U. S., 436.) The relation of the state to the insane is that of guardian to ward. The state may authorize parents and other relatives to confine and care for the insane. (Tied. 104.) It has the power to provide for their care and treatment, and there is no limit to this power so long as the commitment and stay are voluntary, but where involuntary commitment and restraint are resorted to the limitations imposed by constitutional or statutory law must be observed. (Tied. 105.)

The earlier decisions show that the rights of the state to interfere with insane persons was generally limited by law to the placing of them under such restraint as was necessary to secure the public safety. The next step was to furnish aid to those who were indigent and the next to furnish aid for all who could be benefitted by it, the cost of maintenance being demanded from those who could pay. No one now questions the power of the state to make ample provision for the care of the insane whether acute or chronic, rich or poor. And there is no serious question in regard to its right to provide for voluntary commitments and the commitment and detention of persons under guardianship on the application of the guardian whether parents or others appointed by law. (Bierly on Police Powers, 33 (2); Reetz v. Michigan, 188 U. S., 505; Rider v. Regan, 114 Cal. 667; Walker v. Sauvinet, 92 U. S. 90.) The exercise of this power when given by statute must be reasonable and in proper cases would be subject to judicial review. (Van Deusen v. Newcomer, 40 Mich. 113.)

The cases of involuntary commitment and restraint of persons not under guardianship are the troublesome ones which involve the interpretation of the constitutional provisions in question, and we inquire what are the indispensible requirements to vest in the state or its representatives the right to take charge of, keep, control and care for an insane person against his will.

An insane person may be restrained of his liberty without process of law when it is necessary to prevent injury to himself or to others, to prevent his wandering beyond control, or when necessary to secure immediate medical treatment. (Cooley on Torts, 179; Tied. 176; Keleher v. Putnam, 60 N. H., 31; Colby v. Jackson, 12 N. H., 526.) But such restraint must be temporary only. (Colby v. Jackson, supra.)

Before there can be permanent restraint the fact of insanity must be determined "by due process of law." (Tied. 107.) This is guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. (McGehee 26.) Due process of law is process according to the law of the land. In a recent case (ex parte Allen, 73 Atl. Rep. 1078 Vt.), the following language was quoted with approval. "It is a fundamental principle of justice, essential to every free government, that every citizen shall be maintained in the enjoyment of his liberty and property unless he has forfeited them by the standing laws of the community, and has had an opportunity to answer such charge as, according to those laws, will justify a forfeiture or suspension of them."

Due process of law within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment does not require that the proceedings in a state court shall be by a particular mode, but only that there shall be a regular course of procedure in which notice is given and an opportunity afforded to defend against it. (Simon v. Craft, 182 U. S., 427; Walker v. Sauvinet, 92 U. S., 90; L. & N. R. R. Co., v. Schmidt, 177 U. S., 236.) Due process of law implies the administration of equal laws according to established rules not violative of fundamental principles of private rights by a competent tribunal having jurisdiction upon notice and hearing. (McGehee 1.)

"In the American constitutional system the power to establish the ordinary regulations of police have been left with the individual states and cannot be assumed by the national government." (Patterson v. Kentucky, 97 U. S., 503.)

The limitation of this power in the states is that it must be exercised in such a manner as not to conflict with the Federal constitution. (Walker v. Sauvinet, 92 U. S., 90; Maxwell v. Dow, 176 U. S., 584; Keller vs. U. S., 213, U. S., 144.)

But it is not a violation of that instrument to dispense with a jury. Trial by jury has never been affirmed to be a necessary requisite of due process of law, and that is true under the Fourteenth Amendment. (Hallinger v. Davis, 146 U. S., 314;

Brown v. New Jersey, 175 U. S., 174; Marvin v. Trout, 199 U. S., 226; Wilson v. N. C., 169 U. S., 594; Bierly on Police Powers, 127-8.)

The requirements of that amendment as to due process of law is met if a trial be had according to the settled course of judicial procedure in the state, that is according to the law of the state whether it include a trial by jury or not. It has been said by the court of last resort in cases involving the interpretation of the federal constitution that due process of law under the Fourteenth Amendment "does not necessitate that the proceedings in a state court should be by a particular mode, but only that there shall be a regular proceeding in which notice is given of the claim asserted and an opportunity afforded to defend against it." (Simon v. Craft, 182 U. S., 437.) Since the provisions of the federal constitution apply to all persons alike, including the insane, it follows that unless required by the state constitution or statutory law a trial by jury is not a necessary part of the proceedings for the examination and commitment of an insane person.

It has been held by some courts that when a right to a trial by jury is guaranteed by the constitution it is sufficient if such trial be provided for on appeal. (Zoll v. McHenry, 51 Iowa, 572.)

Although the authorities frequently refer to courts and judicial findings, judicial and quasi judicial duties may be devolved upon boards or officers of an administrative character and their decision may be made final.

"Due process of law is not confined to judicial proceedings, but extends to every case which may deprive a citizen of life, liberty or property, whether the proceedings be judicial, administrative or executive." (Stuart v. Palmer, 74 N. Y., 183; Reetz v. Michigan, 188 U. S., 505; B., C. R. & N. R. R. Co. v. Dey, 82 Iowa, 312.)

Where administrative process is authorized it is as much due process of law as any other. (Note to State v. Billings, 43 Am. St. Rep., 532.)

It is competent for the law making power to create the court or board and prescribe the evidence for determining questions relating to life, liberty and property subject to constitutional restrictions.

Insane persons must have due notice of the proceedings and an opportunity to deny the allegations of insanity and to present evidence in defense. (Bierly 32-3, 127-8; Underwood v. People, 32 Mich. 1; Willis v. Willis, 12 Pa. 159; People v. Supervisors, 70 N. Y., 228; Steward v. Palmer, 74 N. Y., 183; Doyle v. Petitioner, 16 R. I., 537; Walker v. Sauvinét, 92 U. S. 90.)

It has been urged that notice to an insane person of the inquest which is to determine his mental state is a useless form for the reason that he cannot comprehend it and would not act upon it. But to dispense with notice and an opportunity to be heard for that reason would be to assume in advance the very fact the inquest is designed to ascertain. Such a practice is not more admissible in cases of insanity than in cases involving liability for crime.

It follows from what has been said that unless the constitution of a state require a jury trial the inquest may be conducted and the mental condition of a person charged with insanity determined by a commission or other means than a proceeding in court or trial by jury, due provision for notice and an opportunity to defend being given.

When the right of trial by jury is guaranteed by the constitution it is usually competent for the person entitled to that right to waive it. Hence if there be statutory provision for an inquest out of court and without a jury with the further provision that the person charged with insanity may have a formal hearing in court with the aid of a jury on demand by himself or by another authorized to act for him, the constitutional requirement is met.

In Illinois the county court and county judge have jurisdiction of lunacy cases and the system last outlined is in vogue. It is the testimony of a county judge who has served continuously for twenty-three years, the last sixteen of which were under the system stated, that of the large number of cases before him during the sixteen years in only two or three was a jury demanded. This judge had served seven years under a law which required a jury in all cases, and he states his opinion to be that a public trial has an injurious effect upon the person under examination, and that the examination by commission "is greatly to be preferred."

In the state of Iowa where the inquest is in the first instance by a commission with the right of appeal to the district court in the person examined, an appeal is exceedingly rare. It is believed that this is the common experience in states where substantially the system of examination and commitment by commission prevails. There is no reason why such methods may not be adopted in most if not all the states.

What has been said refers to that which is necessary where the right is sought to commit an insane patient for such time as proper care and treatment may require. But even in criminal cases persons accused of crime may be and frequently are of necessity confined for days, weeks and even months until they can be given the trial guaranteed by law.

In the case of Moyer v. Peabody, 212 U. S., 82, it appeared that the plaintiff had been imprisoned without trial on account of an alleged insurrection from March 30, 1904, to June 15th following. Moyer claimed that he had been deprived of his liberty without due process of law. The supreme court of the United States in holding against him said, "It is familiar that what is due process of law depends on circumstances. It varies with the subject matter and the necessities of the situation."

The right of property in a citizen is safeguarded by the Fourteenth Amendment as is his liberty, but it is well settled that his property may be taken in levies for taxes without notice other than that given by a general law, and without a formal hearing in court.

It is also well settled that persons may be restrained of their liberty pending the determination of their mental condition even by a private person and the time during which that restraint may be legally continued must depend upon the circumstances of the case. It was said by an able court, "If there is no right to exercise that restraint for a fortnight there is no right to exercise it for an hour." (Porter v. Rich, 70 Ct., 251.)

There is a growing demand for psychopathic hospitals which may receive patients suffering from mental or nervous impairment who are on the border line of insanity, but who may be saved from actual insanity by proper care. There are numerous private hospitals devoted to the treatment of that class of patients and wards in a few city, county and state hospitals are set apart for similar work. Provision has been made for a few state hospitals to be devoted wholly to the treatment of such cases. It is for the benefit of patients of that class to be given the required care and treatment without a formal finding of insanity, yet they may not be aware of this and may resist commitment. Much of what has been said respecting involuntary commitment of insane persons applies to this class. There is no doubt that under the police power of the state provisions can be made for detaining them for brief periods without proceedings of a judicial nature. Some states now provide for the detention of such persons on the recommendation of a commission for periods of five or ten days. This period may be lengthened in some cases without violating any constitutional guaranty.

The conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing may be summarized as follows:

1. The federal constitution does not require that examinations for commitment of persons alleged to be insane shall be in open court or with a jury.

2. As a rule such examinations may be made by commission, saving to the person accused of insanity the right to a formal proceeding in court or a trial by jury.

3. An insane person may be taken into custody without legal process, but only temporarily for the purpose of protecting the public and the patient and securing for him the care he needs. If more than temporary restraint be needed such proceedings must be had within a reasonable time as shall constitute due process of law within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment to justify further restraint.

4. Provision may be made for the temporary detention and observation of a person suffering from mental disturbance without a formal hearing in court or trial by jury even in states the constitutions of which guarantee such hearing or trial. The length of justifiable detention will depend upon the condition of the patient and must not exceed a reasonable limit.

PSYCHOPATHIC WARDS IN GENERAL HOSPITALS

BY ALBERT WARREN FERRIS, A. M., M. D., PRESIDENT NEW YORK STATE COMMISSION IN LUNACY

Midway between the home and the State Hospital there must exist some agency for the care of the mentally disturbed, pending their proper disposition. Some haven must be open for their immediate reception. It should not be the poorhouse and it should never be the jail.

It is a blot upon our civilization that the mentally afflicted should be so often treated as if they were paupers or criminals. Hippocrates taught that insanity is due to disease, but sight of this fact was lost in the superstition of the Middle Ages.

Non-restraint of the insane was advocated by Franklin in 1750, and later by Rusk. Yet on the statute books of the State of New York as late as 1788 was placed "*An Act for apprehending and punishing disorderly persons,*" which provided, in case of "persons who by lunacy or otherwise are furiously mad, or are so far disordered in their senses that they may be dangerous to be permitted to go abroad; therefore, be it enacted that it shall be lawful for any two or more justices of the peace to cause such person to be apprehended and kept safely locked up in some secure place and, if such justices shall find it necessary, to be there chained." In 1806 an act was passed by the State Legislature to erect additions to the New York Hospital, a general medical hospital, "particularly to provide suitable apartments for maniacs, adapted to the various forms and degrees of insanity." Yet today, a hundred years later, we read in the newspapers of "persons charged with insanity," "insane offenders," and "insane prisoners" not sent to hospitals, but locked in jails as if guilty of crime—a distinct retrogression in the conception of the most unfortunate of illnesses.

It is a curious survival of barbarism that the evidence of a disordered mind should be considered as "disorderly conduct" and afford opportunity or excuse for arrest by the constable or the policeman. If a policeman encounters a citizen who is shouting in the street, and ascertains that he is suffering severe pain, the officer conducts him to a hospital for treatment. But if he ascertains that the citizens is suffering from mental disorder the officer takes him to a jail or lockup, and later, "charged with insanity," he is taken before a magistrate, after being held in "the pen" with criminals of all kinds. Timidity, custom and indifference are responsible for this inhuman treatment of the sick. The absurd fear of the insane, which has been inculcated by example for generations, leads the person making the arrest to use unwarrantable restraint and occasionally a brutal manner toward the poor sufferer, generally weak and confused, often in abject fear. *The California State Journal of Medicine* reports an interesting instance of cowardice in the treatment of an insane person. "A perfectly harmless patient was first tied about with a rope, then rolled in a mattress, and this in turn was carefully roped, something over one hundred feet of rope being used to tie a harmless, sick person," in order to transport him to a hospital.

Magistrates in certain cities in New York State follow the path of least trouble to themselves by sending an insane person to jail, to be returned in five days. In some probably recoverable cases death has occurred under these circumstances and following this mistreatment. In all cases positive damage is done to the patient. The early impressions of the mental sufferer are deep and lasting. To be arrested and confined in jail suggests accusation of crime of which the patient knows he is innocent.. Hence arise delusions of conspiracy and persecution, which are very difficult, if not impossible, of eradication. Borderland and undetermined cases, including psychastheniacs with their doubts, phobias, anguish or agitation, also those who suffer from delirium of fever, are much damaged by incarceration in cells prepared for criminals in the ordinary jail.

It is not the worthless, useless, idle or vicious members of society that furnish us with the larger number of insane people. The insane are largely recruited from among the valuable part of the community. In New York over 77 per cent of the patients received into the State hospitals were engaged in work above the grade of day labor or were the wives of minor children of men so occupied. In aiding these people the State has given aid to those who most deserve it; to those who in the past were wage-earners and taxpayers.

In the New York State hospitals 40 per cent of the deaths occur during the first year after admission. The patients are not received early enough. Of the cases discharged cured by the State hospitals 83 per cent recovered between one and twelve months after admission. The earliest treatment is often the most important. All disturbing and distressing influences, all confusing and fatiguing agencies should be prohibited. The tenderest nursing is essential from the start if the full number of possible recoveries is to be reached.

Yet in New York State over 500 patients have been brought annually to the State hospitals from jails and lockups. In many cases their condition in the jail has been deplorable and heart-rending. Reports were obtained in the cases of a large number of patients brought to the State hospitals and collated by a special committee partly as follows:

> "These reports showed that in some instances the patients were given no special consideration, and were or was taken to a hotel for meals, or was found at a boarding house in charge of the authorities, or at the house of an official; some effort being apparently made to provide for his needs and keep him apart from a criminal environment. In regard to one place, the statement is made that the Superintendent of the Poor always hires reliable attendants to care for the patients pending commitment. More frequently, however, the reports showed that the patients were given no special consideration, and were found in unsanitary, uncomfortable, sometimes filthy and vermin-infested cells, not infrequently in company with persons accused of crime, notwithstanding that this is specifically forbidden by law. In one instance the patient was found in the same room with a person accused of being implicated in a murder and developed a delusion that she herself was accused of the crime. In another, a patient received a scalp wound by being struck with a pitcher by a prisoner. In still another the report stated that a woman patient was found in a basement cell, without windows, dark and damp, with no toilet facilities and separated only by a slat door from the quarters of a drunken man. Other reports showed that the patients were cared for by prisoners, or were in a common room with drunkards and tramps. Under such circumstances no attempt at medical care and nursing could be expected, and sometimes the most ordinary needs of the patients were neglected. At a jail in one of the larger cities, a woman was found by the nurse in a cell in which she could scarcely sit up, it was so small. 'Three walls were padded

> with some coarse material, and the fourth, the front, was a grated door. There was no water section or available toilet facilities. The patient was entirely naked and was extremely filthy and dirty. The village lockups in which the patients were found were sometimes apart from other buildings and little used. The patients in them were sometimes left alone for long periods, and a suicidal attempt and a fire started were among the occurrences reported. Reports of insufficient food, clothing and bedding, of cold, and of inattention to medical treatment and nursing are among those received. In one instance it was stated that the food was bread and water. One man was far advanced in tuberculosis and delirious. Another was very sick, without fire or sufficient clothing, and died two days after reaching the hospital. An epileptic was drenched with a bucket of water whenever he had a fit.
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> The worst feature of all in the case of the insane women confined in jails and lockups is the lack of provision for attendance by persons of their own sex. In a large number of instances, the reports indicate that they were left entirely to the care of men. The impropriety and danger of this to both the patients and their custodians can scarcely be exaggerated and accusations of sexual assaults by police officers or jail keepers have been made by some of the women. In this way innocent persons may be exposed to false accusations from which they might have no opportunity to defend themselves. In one instance the nurse found an insane woman entirely nude in her cell, and the only person to attend to her was a man who handed her food in at each meal. The detention of women without attendance by persons of their own sex is, to say the least, indecent, and one wonders why it is permitted even in the case of those accused of crime.

The remedy is, *First,* to enact statutes that will ensure that the responsibility for the earliest care of the mentally affected should be laid upon health officers and not upon poor-law officials; and, *Secondly,* to provide psychopathic wards or pavilions in connection with general medical hospitals in all cities and large towns.

Superintendents or overseers of the poor should not be in charge of alleged insane persons. Insanity is a form of illness, and these patients should be cared for by health officers in the first instance. When no suitable place has been provided, a health officer will secure room in a boarding house, or with a family, in which the patient may be placed in the care of a nurse till admission to a State hospital can be arranged. No physician will lodge an insane person in jail, but he will provide a safe and comfortable place for temporary accommodation and proceed with haste to secure medical examination and apply early for commitment to a State hospital. Thus, without alarm or brutality, without the demoralization following arrest and jail life, without undue restraint, but under the care and quieting influence of a nurse, the patient will be tided over the confusing and distressing period of transfer to a strange place without resulting mental damage. Emphasis will have been placed on illness and no suggestion of crime will have been made. A bill providing that a health officer and, not poor-law officers, shall take charge of the alleged insane pending commitmment has just passed the New York Legislature.

The entire avoidance of undermining influences will be secured if psychopathic wards or pavilions attached to general hospitals are available. A psychopathic ward is not a room for the detention of vagrants or drunkards. A cage with a bed in it and a keeper outside does not constitute a psychopathic ward or a proper place of detention for the sick.

A psychopathic ward consists of a number of single bedrooms opening upon a corridor or short hall, with abundance of light and ventilation, with ordinary furniture, bedding and equipment, with convenient water sections providing bathing facilities, with nurses (women, with few exceptions) in uniform, with plants and flowers supplied with discretion.

The patient should have if possible better quarters and more comfort than he has at home. The ministration should be noticeably personal, kind and encouraging; the food should be appetizing and attractive; the medical care and the nursing should be as complete as in the case of any other grave form of illness, with a view to saving every ounce of the patient's strength, physical and mental. Separate provision for possible noisy cases should be made in small detached annexes, reached by means of corridors. In all hospitals furnished with psychopathic wards or pavilions there should be a resident physician on call at all times.

The functions of the psychopathic ward or pavilion is to provide a proper place for reception and temporary detention of the alleged insane, pending their proper disposition; to receive borderland or undetermined cases for observation and decision;

to care for cases of symptomatic delirium and the like. In all instances the benefit of the doubt should be given to the alcoholic case. A grave psychosis may be masked by alcoholism.

It is an important fact that medical care of the insane should begin before the time when sufficient mental change has occurred to make a commitment possible. The initial care and treatment in the psychopathic ward is therefore of prime importance. But such care is purely initial, not protracted. Without full equipment for the treatment of the insane and without the constant attendance of a resident psychiatrist protracted care should not be undertaken.

Dangerous statements have been reported to the effect that the insane are of two classes, one class comprising acute and recoverable cases that may be treated in an ordinary general medical hospital, and the other class comprising the irrecoverable cases, which should be placed under custody in State hospitals. It is very difficult to predict regarding recovery of a patient. Very frequently cases that appear recoverable never emerge; while a few others after six, or even nine, unbroken years of mental derangement make a recovery. The possibility of rapid recovery should not be jeopardized by prolonging general hospital treatment beyond the stage of first aid. The treatment of the special State Hospital, with its exhaustive search of personal and family history, its consultations in meetings of resident medical officers over each case personally and repeatedly presented, its psycho-analysis, its prolonged baths, its therapeutic occupations, its many industries, its classes in calisthenics and folk-dances and its varied entertainments—this should be the treatment afforded the patient at the earliest day possible. Moreover, in certain States, as in New York, prolonged treatment in the psychopathic ward of a general hospital, for compensation or hire, is unlawful.

But all the agencies mentioned are less effectual and less rapidly successful if neglect or harshness at home, or if arrest and lodgment in jail have preceded the admission into the special State hospital. The psychopathic ward is a most important link in he chain; a most essential agency for the early protection and conservation of the recently developed or the recently discovered case of mental impairment.

DISCUSSION.

DR. THOMAS COE LITTLE, of Omaha, Neb.—It has been a pleasure to hear the very able way in which Dr. Ferris has presented to you what is a comparatively new theme in this part of the country. Care of the border line and incipient cases is not yet being done generally.

I was pleased to note the differentiation he made between a disordered mind and a disordered conduct; that a disordered mind produces certain forms of physical and mental activity that are not normal. On the other hand, conduct that is disordered, from the viewpoint of the normal individual, is due to some physical causes. These people, whom we treat and class as insane patients, are all sick in mind. More often than not they are sick in body also. If there is any one place where they can be handled, it is in the general hospital. It is inhuman to take a sick man and cast him into jail with criminals, and treat him like a criminal. It is unscientific to class these people as criminals in so far as placing them with them. Many of them present merely a case of brain fag, or tire. When you place them in these harsh places of confinement with bad environment, foul air and improper food, you have added to their misery instead of relieving it. We have in Nebraska taken up this matter, and on the completion of our new hospital, or the new wing of the St. Joseph's hospital, one floor is to be used for these borderline cases as a receptive ward. This applies not only to those cases which will eventually be determined insane, but to those which will eventually become simply medical and surgical cases. Another point that Dr. Ferris made and which I would like to re-enforce, is that the people who handle the insane early are not trained attendants. It is either the deputy sheriff or a constable who is sent to take these people in charge. There has been for centuries a general feeling among the laity that an insane person is always dangerous, and these people are afraid of them, and overdo the needed restraint and increase the exhaustion of the patient. If we could bear in mind always in handling the insane that they are sick people, sick in mind and often sick in body; that they require fully as careful attention as does a fever case or a surgical case, I think the humane element in us would predominate in our treatment of them.

DR. H. H. HART, of New York.—The quasi-criminal treatment of the insane has evils in addition to those that have been mentioned here tonight. As Secretary of the State Board of Charities I had sixteen years of observation along this line. I remember seeing upon a train a delicate woman wearing a pair of steel handcuffs as if she had been a robust male criminal. She was in charge of a sheriff and was on her way to the State hospital. She was overwhelmed with the disgrace and ignominy and suffering of the situation. I remember once in St. Paul going into a jail, and I found an old man lying in a cell tied hand and foot with ropes, and without an attendant, although there were thirty men in the jail. On the floor of his cell lay a tin pan, in which were some greasy soup and meat. The jailer said: "We brought him food, but he wouldn't eat anything." I went to the sheriff and said: "The man is sick." He said: "He is no longer a county charge, and I have no authority to do anything for him." I went to the county physician and he said he had been ordered sent to the State Hospital, but he wasn't fit to be moved. I found next day that the old man had conveniently and obligingly died, and relieved the officials of any further responsibility. Several years ago I saw in Dubuque five insane men in a dark, unwholesome jail, having no other care than such as might be given them by fellow prisoners, and yet they were guilty of no offense. The only reason for their confinement was that there wasn't room for them in the State Hospital. This quasi-criminal process makes the relatives and friends exceedingly reluctant to put their insane into institutions where they could have proper care, and this is why many are kept back until it is too late to give them the attention they need.

I had the honor to frame a law for Oklahoma which provides that any individual in the State suffering from diseases of the brain or the nervous system, or his friends, may enter a petition in the county court requesting that he be committed to a psychopathic hospital for care and treatment; that when that petition comes before the judge he shall give notice to the individual to appear, or to his friends to bring him in, and the sole question shall be, "Is the patient suffering from such a disease of the brain or the nervous system as to be benefited by temporary treatment in a psychopathic hospital?" And the judge is forbidden to raise the question of insanity. Thus a patient can get admission to the hospital for treatment without placing upon him the unfortunate stigma of having been insane. It is important that such a patient receive early treatment and that when he is discharged from the hospital he be permitted to go back to his profession or trade without suspicion on the part of ignorant people who have this feeling against insanity of which we have spoken. It is time that the sick should be protected, and that it be made possible for a person who has had brain trouble and received treatment for it and has recovered, to go back into his community without raising the question as to whether he is sane or insane.

DR. J. H. STOPLER, of Oklahoma.—Dr. Ferris has pointed out to us that by law an insane person is absolutely excused for anything in the criminal statute, and yet in the city of New York there is such a thing as punishing a man for the crime of insanity. The attitude of society towards the insane can be divided into three periods, each period standing for the stage of human knowledge and progress of the time being. First, the time of superstition and gross ignorance, when the insane were worshipped as deities, as super-human beings. Second, the stage of evolution, when the human mind began to reason and to look for causes, and seeing only the acts of the insane and not being able to understand mental processes or functions began to fear the insane and in dreading the actions of a disordered mind, hold him responsible for his acts as a criminal. I believe we are now in the third stage, the time of reason or physiologic period, when we look not to an act only, but realize that it is the effect of some cause, that we have to deal with the cause and by eliminating the cause we eliminate the effect. We are beginning to realize that an insane person is neither super-human nor a criminal, but that such a person is sick and that his case is in the province of the Doctor and not of the jailer.

The attitude of society as expressed by law in Oklahoma is to deal with the insane in a human way. We are going to have and are building hospitals for the insane, not asylums, as is shown by the legislature creating and building the Eastern Oklahoma Hospital for the Insane at Vinita. As a member of the medical profession I say unhesitatingly it is the duty of the doctors to educate the people, to make them understand what insanity is, that there is no effect that is not produced by some certain cause, hence wherever we find an effect of some cause we must look for the cause. People should learn that many causes of insanity are removable. When people learn this then public opinion, which is the highest tribunal with us, will crystallize its sentiments into remedial legislation. The proper dealing and treatment of the insane is a question to be answered by the people first. When the people learn the true conditions and necessity of the insane they will bring about such conditions that legislatures will deal intelligently with the insane problem.

DR. MAX E. WITTE, of Iowa.—In the treatment of the insane it is necessary that they shall come under care before serious changes have taken place in the brain, which is the seat of the disease. The hospital treatment for the insane is necessary to give them the relief, with very few exceptions; and it is not feasible to any considerable degree to keep these people at home. The psychopathic hospital is necessary, in cases of patients where in the very beginning of the disorder the patient has insight of his disease and realizes that there is something wrong. But where we have no psychopathic hospital and the patient appeals to us for relief, and is confronted with a formidable machinery with red tape and publicity of all sorts, often his friends seek relief in irregular ways, and fritter away the time that is so essential to restoration and to speedy improvement. The essential unsefulness of psychopathic hospitals is that they enlist the co-operation of the patient at a time when he has insight into the disease. It will give him an opportunity for improvement far beyond what can be hoped for after the time of grace—so-called—has passed. Statistics show that we can do more for restoration if we can get these people early, say within the first month of the disorder. And the percentage of cures would probably be much larger if we could get them in that transition period. Often a regular legal commitment to the hospital would be obviated and publicity and chagrin avoided. I am heartily in sympathy with the movement for psychopathic hospitals to relieve this large class, which cannot be relieved in any other way.

DR. PETRIE, of St. Louis.—The question of psychopathic wards is a very urgent one, urgent not only locally, but throughout the greater portion of this country. The only way, in my opinion, to arrive at a happy solution is by a campaign of public education such as is being carried on now for the extermination of tuberculosis and cancer, and such work as is being done by the social, moral and prophylactic society. It has been said that men look to physicians for aid in this campaign. If the public at large are interested in this question, we shall have a solution of it. The physicians are only too glad to turn cases over to competent hands and to relieve themselves of all responsibility and all concern with the case as soon as possible. The tendency is toward the medical control of these cases as early as possible. But there is quite a diversity between the medical side of the case and the legal side. The mere fact that we recognize the importance of psychopathic hospitals calls to mind that the medical issue is the all-important one. What Dr. Ferris has said as regards such affairs in New York can also be said to a great extent of Missouri, though we have no psychopathic wards here. In St. Louis within a year we have had the remodeling of our whole hospital system. It was advocated that we institute an acute psychopathic ward in conjunction with our State hospital. We have the observation ward, which is not a psychopathic ward in all the word means. Psychopathic wards, as Dr. Ferris has pointed out, must include certain remedial measures, hydropathic appliances, proper food, nursing, etc. I trust that with the improvement we have made and the advance in St. Louis towards the establishment of proper conditions, in the near future we shall have such a psychopathic ward.

DR. CHARLES F. GILLIAM, of Columbus, O.—I believe that all medical men and all people who have taken this matter into consideration of late years are fully agreed upon the need of psychopathic wards. It is simply a question of creating sufficient public sentiment to have these wards and these detention hospitals brought into existence. The money must come from the people, either from the taxpayers or from private donations, and in either case it can only be secured by interesting the people sufficiently in the work we desire to accomplish and have already accomplished. I agree with every word which has been uttered by Dr. Ferris in his very able presentation of this subject, and I merely arise to state that at a meeting of the State hospital superintendents of Ohio last week this question was discussed very fully, and there was a unanimous agreement that such psychopathic wards or detention hospitals ought to be established in every large municipality, and probably a central hospital for the State at large. Every one who has had to do with the treatment of insane realizes the great necessity of beginning that treatment early, and realizes how many people are kept from treatment by reason of the fact that their friends do not like to have them sent to insane asylums and the stigma of insanity placed upon them. In reference to the handling of the insane there are undoubtedly many people who imagine that every insane person is dangerous and consequently they are often brought into our hospitals with chains and all sorts of appliances for restraint. Sometimes two or three big burly fellows will bring in a weak woman who is as harmless as a kitten. One superintendent in a State hospital in our State has established an absolute rule that before giving a receipt to the sheriff for a patient, that patient shall be stripped and examined to see what bruises there may be upon the person; because, as Dr. Ferris has said, mental and physical exhaustion are concomitant conditions oftentimes, and we have a large proportion of deaths shortly after admission to the hospitals. Often when their friends come to visit them soon after admission they go out and speak of the brutal treatment they have received in the hospital, when these marks were put on them by ignorant people in their own families or by some police officer in handling them. I often get a telephone message that a certain patient is coming, very violent, that it will take several people to handle. Two or three officers will bring the patient, and one of our attendants will lead him away from them as if he were an innocent child. There is only one possible objection that the superintendents of State hospitals can have to psychopathic wards, and that is a very selfish one. It will cut down our statistics of cures immeasurably, so we will have hardly anything left. Probably forty per cent of our deaths occur in the first year, and probably eighty per cent of our recoveries occur during the first year of admission, most of them during the first few months. If these people are taken into psychopathic wards, three-fourths that come to the hospital and that we discharge as mentally improved, would not come to us at all. We would only get the cases of more manifest insanity, and our statistics of cures would be much less. But we are willing to sacrifice in that direction if we can better the condition of the people at large. I desire to voice the growing sentiment of every State in this great work of securing psychopathic wards in every hospital.

MISS MARY T. WILSON, of Indianapolis, Ind.—I have spent all my mature years among the insane and the feeble-minded and I feel more at home with them than I do with normal people. In Indiana it is against the law for any sheriff to bring a woman to a hospital for the insane or to take one back to her home unless accompanied by a woman. Our institutions are called hospitals for the treatment of the insane and have been since their inception. We also have in our hospitals women physicians for women patients. I am a member of the board of directors and the general superintendent of a private psychopathic hospital founded by the late Dr. William Baldwin Fletcher in 1888. As superintendent of the Central Hospital for the Insane in our State Dr. Fletcher took advanced steps along the line of occupations and amusements for the insane, and inaugurated schools, gymnasiums and other methods tending to the diversion and healing of the distressed minds that came under his care. At that time our State institutions were in politics and when it came Dr. Fletcher's turn to make room for someone else, he established this private hospital and associated with him Dr. Mary A. Spink, who at his death succeeded him and continues the head of the institution. We have no men in the management of our institution. We have women physicians and women supervisors and yet the greater per cent of our patients are men. I have noticed that an insane man, no matter how disturbed, gives evidence of a feeling of greater safety and comfort when he sees a woman about than when he is left to the care of men attendants wholly. I do not know just why this is true, but it is so. In our sanatorium provision is made for the care and treatment of all types of mental cases, from the most violent to those who merely border upon mental disturbance, and who through prompt and active treatment may be restored to a normal condition without being subjected to the stigma which popularly, though unjustly, follows a commitment to a public hospital. We get many cases who are brought to us by the members of the family, the brothers and sisters, and they will say: "John hasn't been acting right; we don't know what is the matter with him," and John will say he has been acting all right but the family is all wrong and he refuses to be left with us and threatens to do certain things if he is detained against his wishes. In these cases we take a certificate from his people which says that "the undersigned relatives and friends of John Smith, believing him to be temporarily incapable of managing his affairs, place him for rest and treatment in the care of Dr. W. B. Fletcher's Sanatorium" and that they assume all responsibility should the patient or any of his relatives or friends seek to bring charges against the sanatorium for detaining him against his wishes. We always have the family physician sign this certificate with the family. The patient usually settles to his treatment within a few days and after active treatment extending over a period of from six weeks to three months he gets well and goes home. I think it would be a great thing if every mental case could have for the first few weeks, personal, private, individual care. In a hospital where there are twenty to thirty patients with three or more physicians and thirty nurses they are more apt to have such care than where you must of necessity have six hundred patients with three physicians and a nurse or attendant to about every twenty patients. I wish every patient could have for the first six weeks at least, a trial in a psychopathic hospital.

THE CHAIRMAN:—The chair has noticed that those present are especially interested in the statement of Miss Wilson that the male patients are entirely happy in the care of women. It may interest the audience to know that one of the Iowa hospitals which contains twenty wards for male patients numbering five or six hundred, has male attendants in only two or three wards, all the rest being in charge of women. And it has been noticed there that the men seldom become so insane as to lose their respect for women or fail to obey the directions of women. Dr. Ferris will now close the discussion.

DR. FERRIS:—I have only two points to take up briefly. The first is regarding our State psychopathic hospitals. In connection with four of our thirteen public hospitals we have built departments for acute insane that we call psychopathic hospitals. New patients are placed in these, and kept there two weeks. If they appear to be early recoverable they are kept there till they recover. If they have never become violent or disturbed we transfer them from that acute hospital to the convalescent ward, and they see no other part of the hospital. We have a provision which has been in force over two years providing for the admission of patients voluntarily. Any patient who wants treatment can enter the hospital without commitment. All those who retain insight enough into their condition to see that they are drifting can enter upon signing a paper agreeing that they will obey the rules and give five days' notice before leaving. They are under no restraint or control except the medical control.

As to the conditions in which patients are brought to us, I did not make it clear. We allow no one to bring us any patients. As soon as commitment has been completed or we are notified that the physicians have made the certificate, we send a nurse from the nearest hospital in the district and she waits until she can bring the patient. We never allow a constable or policeman or sheriff to bring us a patient. We have no scenes of disorder. Some of our hospitals are notified that a very violent woman, for instance, is awaiting transportation and is under the care of three or four attendants or "experts." A little nurse is sent for the patient. She unties the towels wound about her feet, takes the straps off her, bathes her face and hands, gives her some food and says: "Come along with me, dear," and the patient goes without question.

The other point is the campaign of education of which Dr. Petrie spoke. We have made a number of lantern slides showing the former care of the insane and the present humane method in the State hospitals. We intend to have a series of lectures prepared and delivered throughout the State, accompanied with moving pictures displaying former methods and present methods and setting forth the preventable measures that can be used in cases of insanity.

THE INSANE IN JAPAN

BY FREDERICK PETERSON, M. D., PROFESSOR OF PSYCHIATRY,
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During a vacation spent last summer (1909) in Japan, I visited a number of institutions for the insane, and through the many courtesies of Prof. Kure and Prof. Miura of Tokyo and Prof. Imamura of Kyoto, I not only saw them under the best auspices but was furnished with much information in relation to psychiatry in Japan which I shall briefly put before you.

The medicine of ancient Japan, like its art, literature and religion, was derived from China by way of Corea. The earliest Chinese medical literature which deals in any manner with insanity dates from about 200 B. C. The earliest historical reference to insanity in Japan is contained in the law of about 702 A. D., which required the insane, epileptics, lepers, blind and crippled to be given over to certain official caretakers, who on taking such cases into their families were absolved from taxation and civic duties. Between these dates and for some time later Japanese physicians were guided in their study and practice wholly by Chinese medical books, in much the same manner as the Europeans for centuries acted only on the authority of Hippocrates, Galen and the Arabian writers. Insanity and epilepsy are well described in the first Japanese book of medicine, the "Ishinho," appearing in 982 A. D. For several centuries after this, medical treatment fell chiefly into the hands of the Buddhist priests who practiced only with magic and prayer, until the period between the 17th and 19th centuries, when medicine reawakened and the Japanese physicians out-distanced in all respects their Chinese progenitors and contemporaries. The treatment of insanity during this period did not differ much from that of the more ancient day, and consisted chiefly of the sweat-cure, catharsis, emetics, thermocautery with moxa, hydrotherapy, acupuncture and at times blood-letting. The needle and moxa as counter-irritants have for ages been favorites of both the Chinese and Japanese in all manner of diseases. Hydrotherapy described in Chinese literature as long ago as 200 B. C. has always been a preferred method of treatment among the Japanese. Its use in insanity is described in the first Japanese book of medicine already referred to (982 A. D.).

In old times the insane were for the most part kept in families, the milder cases taking part in work on the land, or in the innumerable household crafts of that people. If subject to periods of excitement mechanical restraint was used, anklets, wristlets, chains, and solidly built chambers attached to the paper houses. Often in the country the patients were blistered on the soles of the feet to make them disinclined to run away.

A kind of family care grew up gradually, sometimes evolving into a colony system; and many private asylums were established long before any public asylums such as we have in the West were created.

Along in the early eighties the first public asylum in Japan was organized and established at the present capital, Tokyo. It was constructed somewhat on German lines, but with due regard to the necessities of earthquake architecture, for in a country where an earthquake is almost an every-day occurrence it is essential to build wisely. The Tokyo asylum consists of a series of one-storied pavilions scattered in a considerable park. The German traces in construction and arrangement are of course due to the fact that the foremost Japanese physicians of that day had taken their training in Germany, and the medical profession was wholly directed in all its undertakings by German influence. Nowadays with several universities of their own and a goodly number of medical faculties, quite equal to any in the world, in which all of the professors and the tongue spoken are Japanese, they need not go abroad for medical study.

In the older buildings of the Tokyo asylum the usual western corridor system prevailed, with numerous single rooms, but as time went on they began gradually to remove partitions and to convert the series of single rooms into good sized dormitories. This was the more readily possible because there seems on the whole to be less excitement among the Japanese insane than among the insane of other countries. The extraordinary quietness of asylum wards in Japan has been commented upon by other foreign visitors. It doubtless depends upon that immemorial training in the repression of emotional expression which is so noticeable a feature in Japanese psychology.

In some of the newer pavilions they have European bedsteads, tables and chairs, but for the most part the furnishing is Japanese, thick mattings upon the floors, thick quilts laid upon these mattings for beds and tiny dwarf tables when such are needed, with no chairs or other furniture.

The asylum is lighted by electricity, electric lighting being a specialty of the Japanese everywhere at present, owing to unlimited waterpower in innumerable mountain torrents which have been harnessed to do this work. There is provision for the daily hot bath for every inmate according to Japanese custom, for every man, woman and child in Japan takes at least one hot bath a day, and sometimes two or three; and our Western systems of plumbing for bath and toilet purposes have been adopted and installed. There is provision also for the prolonged bath which has so much vogue with us at present in the treatment of the insane.

Much is made of occupation. The laundry and garden work are done by inmates. There were rooms in which patients were weaving, plaiting straw, making paper envelopes and carrying on other crafts.

All the buildings were airy, neat and clean, and to me a striking feature of the care of the insane was the morale of the nursing staff. I believe such gentleness, kindness, patience and assiduous attention to the sick, could be found nowhere else, for nowhere else exists a whole race of people who never scold, quarrel or manifest impatience, but always turn a smiling face and extend a helpful hand to one another. This other fact in Japanese psychology I observed among all classes throughout my visit. It was particularly noticeable where I least expected it, among the lower classes.

The insanity clinics of the university are held here and the laboratories of the asylum are well equipped with pathological and psychological apparatus. Elaborate histories of the patients are taken and besides the director, Prof. Kure, there are ten physicians working in the hospital the capacity of which is about 500 beds—a capacity of one to fifty. We are lucky in New York State to have one physician to 200 patients.

There can be no overcrowding in the Tokyo asylum, for according to law a new patient is only admitted when there is a vacancy. An indigent patient brought before the authorities is sent at public expense to one of the seven private asylums in Tokyo if the government asylum has no bed. These seven private asylums have a capacity of about one thousand beds between them.

The method of commitment is simple. When a case of insanity develops, a member of the family reports it to the police. A doctor then goes to the house with the police officer to examine the patient and reports his findings to the head of the police who issues an order of commitment. In the country a governor's certificate takes the place of police commitment. There is never any effort on the part of patients to escape.

The Tokyo institution has one of eleven psychiatric clinics in Japan. I believe we have not so many in the United States. There are psychiatric clinics at the three universities, Tokyo, Kyoto and Fukuoka, and at the medical schools of Okayama, Kawazawa, Nagasaki, Kyoto (two medical colleges), Nagoya, Shibu, Sendai and Osaka.

As regards the character of the cases observed in Japan, there are several interesting points. In the first place the classification approximates very closely to ours and we observe large numbers of cases of dementia praecox, manic-depressive insanity, general paresis and the like. True paranoia as we know it is a great rarity. On the other hand general paresis and dementia praecox are more common than with us. At the Tokyo asylum the proportion of cases of general paresis from the years 1887 to 1901 was 15.86 per cent.

In a country which has no opium or alcohol vice, inebriety cases are rare. Only 6.65 per cent of the admissions of men presented mental disorder due to alcohol. A case of alcoholic insanity in women is almost unknown. Very few doctors in Japan have ever seen a case of delirium tremens. Korsakoff's psychosis has not been observed. The alcohol cases are due to sake, a mild kind of sherry-flavored wine, derived from rice. Only the lower classes drink sake to excess, and very few of these. Temperance societies are growing rapidly in Japan. In Formosa, a province of Japan, considerable opium is used, but scarcely any in Japan itself. There are no cases of Indian hemp or cocaine inebriety. I noted a considerable number of cases of insanity wholly new to me, viz: psychoses associated with Kakke or beri-beri. The multiple neuritis and mental symptoms made a picture something like that of Korsakoff's psychosis. In our western books on nervous diseases, mental symptoms are not described at all as associated with beri-beri, but in Japan we have a beri-beri psychosis which reminds one partly of pellagrous insanity and partly of the Korsakoff syndrone.

I come now to the most interesting part of my journey of observation in Japan.

About seven miles from Kyoto, one of the ancient capitals of Japan, lies the village of Iwakura, to which one day Prof. Imamura, professor of psychiatry in the University of Kyoto, conducted me. It alone is well worth going to Japan to see. I believe I am the second Westerner who has been there, the first having been Dr. Stieda of Russia, who mentions it, and calls it a Japanese Gheel in an article on Psychiatry in Japan, in the Centralb. f. Nervenh. und Psychiatrie for 1906. Prof. Imamura has himself described it in the Transactions of the International Congress of Psychiatry, Neurology and Psychology, Amsterdam, 1907. But it deserves to be better known, for as an ideal place for the care of the insane it is unique, there being only one other institution for the insane that I know of that in any way embodies what should be our own ideal, as far as concerns surroundings and construction, and that is the Maison de Falret at Vanves in the outskirts of Paris.

The third daughter of the Emperor Gosanjo in the eleventh century, developed melancholia in her eighteenth year. Word was brought to the imperial household that at Iwakura was a holy fountain, the water of which was healing to mental diseases and to disorders of the eyes. The emperor's daughter was taken there nearly 900 years ago and recovered and so brought fame to the temple and the well of Iwakura, as a result of which the insane were brought there in great numbers. At first three small inns were constructed to receive them, then later tea houses and villas, and cottages sprang up in which to care for the ever-increasing influx of patients.

In the year 1889 the village had 239 houses, with 1,579 inhabitants, and up to that year one to two patients were received into each family to share in the occupations of the household, which were chiefly out-of-door employments in fields, gardens and forests.

The village lies at the foot of great hills, in a beautiful wide valley. The hills are covered with evergreen cryptomeria, pines and spruces, while the valley is cultivated, every foot of it, with rice and vegetables. Each little house has its own idyllic charm. This charm lies in its simplicity of architecture, harmony with the landscape, and in its well-studied gardens both inside the courtyard and outside around the house. Paper windows and removable paper walls insure light and air and a practical out-of-door life night and day. From the spotless mats upon the floor, across the spotless verandas, one looks out upon the gardens green with pines and cedars all the year round, with flowering shrubs for every month between the winters, looks out into the restful gloom of the giant cryptomeria woods on the one side, or across the valley of rice fields to the evergreen hills upon the other. There are beautiful paths and roads among these cedar forests, and several imposing temples among them.

In 1889, the Japanese government, evidently under the impression gained from a study of the asylum systems of Europe and America, came to the conclusion that their colony system that had grown up so naturally, was too far from our Western ideals, as exemplified in our colossal caravanseries for the insane, and so forbade the insane being any longer taken to the village of Iwakura. They abolished the method as probably barbarous, just as at one time they abolished cremation, having been persuaded by Europeans that it was a heathen practice, but returned to it again when they learned that cremation was the goal to which Western civilizations are tending in the method of disposal of the dead.

The result of this opposition of the government has been to reduce at least temporarily the number of insane in the colony. It is altogether likely that as soon as the authorities learn that out of themselves they have developed through nearly a thousand years the best of all methods of caring for the insane, toward which the West itself is struggling with much difficulty, they will remove the proscription and restore Iwakura to its ancient rights and privileges under State organization and inspection. There is one retreat for about ninety patients at Iwakura built on European models under the care of physicians, to which excitable cases may be brought from the family homes in the neighborhood.

I have already referred casually to the Maison de Falret, a French asylum in the suburbs of Paris, and in connection with the results of my visit to Japanese institutions I cannot forbear to mention it again and to say a few words about a place that is probably unknown to most of my hearers, because after all the chief value of any observations by a traveller must be the new knowledge, the example, the lesson or the moral that he brings home to his own people. Doctors Voisin and Falret, two specialists in psychiatry nearly one hundred years ago, purchased an estate of over sixty acres in the environs of Paris, made of it a park, and planted it well with trees and shrubs. A pretty stream courses through it. They built therein small houses or bungalows, each surrounded with high green hedges and pretty gardens with its own gateway. Now after a hundred years it realizes their dream of what should be done for the insane. It is a large park with magnificent trees and shrubbery, divided into two halves by a farmstead group, thus making practically two parks, one for each sex, and there are twenty-seven bungalows for the isolation of one or more patients. A patient here is not only isolated from his friends which is usually a distinct advantage, but is isolated from the insane, which is an even greater gain. I cannot take time to describe it here, but it shares with Iwakura in Japan the distinction of being an ideal retreat from the standpoint of environment and construction for mental cases. Dr. Adolf Meyer, whom I sent to see it after my own discovery, told me it was a "dream."

We find then in Japan and in France a certain standard already attained and realized, which we might take for our own. These two places leave nothing to be desired in the way of surroundings and method of construction. We should perhaps be able to add something of our modern machinery to these plans, in the way of central heating, organization of food supply and service, telephonic intercommunication, and latter day hydrotherapy, but these are not the essentials. The essentials for the care of the curable insane are already here, and these are adequate nursing, segregation, the return to nature, the simple life, beautiful surroundings, association with normal and not insane persons, and plenty of space and opportunity for walks, for working in gardens and fields and at various arts and crafts.

Have we already drifted too far from the realization of Vanves and Iwakura, with our vast aggregations of 3,000 to 5,000 patients in one institution, with the sinking of the individual in the mass, with our appalling overcrowding, with our inferior nursing staff and insufficient medical staff, with our at best rudimentary methods of occupation, and with our immense, expensive and complicated machinery of mere support and custody?

THE VALUE OF SOCIAL SERVICE IN THE PREVENTION OF NERVOUS AND MENTAL DISORDERS

Its Importance as a Part of the Work of Hospitals for the Insane and of a State Society for Mental Hygiene.

BY CLIFFORD W. BEERS, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE CONNECTICUT SOCIETY FOR MENTAL HYGIENE

Had it been possible for Dr. Henry S. Noble, Chairman of the Executive Committee of The Connecticut Society for Mental Hygiene, to be present at this Conference, you would now be listening to an address by a Superintendent of a State Hospital for the Insane on the subject of Social Service in connection with such institutions. As it is, however, the duty, and the privilege, of presenting a paper on this important topic falls to my lot as the Executive Secretary of the only State Society for Mental Hygiene as yet organized.*

In discussing Social Service from the view-point of the layman and, I may add, from the vantage-point of the ex-patient, I shall hope so to present the subject as to emphasize certain aspects of the problem which might fail of their proper emphasis if discussed from a single point of view.

I find myself today in an embarrassing position. I have come here to tell you about the work of the Connecticut Society for Mental Hygiene, and I cannot very well do so without making frequent and intimate references to myself. The Society which I represent is so much a part of my work, and my work is so much a part of myself and of my past experiences, that I must ask the privilege of taking you into my confidence at once, as friends of long standing, if I am to present my subject intelligently within the limited amount of time allotted to me. Only by granting my request can I be made to feel at ease in disregarding that humane convention of society which decrees that one speaking in public shall not speak overmuch of himself.

Believing, as I do, that, had such work as The Connecticut Society has undertaken been inaugurated a generation earlier, I should have escaped the ordeal of mental collapse and commitment to hospitals for the insane, I naturally have a deep and abiding interest in that phase of the mental hygiene work which relates to prevention. Had I, for instance, at the age of eighteen, when I began to worry myself into a state of depression, had access to advice and information which our Society has begun to offer, and had I, as a result of an established and widespread interest in mental hygiene, sought such advice as a matter of course, as persons threatened with tuberculosis now seek the help and advice they need, I am confident that I should not have suffered the affliction of mental disorder. Though I sought medical advice and took medicine for "nerves," I did not find the remedy I needed, which was a verbal corrective for thoughts and fears which were to prove my temporary undoing. As related in detail in my book, I became nervous and depressed because of my fear that I should develop epilepsy as an older brother, who has since died, had done, and this secret fear, which I failed to recognize as of sufficient importance to discuss with the general practitioners consulted, and which they failed to uncover, continued insidiously to sap my strength of mind until what was, in fact, an unfounded and combatable fear became an obsession—and I became insane. At this point, I feel it my duty to state, as I can on the authority of eminent physicians who recognize and frankly admit the limitations of their profession, that thousands of cases of insanity, as preventable as my own case originally was, will continue to develop until the public demands that general practitioners shall cease to regard the subject of nervous and mental disorders as one requiring no especial study. The exerting of an educative pressure by the public, such a pressure, for instance, as is exerted with reference to the prompt diagnosis and treatment of tuberculosis, would make it necessary even for practicing physicians to study psychiatry and would hasten the day when adequate courses in this important subject will be included as a vital part of the curriculum of all medical schools. In this respect, America is far behind the countries of continental Europe where no physician can secure his diploma until he has passed an exacting examination in psychiatry. A thorough knowledge of nervous and mental disorders, however, even on the part of all physicians, will not of itself be sufficient. All people must be taught to seek intelligent advice promptly, and this they will not do until the whole public, for generations perhaps, has enjoyed the benefits of education in mental hygiene. Furthermore, institutions wherein the numerous "border-line" cases can be treated, cases which are not admitted to sanitaria for nervous people and which should not be committed to hospitals for the insane must be established either by the state or by philanthropists.

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*During the past year a Society for Mental Hygiene has been founded in Illinois. It has been organized in the form of a Committee, of which Miss Julia C. Lathrop, of Hull House, Chicago, is Chairman. It is planned that this Committee shall, as occasion may demand, grow into a fully organized State Society for Mental Hygiene.

I firmly believe that any well-organized system of Social Service, having for its chief object the prevention of nervous and mental disorders in the community, cannot fail in time to prevent the occurrence of a majority of the preventable cases which develop each year, but which, today, through ignorance or neglect, are permitted to reach a stage where commitment is necessary and cure so difficult or impossible.

What will such a campaign of education mean to the public? Eventually it will mean that families in which cases of nervous or mental disorder have developed, or seem likely to develop, will, as a matter of course, take an inventory of their stock of mental health, or permit a physician or trained social worker to do so far them. In this way the weaker as well as the more sensitive members of a family will be taught, or, if necessary, perhaps forced to live within the limit of their resistance to these disorders, a limit which can oftentimes be determined by a skilled observer. As we all know, families in which tuberculosis has developed, if they are intelligent, observe the comparatively simple rules of right living with which they have been made conversant by the tuberculosis propaganda. Though the correction and control of faulty mental habits and endangering modes of living, as related to mental disorders, is admittedly difficult of attainment, because the points for attack are so intangible, a campaign of education should at least bring threatened cases of mental disorder under treatment promptly and make their cure possible in a majority of instances. Even to-day, 25 per cent of those who are committed to hospitals for the insane recover their previous health and capacity for self-support, and an added 20 per cent, discharged as "improved," are also able to return to their homes. If these encouraging percentages of recovery can be secured when comparatively little work in prevention is being done, they can certainly be raised through concerted and intelligent effort, and the more surely because at least 40 per cent of all cases of mental disorder are due to specific and avoidable causes.

The phase of Social Service which relates more directly to the improvement of conditions among patients in hospitals for the insane is, of necessity, a hospital problem. The physicians themselves are the ones to decide what form the social service shall take within the hospital walls and in what way the assistance of lay workers will be acceptable. I know of a hospital where interested lay workers arrange for folk dances in which the patients take part, where classes in calisthenics are formed and instruction in handicraft, basketry, hammered brass work and other industrial pursuits, is given. These stimulating activities which exert a remedial and re-educative effect upon the patients, inaugurated in this instance by lay workers in collaboration with the medical staff of the hospital, have since, in part at least, been taken over under the direction of employees as a permanent feature of the institution's work.* I, who have experienced the deadening monotony of institutional life, and who have seen scores of patients sit listlessly in the wards day after day, can testify how welcome would be the benefits of this intra-mural phase of social service. Not only would such friendly assistance to the patients make them happier but frequent contact with helpful lay workers would in turn stimulate nurses and attendants. And, best of all, those nurses and attendants who could not measure up to the higher standard of treatment required would, perforce, be eliminated. Thus social service would indirectly serve as a partial remedy for the physical abuse of patients which occurs on occasion, as we all know, in a majority of hospitals for the insane.

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*The Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, offers an "Occupation Course for Attendants for the Insane." Several of the most progressive hospital superintendents have already sent nurses and attendants to Chicago to take this course, at the expense of the hospitals to which they return in the capacity of instructors in handicraft, etc. The 1910 session of the class will be held from June 21st to July 29th. Full information may be secured by writing to the Secretary of the School of Civics and Philanthroy, 35 Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois.

The New York School of Philanthropy, 105 East 22nd St., New York City, also offers a Course for Attendants, "designed to discuss the importance of handicraft, games and educational play-activities in the discipline and improvement of inmates of Institutions."

It may not be amiss for me at this point to refer briefly to that phase of my experiences which might be termed the reformatory period. I had originally intended that my book should serve as a sort of battle axe in a campaign of investigation and reform to improve conditions among the patients. Continued study of the problem, however, under the guidance of hospital physicians and interested lay workers of wide experience, has caused me to abandon the role of militant reformer and to adopt the more effective and helpful one which I am now privileged to play as the Executive Secretary of a State Society for Mental Hygiene. Even though I must eat my own words—whole paragraphs, in fact, of my book—I take occasion to assert that he is in error, be he physician or layman, who believes that drastic legislative investigation is the most effective measure at hand for use in permanently correcting such evils and deficiencies in treatment as may exist in our hospitals for the insane. Legislative investigations are at best mere makeshifts. The good that they may do is usually offset by the harm they must do, because the disturbing publicity incident to such investigations undermines confidence in our hospitals and seriously hampers their work. Inasmuch as the desired and more permanent results can be obtained in another way, I now unhesitatingly condemn legislative investigations, except perhaps in a few States where this heroic remedy must be resorted to before the gentler method of co-operative betterment can be undertaken.

Having discussed those phases of social service which relate to prevention and work among the patients in hospitals, I should like to speak of that phase which is commonly referred to under the restricting name of "After-Care." As the preceding discussion proves, After-Care is a relatively small part of a comprehensive plan for Social Service. Today, what is generally understood by After-Care consists simply in providing for the material needs of the discharged patient, who, unfortunately, is not usually brought into contact with an After-Care Committee until he is about to leave the hospital. In the ideal plan of Social Service the social worker becomes acquainted with the patient, and his family, at the time of commitment. Whether the social worker follows the patient through his hospital experience is a matter for the hospital physicians to decide; but, during that period, there are always the relatives to advise and encourage, and when the patient recovers he returns to a place in the family which in some degree has been kept open for him, and to relatives who, having at least a comprehension of the situation, are able to realize their obligation toward him. This social service after-care is a combination of all phases of Social Service. I, therefore, feel justified in urging that existing After-Care Committees shall change their titles, as, I am informed, the State Charities Aid Association of New York plans to do with reference to its several After-

Care Committees. Why may not such Committees be known as Committees for Social Service or for Mental Hygiene—preferably the latter—so that they can grow, as occasion may demand, into a fully organized State Society for Mental Hygiene such as we have in Connecticut?

If I have abandoned the role of militant reformer, and I have, so far as legislative investigations are concerned, it is because I am convinced that the solution of the more important phases of the problem discussed lies within the limits of the Scope of the Work which the Connecticut Society has recently adopted. Before discussing this plan for work, however, I desire briefly to outline the history of the pioneer State Society and the parent organization, The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, the list of objects and personnel of which is appended.

In "A Mind That Found Itself," which was published in March, 1908, it was recommended that a permanent agency for education and betterment in the hitherto neglected field of nervous and mental disorders should be brought into existence in the form of a National Committee, and that this agency should undertake a work akin to that which had already been undertaken so successfully with regard to tuberculosis. It had been my original purpose to include in this recommendation the statement that the projected National Committee had, even prior to the publication of my book, been partially organized, at least to the extent of my having secured acceptances of membership from more than twenty persons of national reputation whose interest in the work had been enlisted during the preceding year. This announcement, however, regarding the National Committee, was not made at that time as it was deemed advisable to work out the problem in one State before attempting to inaugurate an active national movement. Therefore, I concentrated my efforts on the work in my native State, and the Connecticut Society for Mental Hygiene, which was formally founded on May 6, 1908, was soon completely organized and actively engaged in work.

During the first year and a half, we, that is members of the State and National organizations, studied those aspects of the problem directly related to the work of a State Society. As a result of this study, a model and effective plan has not only been evolved, but actually put into operation in Connecticut. With slight changes, to meet varying conditions in given States, this Scope of the work, the gist of which I shall now present, can, it is believed, be adopted by any State Society that may be founded.

The chief objects of The Connecticut Society for Mental Hygiene are: (a) to work for the protection of the mental health of the public; (b) to help raise the standards of care for those threatened with nervous or mental disorder or actually ill; (c) to become a permanent agency for education and betterment in this hitherto neglected field.

These objects the Society aims to accomplish in the following manner:

(1) By publishing and distributing information which will help overcome the prevailing ignorance regarding conditions and modes of living which tend to produce nervous and mental disorders.

(2) By maintaining an office in at least one of the larger cities where persons in need of assistance or advice regarding the perplexing questions relating to nervous or mental disorders may, for the asking, be brought into contact with those physicians or laymen best qualified to give the information they desire.

(3) By co-operating with institutions, societies, State and local Boards and individuals engaged in the work of protecting and improving the health of the public.

(4) By instituting and carrying on Social Service work under the guidance of physicians in charge of the hospitals which co-operate with the Society.

In a word, the Society restricts its work to Social Service and education, a plan which all interested workers, even opposing factions in any State, can accept. A unique feature of the Connecticut plan is that Social Service is being carried on as a part of the work of Hospitals for the Insane and of a Society for Mental Hygiene, under the guidance of those superintendents who serve as members of its Executive Committee. Such a plan enables the superintendents of State and private institutions to take their logical and commanding part in the mental hygiene work. In Connecticut these officials are charged with responsibility for the work and, in a measure, with its success. As can be readily seen, results will be more far-reaching when the burden of success rests upon the hospital officials than when they are simply called upon to co-operate with the Society in an unofficial way.

Though the Connecticut Society is still in the formative stage of development, a sufficient amount of work has been done to prove that it will enjoy a successful and continued existence. When its organization was completed on June 30, 1908, its membership numbered 112. Early in the following year the membership was increased to 550 by means of a general appeal to the public in the form of circular letters and copies of the Prospectus. As an indication of a healthy interest in mental hygiene, it should be noted that the percentage of enrollments in New Haven, where the work had been made familiar to the public, was higher than is usually secured by means of circularizing, and 95 per cent of the original 550 members paid their Annual Dues of two dollars. During the past few months desultory circularizing has been carried on, with the result that not only has the membership been increased to 650, but the existence of the Society has been made known to many people who have already sought its advice and assistance. Had the organization possessed adequate capital for the development of its work, it would without doubt today have a membership of at least 1,500, which would make the Society self-supporting. That even a larger membership than this can eventually be secured seems certain, for we have not yet availed ourselves of the surer method of personal appeals which can be made by interested workers before secular and church clubs and other audiences. Then, too, few relatives and friends of the 4,000 patients in Hospitals for the Insane in Connecticut have as yet taken an active part in the work of securing members, as many surely will when they become familiar with the purposes of the organization.

What the relatives of the patients may do to help the Society has been made plain. What the Society can do for the relatives may best be emphasized by quoting, with the writer's permission, part of a letter sent to me last autumn by a woman who had applied for advice several months earlier, when the question of committing her husband to a hospital was being considered.

"I want to thank you again for setting me right in regard to my husband's position at the hospital. Since my interview with you I have experienced the only peace of mind I have known in months. Your explanations relieved my anxieties and dispelled my prejudices to such an extent that a great burden has been lifted from me. If only I had consulted you long ago I should have avoided the many mistakes I have made and been spared much unhappiness."

In a later interview this woman remarked: "I believe I should have suffered a nervous or mental collapse had not my mind been relieved from worry when it was. I am now able to secure restful sleep, something I hadn't enjoyed for weeks prior to my first interview."

This case is especially interesting in that it demonstrates the value of assistance that may be given to thousands of people in this country whose relatives are classed among the incurable insane. The burden of worry which this woman was carrying before her unfounded fears were dispelled, was one which thousands similarly situated must continue to bear until a way has been found to place before them the comparatively simple instructions and advice they so greatly need. Such a way has been found in Connecticut. The Society and the hospitals are to serve as agencies of enlightenment.

Many people have asked for information regarding the cost of maintaining a State Society for Mental Hygiene. Experience gained in Connecticut shows that an organization of this kind can maintain an office and employ a stenographer, and a social worker, who, in turn, may serve as assistant or active Secretary, at a cost not to exceed $3,000 a year. And this amount of money can, it would seem, be secured in any State in the form of contributions and dues. Though it would cost more than $3,000 a year to maintain a completely organized system of Social Service, the expenses of a State Society should, relatively at least, decrease with the development of its work. Many burdens which a Society must at first assume independently will eventually be shared by the State, either through its hospitals or by means of a direct appropriation to the Society for its work in prevention, which, after all, is a State and economic problem. The State of New York, within the past ten years, has expended more than $50,000,000 in caring for developed cases of insanity. It is inconceivable that this State and many others will not soon adopt the wiser policy of expending part of their appropriations for the prevention of mental disorders.

What policy a Society for Mental Hygiene should adopt is a question which the interested workers in a given State will, of necessity, have to decide for themselves. If, however, those who help to found a Society are willing to limit the scope of its work to Social Service and education as, I believe, should always be done at first, then there need be no great difficulty in bringing an organization into existence and placing its work on a practical basis. Social Service and the education of the public are activities which hospital officials can heartily support, but, which, owing to the burden of their fixed duties, they cannot very well initiate and carry on without lay assistance.

As the Mental Hygiene movement must and should spread slowly, so that such State Societies as may be founded shall enjoy a continuous and effective existence, it will probably be a long time before this new form of organization will be brought into existence in a majority of our States. In consequence, interested individuals in some parts of the country will not for many years to come enjoy the privilege of working for the cause through the agency of a State Society. Anybody, however, even today, may take upon himself a share of the work which a State Society for Mental Hygiene should strive to accomplish. He can, if he will, serve as a center of enlightenment regarding the principles of mental hygiene and their practical application; and he can constitute himself a missionary in this cause by simply combating the unfounded and unfortunately widespread prejudice which exists regarding the insane and the institutions provided for their treatment. It may be said that the combating of these groundless fears and prejudices is the first logical point for attack in the impending campaign of education.

Having discussed my own experiences so frankly today, I am sure no one will suspect me of the ulterior motive of trying to combat the prejudice and stigma associated with insanity so that I myself may feel more at ease in the community. The fact that I was once a patient in hospitals for the insane is to me as a thing apart. I can and do view my past experiences as complacently as though I had suffered a commonplace physical disorder and been treated in general hospitals. If anyone considers my point of view unusual, let him remember that it is not my point of view which is unique, or strange, or surprising, but that it is his own point of view which is not only strange but, as will be discovered upon fair analysis, absurd and untenable. My attitude is no doubt the logical result of an irresistible desire to accomplish a work which, of necessity, must be based on my experiences while insane. What, you may well ask, will serve to make all ex-patients unconscious of the imagined stigma of insanity? I doubt if the insanities during the present generation, will come to be regarded as are the so-called physical disorders. Patients, today, carry with them into the hospitals the idea of stigma and disgrace which most people hold, and they inevitably return to the world with the idea more deeply implanted. But the public can at least begin to endow posterity with immunity to the imagined stigma. When everybody learns to regard mental disorders with equanimity, patients who suffer mental affliction will perforce cease to feel stigmatized by what today is an unfair and unjustifiable classification of diseases.

My concluding message is that each one shall constitute himself a center of enlightenment regarding the nature of mental disorders, their prevention and cure. As missionaries in the cause it will then become possible for every one to help those afflicted thousands who, unlike myself, may not be fortunate enough to recover their mental health and liberty.

STATE AID AND MAINTENANCE OF THE ADULT BLIND.

BY S. M. GREEN, SUPERINTENDENT, MISSOURI SCHOOL FOR THE BLIND.

Empty your pockets and shut your eyes, start out without friends or money; how many of you business and professional men would make a success in life? Would you not be timorous and lacking in self-confidence if you had the great handicaps—no sight, no friends, no money; so often falling to the same individual? Drop one handicap—have the full vigor and strength of youth, with knowledge of business methods, and find how hard it is to make people believe in you when you cannot see. Then let the blow fall upon mature manhood, be relegated, in the prime of life, to darkness and the chimney corner, crying out for the privilege of working through the dreary succession of dark days—is not this a picture that will make a blind-sighted public give heed to the solution of such problems?

How hard it is for a firm to believe that a traveling salesman, if sightless, is worth his expenses on the road; for a jobber to believe that his agent can increase his business; that the petty details as well as the greater ones can be met by the man without eyes. When Aristotle was asked "What is justice?" he said, "That every man should have his own."

To everyone the right to the necessities of life should be given, and unless we add the opportunity for work to the great trinity of necessities—food, clothing, and shelter, many thus handicapped will miss life's privilege. Because the man with the handicap of blindness is able to be but one-half or one-quarter self-supporting, we should not deny him a right to self-maintenance. To refuse the craving for occupation to the restless mind and heart, to deny those inactive muscles the work they long for, is to make the kindness of today less than the justice of that long past yesterday.

According to the federal report based on the census of the blind, published in 1906, 41,044 or 73.77 per cent of the entire number of the adult blind in the United States became blind after reaching twenty years of age. At that time 48.2 per cent were over sixty years of age, and 38.5 per cent were between twenty and sixty years old, or of working age. Of this number a certain portion are defective physically and mentally, thus incapacitated for self-support. Just what this number is could be determined exactly only by experts and psychiatrists.

Also to be excluded are the number of capable, self-maintaining graduates of the various state schools, who are making themselves independent of aid of any kind, and may be classed as sighted-minded, with a physical handicap. This leaves still far too large a number who can be wholly or partially self-supporting under proper supervision and environment.

It is the function of the state to provide such conditions as will enable this class to utilize their energies in providing for the necessities. The states of California, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Maine and Massachusetts have industrial shops in which the work of the blind in various trades and occupations is subsidized by the state. Of these California, Illinois, Michigan, and Maine maintain homes for the workers in connection with the shops.

The Missouri school, which is for the education of the young blind, admits adults by privilege for the purpose of learning a trade, six having been admitted during the past year. This is always at a risk to the best interests of the young blind. "The Minnesota Idea," or perhaps I should say, "The Dow Idea," is maintaining an industrial training school for adults in the school plant during the summer vacation.

What can be done by a state commission for the amelioration of the condition of the adult blind?

A state commission authorized and empowered can take a census of all of the blind of the state, obtaining data concerning age, mental and physical capacity, environment, etc. It can find suitable centers for the establishment of industrial shops for both men and women, with proper environment, where accessibility of markets determines, and it can experiment to discover new wage-earning occupations, hitherto untried by the blind, and through its employment bureau obtain positions for specially gifted blind operators in connection with sighted workers.

It can establish central accessible markets for the display and sale of products of the shops and individual home workers, putting the wares of the sightless workers upon the market at the greatest possible compensation to him, with small loss in exploitation, securing better returns than his unaided efforts can.

It can establish a field officer who can investigate and keep informed upon market conditions and can discover reasons for lack of success, and the demands for particular products. It can send home teachers who can instruct the adult blind in their homes not only in reading, but in occupational work which provides support without disturbing their natural relationship to the community, or its sense of responsibility for its own disabled members.

It can conduct propaganda for the prevention of blindness, and help secure the observance of a safe and sane Fourth, and also correct improper conditions of lighting which tend to weaken and destroy normal sight. The co-ordination and co-operation of the various phases of the work can be accomplished with less waste and energy and money, by the aid of the state commission, than through several distinct private organizations.

The splendid work of the private associations, notably those of New York and Ohio, has extended interest in the blind to far corners. These private philanthropies have one advantage over state bodies, in that they reach desired ends directly, without undergoing the delay and restrictions incident to governmental appropriations.

All this work for the adult blind has been done by the state of Massachusetts, the first to have a state commission for the improvement of the blind. It has most efficiently met and solved the many difficult problems which form the reason for its existence. The superb work of Mr. Charles F. F. Campbell and others of the commission, has proved that this is the satisfactory solution of these problems. Miss Wright will give you further particulars.

Cannot Missouri do as much?

I believe the ideal conditions for unsighted workmen include a shop with sighted foreman or superintendent, who can purchase material, display and sell products. The workers should be paid for the amount of work done, the wage of inefficient workers to be supplemented by a state subsidy, to the amount of a living wage. The workers themselves should live among the seeing, in normal social relationships, in pursuance of the principle that each community should be responsible for supplying proper conditions for its own disabled members, in order to develop normal responses to those needs arising from abnormal causes.

Much of the way would be smoothed, and many of the difficulties solved, for those endeavoring to place unsighted workers, if the blind-sighted public were educated to meet the demand of the sightless man who asks only the chance to demonstrate his fitness in various capacities of business life.

"Pity the blind!" Yes, pity those
  Whom day and night enclose
In equal dark: to whom the sun's keen flame
  And pitchy night-time are the same.

  But pity most the blind
  Who cannot see
  That to be kind
  Is life's felicity."

Let Twentieth century kindness be translated, justice. Let it but go to the roots of things to prevent the abnormal conditions and alleviate the terrible disability of the man not responsible for his handicap, and to paraphrase Gilder:

Pity those, we must,
Who cannot see
That to be just
Is life's felicity.

PUBLIC CARE OF THE EPILEPTIC

BY J. F. MUNSON, M. D., RESIDENT PATHOLOGIST, CRAIG COLONY FOR EPILEPTICS, SONYEA, N. Y.

The thesis which I wish to present to you to-day is that the epileptic needs care, because of the effect of the disease upon his life in the outside world, making him an objectionable and dependent member of society.

The ordinary conception of epilepsy does not extend beyond the knowledge that it is a disease characterized by paroxysms occurring at unforseen times and after intervals during which the individual approximates the normal. The ordinary conception of the disease does not include a knowledge of its effects upon the physical and mental make-up of the epileptic, and the manner in which these alter his relation to society is not generally understood. Nor is consideration given to the size of the problem which the epileptic presents; nor are the means at our command for solving it commonly understood.

There are few diseases which are so far-reaching in their effects and few so uncertain. Once an acknowledged epileptic, the sufferer comes to occupy a place apart from the rest of the world and this because in one way and another, the disease places its indelible mark upon him.

Injuries at birth, or an infectious disease of the brain or its coverings early in life, sometimes do injury to the brain and lie at the basis of the disease in not a few cases. Such injuries are very frequently accompanied by paralysis, and in these cases the epileptic is also a cripple.

The warning which comes before the seizure is, in a few cases, sufficient to allow the patient to prepare himself against the danger of accident, but in most cases, this is impossible. The seizure brings with it unconsciousness and, either as a result of this or as a result of violent muscular contractions, the individual falls or is actually thrown to the ground, and all manner and degree of injuries are exceedingly frequent results. Unfortunately, the possibilities of the epileptic seizure are not limited to minor traumas. Severe injuries and even death are not uncommon. It can be easily seen that the possibilities of injury are far greater if the seizure occurs at a height; in a crowded street; or near an open fire. Life and limb may be lost in this manner.

Even in bed, however, the epileptic is not safe and it not infrequently occurs that the patient rolls or struggles on his face while unconscious and dies from suffocation. Similar results occur if the patient falls burying his face in soft dirt or in the snow; occasionally he falls with his neck across a wire or sharp edge and thus strangles. But even without any external cause, the seizure may in itself cause death and post mortem examination of the body will show no visible cause.

On looking over any considerable number of epileptics, the observer will be struck by the number of cases who are mentally enfeebled. On close examination practically all will show mental deterioration, some degree of which is characteristic of the disease, which, in the great majority of cases takes place surely, sometimes slowly and sometimes more rapidly. It must be recognized, however, that in many cases mental enfeeblement was present at the onset of the epilepsy; i. e., there was a congenital defect. Ultimate dementia is the future of most epileptics.

Periods which are loosely characterized as "confusion," "mental disturbance," etc., really periods of insanity, come and go without apparant cause and are sometimes accompanied by great violence. Perhaps the most serious danger is that the patient will wander away and suffer from exposure.

There are also periods of "automatism" which exhibit features of great importance. In these automatic periods, which occur in relation to the attacks, but which may also occur independently, the individual seems to be in the control of a sub-division of his normal consciousness. In the simplest of these the only manifestation of the lacking central control is some rhythmic motion, while in other cases, the individual does at some unusual time or place, ordinary acts of daily routine, or in some way shows that the portion of his mind which was dominant before the seizure has not yet resumed control. These states are not always the simple conditions described, but occassionally are accompanied by acts of horrid and unreasoning violence, and after them the patient is genuinely ignorant of what he has done.

Certain characteristics of the epileptic are apt to be present at all times, though always accentuated by the seizure. These characteristics go to make up a disposition which is a tangle of contradictions. The epileptic is at one moment affable, pleasant and obliging —the next he is sullen and inaccessible to plea or argument. Full of a high religious fervor, which finds plentiful outlet in canting phrase, he has many frailties; he is often quick tempered, violent without provocation, profane, and often preying on his more helpless companion. Laziness, irritability, unreliability are striking components of the epileptic's disposition.

In stating my thesis, I said that the epileptic needed care because of the effects of his disease, and in the foregoing remarks I have tried to show what these effects are upon the epileptic himself.

He needs protection from the possibilities of accident and sudden death in seizure, and from the results of his acts while confused or automatic. He needs medical care and nursing, trained to the emergencies and necessities of his disease.

No one who has witnessed an epileptic seizure will forget the horror and perhaps terror with which it inspired him. The sight of an individual stricken from his normal state to the level of a groveling, inarticulate mass of flesh is one which few can witness with equanimity. Even to those who have been in the work for years, the seizures never lose their horror. The effect on those about him, whether they be friends, fellow-employes, or customers, will be the same and will inevitably result in forcing him out of employment. Even in positions where the effects on others can be discounted, the fact that the seizures occur at unforseen intervals makes it impossible to entrust to the epileptic any position of responsibility so that here again he is barred from employment. Individual cases could be recited to you in great number, and the story is always the same—discharge from one place after another because of the seizures or, more rarely, because the quality and quantity of work declines with the increasing mental deterioration of the disease. In any case, the epileptic is reduced to doing "odd jobs," and even here he is looked on askance as a source of possible trouble.

In the home and in society his horrifying seizures, the ever present possibility of accident to himself or of injury to others, render untiring supervision necessary. His disposition and, as time goes on, his mental deterioration, make him hard to get along with; he is irritable and unruly; and carelessness in personal habits makes him an unpleasant member of the family.

In every way, then, epilepsy makes its victim a member of society who, through inability to support himself and through unpleasant characteristics, cannot be endured beyond a certain point by his family or by his associates. There comes sooner or later, in almost every case, a demand for care which shall at once relieve the family and society, protect the patient and give him every opportunity for improvement which modern medicine offers.

The removal of a source of trouble from society is not the only purpose to be subserved by the care of the epileptic in an institution. We have to remember that epilepsy belongs to that group of diseases which are transmitted from parent to child.

In a few states there are laws which limit marriage, but in how many are they enforced? The insane, the epileptic, the habitual drunkard, and the confirmed criminal may marry with perfect freedom and their offspring help fill our institutions. There are those who advocate the passage and enforcement of drastic laws preventing the marriage of the epileptic and otherwise defective. Some go so far as to advocate the prevention of procreation by a simple operation on every defective. It is really too early to generally enforce any such laws. Heredity is an only partially explored field and until we know definitely whether the conditions which make the favorable soil for epilepsy tend to increase or diminish in the course of generations, we must not take too drastic measures.

To me, the solution of all the facts and situations which I have recited, lies in the establishment of institutions in which the epileptic can be segregated, spending the remainder of his life in comfort and usefulness. The segregation of the epileptic brings him into surroundings where he can be constantly under observation;

expert medical care and trained nursing are always available. The possibility of accident is diminished so far as can be by regulating his work; by constant supervision at night so that he may not suffocate in seizure; by controlling him during his periods of mental disturbance and automatism; and lastly, while segregated, he is not perpetuating his kind.

The number of epileptics in our population must make it clear that only the state can undertake to care for this class. Statistics upon the occurrence of epilepsy are at best imperfect, but the concensus of opinion, based on experience both here and in Europe, estimates from one to three epileptics per 1,000 of population.

Experience shows and humanity and reason teach that the epileptic should not be classified with other state charges. His seizures are depressing to those not so afflicted; his disposition is a constant source of friction between himself and the non-epileptic, while with other epileptics he gets on fairly well. This is in agreement with the experience of every institutional man with whom I have talked. The epileptic is invariably characterized as the most difficult of all state charges to deal with and any institution from which they have been removed, has shown a favorable change.

The ideal institution for epileptics differs very much from the ideal hospital for the insane or the ideal home for the feeble minded. We must recognize that epilepsy is a relatively incurable disease. The epileptic must realize that in all probability he will live and die an epileptic. Herein lies the difference between the institution for the epileptic on the one hand, the hospital for the insane and the home for the feeble minded on the other. Both the last have reasonable hope of returning a proportion of their cases to society, in the one case, with renewed mental vigor, and in the other, educated to be fairly useful citizens. The institution for epileptics must rather seek to retain its inmates during their life. The epileptic coming to the institution should come with the expectation of remaining permanently and with the realization that the institution has been created to make for him a place apart from the outside world in order that he may pass the remainder of his life both happily and usefully.

The realization of such an ideal can only be accomplished by separating the epileptic from all other dependents, leaving the institution entirely free to satisfy their needs. The atmosphere of such an institution must be on the one hand one of home-likeness and comfort, and on the other, of quiet industry. The buildings must be such as to withdraw the suggestion of institutionalism and there must be plentiful opportunity for work. And since the institution is apart from the outside world, there must be provision for education, amusement and religious instruction—in every respect a complete village.

There are, however, certain questions of a practical nature to be answered in regard to the character of the institution. The legal status of the epileptic in the colony is of primary importance: is he to be a voluntary resident of the village or shall he be committed by process of law? If it is possible, it is far better that he be committed. It is better that he should not return to the outer world.

The class of cases to be received is next in importance. Epileptics may be divided into a small group who are capable of self-support and who are but rarely applicants for institutional care; and a large group who are dependents. Among these last, we recognize three classes: the sane epileptic, with little mental change; the insane epileptic; and the feeble minded epileptic of all grades. The care needed by these classes is different, and opinions differ as to the propriety of including all classes in one institution. Sentiment argues against such a grouping; but on the other hand, experience shows that the tendency toward dementia and the temporary mental disturbances which are constantly occurring, make frequent re-classification necessary and that this is very much more convenient in an institution which cares for all classes.

Farm colonies seem to be ideal for the epileptic. Out-of-door labor is most favorable for his disease; and the farm itself offers chance of profit from his work. The small buildings which go with the colony or village idea and the extensive farm area over which they may be scattered, make ideal conditions for careful classification of the colonists into congenial groups and for the fostering of the home spirit. The labor of the colonists will by no means repay their cost of maintenance, but the value of their efforts is not to be despised in reducing costs.

The infrequent cures, estimated at from 3 to 5 per cent., do not measure the success of institutional care. The admissions to our institutions are apparently in large part hopeless, but our statistics must be based on the whole number under treatment. The drug treatment of epilepsy is very largely palliative, and directed to a lessening of the number of attacks, without regard to their cause. A regular life, carefully planned work and diet, the keeping of proper hours, and the avoidance of dissipation, work great improvement in our patients, and many of them, so long as they reside in the institution and follow its rules, are free or comparatively free from seizures. Outside, their disease returns with renewed force. The peculiar ailments of the epileptic demand special knowledge for their successful combat. There is also surgery to be done in certain cases, and lastly, there is the study of the disease and its victims, from every possible standpoint. This is, of course, fostered by the gathering together of a large clinical material and while to-day we cannot say that we know much about epilepsy, the study of large groups of cases will sooner or later elucidate the problems of the disease.

In the foregoing presentation, I have very rapidly outlined the main facts about epilepsy and epileptics, as they bear on the necessity for institutional care by the state. Epilepsy makes pitiable dependents of the strongest. The colony with its ideal of a secluded life of comfort and industry opens to the epileptic prospects of happiness and usefulness which he could not otherwise have, and makes available a great clinical material, which will some time or other make possible a solution of this great problem by exposing the underlying cause of the disease.

STATE CARE OF HIGH-GRADE IMBECILE GIRLS

BY WILLIAM N. BULLARD, M. D., BOSTON, MASS.

In the title of this paper I have used the term "high-grade imbecile" to denote the higher grades of mental deficiency, those approaching most nearly to the normal type.

It is only of late, through the more careful study of institutional inmates, that we have been able to recognize the more typical cases of this class. They approach too closely to the lowest types of the normal to be distinguished readily without more or less protracted observation. For this reason it is impossible to recognize this class at the out-patient department of the hospital or at the polyclinics. It is only by a careful consideration of their intellectual, moral and practical capabilities that a diagnosis can be made.

In order to place as clearly as possible before you the problem which confronts us, I must describe accurately the class of girls to which I refer. It is scarcely needful for me to state that the line between the high-grade mental defective and the low-grade normal youth is not clear, marked, abrupt and definite, but on the other hand has always been and must by its nature be a more or less shifting one. Moreover, our tests in relation to intellectual and practical capacities are even yet inadequately determined or unsettled. We have hitherto only vaguely known what powers we had a right to expect in the normal person and below what level we were justified in considering a child defective. As the study of the less developed children and youths has become more careful and more scientific, the border-line between the defective and the normal has been raised and this elevation of the border-line has a constant tendency to increase with more special study. This means that as we more carefully study and examine, we find that we can differentiate from the normal child or person higher grades of defectives. Cases which in former times would only have been called peculiar or criminal we find to be so much below the average that we acknowledge them as defectives. The increase of knowledge in regard to these classes is due not only to the more careful study and examination of the higher grades of defectives in institutions correctional or other, but among scientific men has been greatly advanced through the perception of the fact, on which I have long laid great stress, that the intellectual test alone is not the only touchstone of mental deficiency. The mental powers in man are not distributed in proportional amounts in each case. Any given individual may have certain powers or capacities ranging high—say 90 per cent. and others ranging low—say 10 per cent. The intellectual capacities alone cannot be taken as the index of the brain power.*

It is only by taking measure of the brain forces in these ways that we can determine the actual condition of the patient's mental caliber and his or her relation to life—that is, to her general and special surroundings in this world. It is only thus that we can determine with any accuracy the resistance to evil which each person is likely to offer, and her capability to support and take care of herself in the world. These two factors, power of resistance to evil and capability of self-support, are the most important determining conditions in regard to the status of the patient as regards the community. When these are lacking, the person is not only a pauper, but also a menace. Lack of power of resistance to evil and incapability of self-support are separate conditions; though they are often, indeed usually, co-existent.

Inability to earn one's living in the world means for the poor dependence and possibly pauperism. For girls such as we are considering it also means terrible temptation to immorality. These girls are apt (1) to have immoral tendencies naturally and (2) to be simple, easily led or persuaded to do anything, so that they are the prey of any man. These two conditions may both occur together. If as is rather unusual, neither of these two conditions exist, then the temptation from poverty comes into effect and drives them into evil (sexual evil.) Few of these girls permanently escape, unless they are specially cared for by wise and understanding people. Their care demands unceasing vigilance and constant thought, which can rarely be properly exercised outside of an institution. As a fact, these girls—unless cared for permanently in an institution—usually become immoral or are led away to make bad marriages. In either case their children are apt to be mentally defective, with more or less pronounced animal instincts, diseased and depraved, a curse and menace to the community. This goes on constantly increasing unless we take means (in this case institutional care) to prevent the production of children. The evil that one feeble-minded woman can cause through the production of feeble-minded children is incalculable. It has often been plainly stated: statistics have been carefully compiled and the results are too well known to need repetition before this Conference.

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* It is true, however, that to a certain extent the mental faculties are proportionate. In the moral imbecile, so-called, while the lack of morality proportionately far exceeds the intellectual lack, it is nevertheless true that in most and possibly in all cases there is a slight intellectual deficiency. So in regard to practical ability; while this may be proportionately much diminished, the intellectual and moral capabilities tend also to be slightly diminished.

The lack of power of resistance to evil which exists in this class is a definite result of their mental defect. It is not simply a moral weakness which can be overcome by training and by good surroundings. No doubt training and good surroundings may in some cases help, but the root of the evil lies far deeper than these can reach. The best training and the best possible surroundings are not always sufficient to overcome this lack; constant supervision and watchfulness is always required. In the more simple cases this lack of power of resistance exists by itself. The girl is like a little child in simplicity. She is simply led to do anything. She has no just comprehension of what she is doing and no understanding or perception of the results. The future means nothing to such a one. She has no clear idea or perception of it: it exerts no appeal because of its non-existence or lack of actuality in her mind.

But in many cases another and active factor exists. This is the sexual instinct, which when deprived of restraint, leads the victim readily into immorality. In the feeble-minded certain qualities of the brain are especially apt to be wanting and one of the most prominent, perhaps the very first of these to disappear in the highest grades of feeble-mindedness is the power of realizing the result of acts. There is a loss of comprehension of the relation of personal acts to the patients themselves, to others, and in general to the future. We speak of moral imbecility, but often moral imbecility means this: that the patient, although theoretically comprehending that one kind of action is called right and another called wrong by her parents, friends or teachers, nevertheless is not herself capable of perceiving that this is true; consequently the mere teaching falls to the ground when opposed by circumstances. This lack of comprehension of the relation of things present and future takes away the restraining elements which exist in the normal person and the evil tendency remains unopposed. The force and violence of action of the sexual instinct and the degree in which the restraining motives are unappreciated or absent varies in different cases. The results, however, are in many cases deplorable.

From the standpoint of the patient there is therefore no question that such persons should be properly provided for and protected.

From the standpoint of the public the same is true. There is probably no class of persons who are more fitted and more apt to spread disease and moral evil than these girls. We have already referred to the results of child-bearing in them. The children, if they live, are apt to be feeble-minded or otherwise degenerate and as these mothers are prolific and often have several children, the number of defectives thrown upon the care of the state is constantly on the increase. But it is not of this that we wish to speak here. It is the direct spread of disease and moral corruption. One evil girl may corrupt a whole village. One diseased girl may spread disease indefinitely. These girls do this. Being themselves non-resistant, they are the prey of depraved men; they soon become infected and diseased and as they have little moral responsibility and no moral restraint, they spread disease widely.

I now come to the special subject of this paper. These girls must be provided for. As they are paupers or will in some form in most cases come upon the charge of the state, it is wise that the state should care for them. It is wise that the state should care for them early before disease has been spread, irreparable moral harm done to young boys and girls and before more defectives are born to render the burden of the state more intolerable. Morality demands their early care. Business and financial reasons demand it also. It is cheaper to care for one now than for three or four a few years later. The patient whom you neglect to care for at the present time is very liable to come under state care in a few months or years, either as criminal or pauper, and must then be cared for after the evil is done. The evil done through these girls is not simply that which is open and can be seen and calculated. A feeble-minded girl may have had three feeble-minded children, so that the state has had to care for four instead of one: but this is not all. How much effective work has the state lost through the gonorrhoea and syphilis acquired through these girls? This can never be accurately gauged. But every physician experienced in this line will assure you that it is considerable.

This spreading of disease and crime goes on without special intervention to a very serious degree and every effort must be made to check it. Unfortunately, some of our efforts must be turned to prevent its actual increase through the misplaced zeal of some social workers and charitable associations. If these girls—diseased as they often are—are placed in respectable families, there is always a risk (a) that the families may become infected; (b) that the neighborhood may become demoralized. The families with whom these girls are placed are not always warned of the dangers and often do not suspect them. It is not justifiable for a doubtful benefit to one of these girls to risk the physical or moral injury of respectable families.

It is not only the duty of the state from a humanitarian point of view to take charge of these girls early and to keep them in custodial care until the time when they can do evil is past, but as before stated, it is an absolute saving of expense in the end. These girls cannot be left uncared for in the community; neither can they rightfully nor with due regard to themselves and to others be placed in families. Custodial care is the proper treatment and this must be exercised by the state. In exactly what form this can be best done depends upon the special conditions in each state, their methods of caring for paupers, criminals and defectives and the special means at their disposal. These cases should, however, never be treated or cared for as criminals. In the first place, if convicted as criminals they are usually released only to undergo a second imprisonment and meantime to have done much evil to society and the public. Released criminals of this character are the most dangerous in the spread of disease. Imprisonment is not effective; it spreads and increases the evil; it does not effectually check it.

The proper method of dealing with this class is to keep them in a custodial department of an institution for the feeble-minded. This places them where they belong, where they can be happy and useful and where they can be managed by those who have experience with the mentally defective. Happy and useful may seem peculiar words to apply to this class, but they are not so in reality. These girls may be happy and useful and safe if they are placed under proper conditions and their natural limitations are realized.

A modification of the colony system seems to the writer the best method of caring for these girls. Out-door work, farm labor and the care of animals provides for them the best kind of occupation. The proper adaptations must necessarily be made.

STATE SUPERVISION OF COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL PRISONS AND HOMES FOR THE POOR

BY DEMARCHUS C. BROWN, MEMBER OF THE STATE BOARD OF CHARITIES OF INDIANA

It is worthy of note that the word "supervision" is used in the title of this paper and not "control" or "authority." The question immediately arises whether "supervision" is effective, whether, after all, if the central government has anything to do with local institutions, it should not be authoritative rather than suggestive. The question of centralized power arises immediately and right there lies the serious objection made by local authorities against supervision by the state government. Local officials and the local public nearly always resent any interference from outside powers. The point is always raised, "Why are we not allowed to manage our local affairs in the way it seems best to us? We are, it is presumed as intelligent as the average citizen who serves the state at the capitol and we object therefore to interference with our duties." It is to be noted at once that the local government is set against a central government. It is a difficult matter to argue against this feeling or prejudice and if the attempt is made there is always danger that the opposition may grow even stronger. This opposition is usually strongest where the local institutions are poorly managed. The more deficient the management, the more bitter becomes the prejudice against state supervision. It is my belief, however, that this is quite superficial and with proper tact can be overcome. The local official or superintendent of an institution does not want to manage his institution poorly, he simply does not know, and his ignorance is the cause of his opposition. I assume, too, that he does not object to state supervision, in most cases at least, because of certain perquisites of which he is the beneficiary and which may be curtailed in case of strict oversight. That undoubtedly is the case sometimes, but we must go on the assumption that the average local superintendent of a prison or jail or infirmary believes in the good management of local institutions. It becomes therefore a question of how to bring about this supervision and when to do it so as to gain the co-operation instead of the opposition of local officials.

How shall this supervision take place? The answer to that is by a central board, preferably a board of state charities with its subordinate officers. This board should have the right of inspection at any time, the power, let me say, to approve or change the plans of buildings, the right of investigation, the report of which should go to the local authorities and the right to make suggestions and give advice on all the difficulties and problems which arise in the management of penal and charitable institutions. When should these inspections take place? Always, in the first place, without notice and at least once a year, preferably twice, if possible. A carefully written report should always be made of each inspection and investigation. This report should be kept on file for the benefit of the public as well as officials.

The more difficult question now arises: Why should there be a state supervision over local institutions? I beg to submit a few reasons:

First: The local management is not so likely to be in touch with the latest and best methods of the care of local prisons and homes for the poor. A central board when properly constituted is in contact with a larger world of social and benevolent work. The members of it are better informed by the literature and reports from other states and other countries and are able, therefore, to have more suggestions, to see things from a larger point of view, to know what mistakes have been made (for we must learn from poorly conducted institutions as much as from well conducted ones), and they are, therefore, better able to be helpful and to assist in the care of our unfortunates.

Second. The local management as we all know by bitter experience, is more disposed to be the football of petty politics. The jails and station-houses and homes for the poor are nearly always considered prizes for party work. The unfortunate drunkard or young offender or old man or old woman are the prey of selfish men who are to be rewarded out of the public funds for work at the primaries for some candidate. The question of merit and ability is not considered. It is plainly speaking a matter of loot. This is not because the people are bad, but because of an unfortunate system that has grown up which is really the result of ignorance. State boards of charities are in most cases free from partisan politics and very properly, therefore, are competent to supervise and suggest improvements in matters of management to local authorities, when there is a disposition to make political capital out of the unfortunates in local institutions. If there is a local board of supervision as is the case in Indiana, a central board can back it up by advice and by calling upon public opinion, which when aroused is a very powerful factor and one to be appealed to in an emergency.

Third: In regard to county prisons and their supervision, we all know that a crime is against the "state" and anyone convicted of the crime is sent to a state institution. It is very clear from this that the state government is recognized as the head and dominant power. It should, therefore, have something to say as to the conduct and control of county and municipal prisons and the care of the prisoners confined in them. In most states the governor, under certain conditions, has the power of appointment and of removal of officials. The state is not and cannot be overlooked in the management of local affairs, either of charitable, penal or judicial. This is simply another reason why these institutions should be supervised by this central authority.

Fourth. Lack of knowledge on the part of the superintendent of a county home makes it necessary that inspection and supervision and suggestion be given by members of a state board without the arrogance that sometimes goes with knowledge. In Indiana the superintendents of homes for the poor are selected primarily to take care of the farms. The poor seem to be a secondary matter, and yet their care, guidance, instruction, happiness ought to be the primary object in such an institution and the superintendent ought to know what the best systems are in his own state and other states. He can secure this in the best and easiest way, from well-informed and sympathetic members of state boards. The sheriffs and jailers usually know nothing about jails; about their sanitation, sex separation, juveniles in jails and the fact that jails have been schools of crime; he knows nothing about how much work the inmates should do; whether they should read or smoke or bathe; and these points he can learn about from intelligent members of state boards. I say well informed, because it is the duty of members of state boards to be instructed on such topics, while the local officer may not know because he has never seen or read. I beg to say here that a visiting member of the Board of State Charities must not go as a hostile critic, as a martinet, and for that reason I use the word sympathetic. He must not unnecessarily antagonize the local officer. He should go as a friend, never afraid to suggest and criticise. If he has any authority he should use it only after advisory efforts have failed. If he finds conditions unsatisfactory, he must presume to say what is true, that the state institutions are in better condition than the local and that many points for improvement may be secured from them. These criticisms may interfere seriously with the ideas of the county officials. They may come in contact with some of his perquisites (and that is a serious matter), but his courage should never fail. I call to your minds here the fact that in 1903 the committee of the National Conference reported in favor of recommending a state inspector with certain authoritative powers. That may be necessary and if it can be shown that proper management cannot be secured without it, then let the authority be given. I have always felt, however, that advisory and supervisory powers exercised with sympathy, tact and courage will accomplish the results. This, I believe, is a fair field for discussion. A law of Indiana, passed in 1909, gives authority to the governor under certain conditions to condemn a county prison and to forbid its use. This may be done by the governor after the State Board of Charities shall have found the jail unfit for the confinement of prisoners and shall have notified the judge of the court to that effect and provided the court, after due notification, shall fail to secure the co-operation of the proper county officers in putting the jail into proper condition. Here, you see, the state has a little more than supervisory power, namely: authority, because of the failure of county officials to improve conditions this law was found necessary. An appeal to the local public is a very powerful factor in securing improvements if the local superintendents fail to accept suggestions. If an election is coming on, publicity is a great factor.

Fifth. Jails and homes for the poor are badly designed and poorly constructed very frequently; for this reason there should be a central supervising power in order to secure better buildings, not expensive ones necessarily, but better adapted to the purpose. Manifestly this can be done to best advantage only by the officials who have a knowledge of the best buildings in use for this purpose. To secure the results all plans for county prisons and homes for the poor should be carefully scanned, changed in accordance with the best ideas and then approved by the state boards. In all of the points mentioned above the State Board of Charities in Indiana now has the co-operation of county boards whose members serve without pay and try to keep themselves and the public informed and thus give great help to the state board by their reports. I think that it is worth while to call your attention to what some of the states are doing in this matter of state supervision of county institutions. In Pennsylvania the State Board of Charities has complete supervision over county prisons and county homes. In New York the supervisory power given to the state board is even more complete than in Pennsylvania. In Massachusetts the power lodged in the state board is supervisory over almshouses and in Ohio over both prisons and almshouses quite as completely as in New York. In Michigan supervision prevails and in Virginia, as shown by the first and capital report, the supervision is very full and is improved, I think, in this respect, that the state board appoints the county boards of charities, which fact gives them a helpful point of contact. In California and Connecticut the modern idea prevails to give supervision by the state over the local institutions. In Iowa the State Board of Control is not granted such power. In Indiana, according to the law establishing the Board of State Charities in 1889, all institutions are subject to the supervision of the state board. I called your attention above to the new law allowing the condemnation of a jail; this has come about through this supervision. Another good result in Indiana has been the recent laws forbidding the confinement of juveniles in our jails, requiring the employment of matrons in the county prisons and the better separation of men and women, which is now quite universal in the state. Another is that children are no longer allowed in the county poor houses. They must be cared for in orphans' homes or placed in families. Minnesota grants full power to the state board to inspect and supervise all institutions, and in Wisconsin the same condition exists, but perhaps not quite so fully. This is only a short list, but it shows the modern sentiment on this subject of state supervision of county and municipal prisons and homes for the poor.

POLITICS AND CIVIL SERVICE IN STATE INSTITUTIONS

BY W. B. MOULTON, PRESIDENT ILLINOIS STATE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

On January 18th of this year in a paper on "What Should Be the Basis for Appointments in State Institutions?" read before the State Conference of Charities and Corrections at Lincoln, Neb., Professor George E. Howard, of the State university, discussed the ethical and social meaning of the rise of the philanthropic social service. "Normally," the speaker insisted, "these services are highly specialized social technologies based on scientific principles established mainly by recent research or recent discovery. For their best results they imply special knowledge, as well as expert skill and delicate tact in their application. Moreover, in the care or cure of the insane, for instance, where great strides in knowledge have been recently made, ceaseless vigilance and energy are required, if a superintendent or a physician will keep up with progress in neurology."

"Now through the spoils system," declared Dr. Howard, "the state is being robbed of the highest benefits of this amazing scientific progress." He then sketched the history of the merit system in federal appointments; explained that in states small progress has been made in applying civil service principles even to ordinary political offices; and showed that even in the National Conference of Charities and Correction this vital question was first discussed only in 1896.

"There is no need of a civil service law in our state; the politicians have not dared to touch our institutions and public opinion would not stand for it." This is the reply I have received from officials and citizens in some states without a civil service law. To these self-satisfied people I would cite the experience in Illinois where, until 1892, we had a similar situation. A sudden change in the political situation and that day had passed. Then followed rapid periods of change which brought about the agitation for the passage of the present state civil service law. The Women's clubs, always interested in the subject of the great public charities, were the prime movers in this behalf. The conditions of the institutions that brought about this movement have been aptly described in a little pamphlet issued in 1902 by the Illinois Civil Service Reform Association in its campaign for a state law.

STORY OF A TYPICAL INSTITUTION.

"Let us look closely at a single typical institution which since its creation has been an object of special pride to the state. The

Illinois Eastern Hospital for the Insane at Kankakee is more than twenty years old. There are more than 2,000 patients and more than 400 employes. It has cost the taxpayers in construction, repairs and maintenance between seven and eight million dollars. It was planned with much courage and originality in defiance of the prevailing modes of asylum architecture, and its cottage plan became at once a model for imitation in other states. It was authorized in 1877 and opened in 1879 (a significant fact when compared with the seven years lately required to open the Peoria asylum). Dr. Richard M. Dewey was the first superintendent. Prior to his appointment he had had seven years' experience as a staff physician in a hospital for the insane and was an eager student of advanced methods. The institution became at once a non-restraint hospital; that is, intelligent medical and nursing care was bestowed upon sick people, instead of the mechanical restraint used in the average asylum. A training school for nurses, the only one in Illinois, was opened in 1886. About the same time women physicians were employed for the first time in the middle west, a pathological laboratory was opened, and in many respects the administration was one of marked progress and of marked superiority to that of other institutions for the insane in Illinois.

"In the first seven years of the ten-year period of flux, beginning in 1892, Kankakee had five superintendents and three and two-thirds sets of trustees. In the ten years the medical staff has passed through several cycles of change, and among the 400 of employes of all classes it was stated at the time of the 1900 election that there were not more than a dozen who had been there under Dr. Dewey. The skilled alienist has been replaced as superintendent by a general practitioner; the chief of staff, instead of being a trained man, as required by law in the state of New York, is now a village doctor; the women physicians are all gone; medical internes (once chosen by severe competitive examinations) are no more, the pathological laboratory has fallen into neglect; the standard of nursing care has been sadly lowered."

Previous to the passage of the civil service law the institutions were used in every possible way to carry the districts in which they were situated. Employes were assessed for the expenses of nearly every local or general campaign. Kankakee and Lincoln were typical as institutions used for political purposes. At Kankakee during elections the hospital bands and most of the employes were likewise engaged in the political contest. Those who were in actual power used every force available at these hospitals to accomplish but one end, namely; to make the institutions the political powers in their respective districts. It could hardly be expected that any institution could make much advancement under such conditions. The appointments were generally made, not with the idea that the man should fit the office so much as that the office should be made to fit the man. Yet even here they ofted failed; for instance, we find the landscape gardener at one place to be a local butcher, who knew as much about landscape gardening as he did about dressmaking. We also found the visitor's attendant at one institution, who had valuable political connections, receiving a higher salary than the chief nurse of the institution.

But worse than all the anomalies of this kind was the fact that instance after instance was given us by the superintendents of subordinates who defied them and ignored them in every particular, and whom they could not discipline or remove because of the influence that held them there.

Illinois is not the only state that has suffered. With the coming in of the new administration of Governor Harmon in Ohio, we note the following changes in the institutions:

Penitentiary: Superintendent, steward and all other positions.

Girls' Industrial Home: Superintendent and some other positions.

Boys Industrial School: Superintendent, Financial Officer and large per cent of all other important positions.

Columbus State Hospital: Superintendent and steward.

State Hospital: Superintendent and steward.

Hospital for Epileptics: Steward.

Toledo State Hospital: Steward.

Soldiers and Sailors' Orphans' Home: Superintendent and steward.

Soldiers and Sailors' Home: Commandant and quartermaster.

Massillon State Hospital: Steward.

State School for Deaf: Steward.

Rumors are to the effect that other changes will be made after the legislature adjourns. You will notice that the majority of changes are in the office of steward or financial officer. The significance of this lies in the fact that under the Ohio law the financial officer is the purchasing officer. Also the recent wholesale changes in the institutions of Nebraska furnish more evidence of the demoralization of the "Spoils System."

MERIT SYSTEM.

I need not explain to an audience of this intelligence the elementary principles of the usual civil service legislation providing for competitive examinations for entrance to the public service. I shall only call attention to certain phases in the progress of the administration of such laws that will do much to disarm some of the critics. I shall not take up the quite worthless substitutes found in the provisions of the Board of Administration law of Kansas and elsewhere, providing for non-political appointments.

Even if we should ever reach the happy situation where politics no longer interferes with appointments, I maintain that in the end the civil service system may prove the most efficient method of appointing employes, especially in the larger divisions of government. I base my position on the ground that a department devoting its whole time to the study of the questions of employes and employment will produce better results than to leave these questions to the heads of departments whose work is not so specialized. Not every man who understands the proper administration of a department is also a good judge of men.

I believe it the duty of the Civil Service Commission to study the sources of supply and secure and encourage the best applicants possible for the various positions. The examinations, of course, of themselves do not produce applicants and results can be no better than the sources of supply. In the selection of applicants the Civil Service Commission can generally call upon the best men in any line to act as examiners, and has the advantage of their united judgment. In this service there seems to be an unnoticed public spirit which impels men of high standing in professional or other lines to give their time willingly for the public good, and generally without compensation. More often than not, our examiners are far superior to the heads of the departments whose employes they select and are far more competent to select good men in their respective lines.

In the early civil service laws and their administration, the attention was centered upon the protective features in the selection of the employes, and a written examination was resorted to because the identity of the applicant need not be disclosed; but in the last four years, however, the commissions have begun to depart from this plan. No rigidity or restriction upon examinations are imposed by the civil service laws, except that no religious or political considerations enter into the selection. The commissions have the widest latitude.

In the work of our own commission we have aimed to appoint the most disinterested and competent examiners we could and leave the matter of the selection to them. For instance, in our medical service in the state hospitals, we have men like Dr. William E. Quine, who is chairman of the board, Dr. John B. Murphy, Charles E. Kahlke, Theodore Tieken, Robert Preble, Sanger Brown, H. N. Moyer, L. C. Taylor and Maximilian Herzog, who give disinterested and faithful service in their work. We have informed this board that if we hear any criticism on the medical staffs, we shall point to our medical board as responsible. Knowing this, they are very careful in making their selections and give excellent material.

The Illinois Civil Service Commission has made a larger use of the oral examination in order to determine the personal qualification of the applicants than any other Civil Service Commission. The most interesting use of this form of examination during the present year was in the examination for the new position of executive secretary of the charities commission, a position paying $3,600 a year. The examination consisted of a paper on the applicant's conception of the duties of the position and its relation to the field of charities, with a weight of three; an inspection and report upon an institution assigned, with a weight of two, and experience and personal qualification with a weight of five. Each applicant was supplied by the commission with several reports of the board of charities, the biennial reports of the seventeen charitable institutions, a report of the Civil Service Commission, and a copy of the new charities law. He was given from November 22nd to December 14th to prepare a paper on his conception of the duties of the position. On Sunday, November 28th, all the applicants were requested to meet at the Cook County Institutions at Dunning, where are located the Hospital for the Insane, the Consumptive Hospital and the Cook County Infirmary or Poor House. Each applicant had full access to every part of the buildings and grounds, and from this inspection made a report to be submitted with the paper on his conception of the duties at the examination December 14th. On December 14th, the examining board met, and calling the applicants in before them one by one, examined them upon their personal qualifications. At the same time the applicants also prepared a paper, setting forth their experience tending to qualify them for the position sought. Fifty-five applied for the examination and twenty-eight went through the examination. Only one applicant passed, William C. Graves, secretary of the retiring board of charities, and who has been appointed by the new charities commission to the position of executive secretary.

The examiners in this examination were: Alexander Johnson, secretary National Conference of Charities, Fort Wayne, Ind.; Amos Butler, secretary Indiana State Board of Charities, Indiana; Dr. Graham Taylor, of the Chicago Commons and associate editor of the Survey; Sherman C. Kingsley, secretary of the United Charities of Chicago, and W. B. Moulton, representing the commission. The position of the examiners in this examination was that a successful applicant must possess the requisite personal qualifications. The position of executive secretary of the charities commission is not as many applicants seemed to think, a merely clerical position, but a position which requires personal qualifications of a high order. The oral examinations for this position became, therefore in reality, a qualifying examination. So severe was the grading of the examiners on this branch of the examination that anyone who failed in this respect could not hope that the written part would pull him through.

Another important examination in which the oral examination has been ordered by the commission resulted from the new classification of the medical service made by the board of administration. The new classification changed the position of first assistant physician in the hospitals for the insane to that of assistant superintendent; the next lower position being that of physician. The line of promotion being from the position of interne up through assistant physician and physician to assistant superintendent. At the request of the board of administration, a promotional examination for physician was called for March 30th of this year. The scope and weights of the examination were: Nervous and mental diseases, 2; medicine, 1; surgery, 1; pathology, 1; experience, 1; practical test, including the examination of a patient by the applicant and the preparation of a history of the case, 2; personal qualifications (oral), 2. Prior to the written examination the examiners went to Kankakee during the two weeks' stay of the different divisions of the assistant physicians at the Psychopathic institute and examined the applicants while there on the practical test and personal qualifications. Nearly all the assistant physicians in the service entered the competition.

When there is a vacancy we certify the highest three from our eligible list, and the appointing power can call the successful candidates in before him and within this latitude he may use his own personal judgment in making the appointment. These lists are continually renewed by new examinations. The later candidates who pass higher are certified first.

The City of Chicago law was one of the early laws passed and here the emphasis on the protective idea placed the burden of proof upon the heads of the departments in making the discharges. In the later state law, the employe can be discharged at once, the law merely requiring the head of the department to give the reasons. The burden is here shifted to the employe to complain to the commission and in its discretion the commission can order an investigation. The position of our commission is that an employe has no other rights in the public service than has an employe, for example, in Marshall Field's, except protection from the evil incident to public service, namely "politics." We have notified every one concerned that when a complaint of political influence is made by a discharged employe, we shall place on trial, not the employe, but the head of the department for violating the law; that is, of course, if after a preliminary investigation we have found grounds for the charge. Only about 2 per cent. of the discharged employes appeal to us. I believe that we have had but one charge of political interference; this, however, we found upon investigation to be without basis.

In the evolution of the work of the Civil Service Commissions, at least of our own, we have become the department that deals with all questions relating to employes. We advocated training schools for attendants in the state hospitals and worked on it until they were secured. Employes who do not dare to complain to the heads of departments come to us in confidence on questions relating to time, salary, food, lodging, moral conduct of other employes, and many other matters relating to their welfare. We always respect their confidence in taking up matters with the heads and superintendents of institutions, and have often adjusted matters where real injustice had been done, unknown to the superintendent.

Last year we addressed 187 large employers of labor in private business as to the methods used by them in the selection of employes and were surprised to find how nearly they approximated our own. For instance, in many instances written examinations were beginning to be used with oral. Many of the large concerns have a superintendent or employe who employs all the help and takes up the questions of complaints. Perhaps the most instructive experiments are being conducted by such railroad systems as the Pennsylvania, Erie and Burlington. There we find the "Department of Employes" idea being forced upon these large employers of labor by necessity. The Burlington system calls their department the "Employment Bureau," and Mr. Redfern, the superintendent, said it was in fact a civil service department and that they were practically following our methods of selection. They found that business, fraternal and religious interests were practically dictating all their employes to the great detriment of the service of the road.

The aim of the Civil Service Commission is in every way to make the public service approximate the efficiency of private service. When we find the largest employers of labor, outside of the public service, adopting our methods, we feel we are not very far astray. Through our examinations are now entering young men of high character and of the best training, many of whom are making this line of work a specialty and who are infusing in the medical service of the institutions a much higher standard than has been heretofore attained. The elimination of the "hospital tramp" has been another good result. Heretofore there has been no means of checking up and weeding out this class of employes. They would go from one institution to another, would stay but a short time until discharged generally for drunkenness or abusing the patients, and then would turn up in another institution in this state or elsewhere. Through the fact that all employes must now come to a central office, where their previous records are carefully looked up, hundreds of these undesirable employes have been barred from the service.

I quote the following from the head of one of the state hospitals:

"The year in which the law has been in operation has unquestionably been the most successful period in the history of the Illinois charitable institutions. It has operated without friction and is in every way a desirable law.

"Its greatest aid to us was in the professional and scientific line. Heretofore many of the members of the medical staff were practitioners of middle life, who were tired of practicing and who, through political influence, secured positions in asylums where they and their entire families could "rest." Very excellent men were very often secured in this manner, but it is easy to observe that when qualifications other than professional service were allowed to influence these selections a tremendous chance was taken. This has completely changed.

"Aside from the medical staff we have been aided by the commission especially in the elimination of the "hospital tramp," or institutional rounder. These people have been the bane of the service and the perpetrators of the institutional abuses which so completely shook public confidence in the institutional methods in the past."

The progress of civil service reform since the introduction of the merit system into the federal service in 1883 is briefly summarized in the last annual report of the United States Civil Service Commission. The merit system is now in force in six states and nearly 100 cities. Every little while a rich old Bourbon voice rises in denunciation of the civil service fad. But the fad is a pretty old habit by this time, and one that promises to become co-extensive with the entire public life of the nation.

INSTITUTION ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

BY MAX E. WITTE, M. D., SUPERINTENDENT OF CLARINDA STATE HOSPITAL, CLARINDA, IOWA

That institution best discharges its specific function which brings the greatest measure of help to the greatest number in need of it. That system of institutions is most efficient and helpful to the State which accomplishes the effective operation of its separate institutions with the least expenditure of energy; which sees to it that there is no "lost motion"; which directs the work of the several institutions to a harmonious whole, in order that the commonwealth be better served thereby.

These indications, in my opinion, can be, and as a matter of personal experience are actually best met by a central governing board having dominion over all the charitable and correctional institutions of the state. The membership of such a board should be as small as possible and, of course, consist of an odd number, to avoid deadlocks, which might nullify efficiency. The personnel should be of the highest, and chosen for character, intelligence, and wide humanity alone. Politics, religion, previous or prospective servitude to the powers that be, should not have voice in the selection. Such a board, imbued with a high public spirit, can and will co-ordinate the special activities of the separate institutions for the highest common good, and will establsh and foster a solidarity of aims and interests for the public weal, not possible in any other way. Again, such a governing board can, and does, administer the business affairs of the various institutions with the greatest economy to the state, and this without impairing the efficiency of the institutions in the least. Such a board to do good work based on sufficient knowledge should give its undivided time to the service. One man who knows the imperfections, limitations, and frailties of man, has said, that no man can serve two masters and do justice to either.

It is not my purpose to criticise separate boards for the different state institutions as such, but I do find fault with the system. That I may not appear egotistic and presumptious, I may say that my conclusions are drawn from actual experience. I am working now nearly twelve years under a central governing board, but before that I served my state seventeen years in an institution under a special board of trustees, composed of men of loftiest character, exceptional qualities of heart and mind, and many of excellent business capacity. These men were and, those living, are still my friends. Their aims and endeavors were of the best. Yet their work lacked unity and a dominant purpose; it lacked an integral relation with the work of other institutions, and above everything else it was vastly more expensive and a burden to the comonwealth. Since power is most effective when centralized, it appears to me that the ideal management would not be a governing board, but a governor, providing a proper person could be found of sufficient mental structure. A board of say three members is perhaps on the whole safer.

Under the governing body, all power and authority in each separate institution should be centered in its executive officer, and in him alone. He should be accountable to and held responsible by the board to which he owes his appointment, but in his official position, in the institution, he should, like the captain of a ship, have absolute power in the appointment and discharge of his subordinates, and no one should presume to interfere or dictate in the exercise of his power. Anything less is crippling and not conducive to internal harmony and the best results in the institution. Besides, it is obviously unfair to hold a man responsible for conditions which he has not the means of controlling.

A wise governing board, while undoubtedly right in giving a general direction to the work of the institution, and insisting that a certain standard be maintained, will give the management a wide latitude. The elaboration in detail of the work should be left to the management to be worked out according to condition, situation, and other personal and impersonal elements involved.

In the choice of a chief executive officer, natural and acquired fitness should alone govern, and politics, religion, and social standing, or influence of solicitous friends should have no weight whatever. Nay, the governing board should go one step farther, and rigidly insist that in the appointment of subordinates by the chief executive officer, the same rule be observed, and this especially as it relates to politics. The object is, of course, to eliminate the vicious influence of politics from public service, at least in so far as it pertains to the charitable and correctional institutions of the state. That politics in state institutions is an unmitigated evil, I need not argue to any one who has had experience with its insidious, widespreading, undermining, enervating, and pernicious influence. It has been the most important factor to block the wheels of progress in otherwise admirable institutions, and any system which tolerates it carries within it a most serious and vital defect.

That politics can be divorced from state institutions is no longer a theory, but an established fact, an existing condition.

Generally the attitude of a governing board toward each of its separate institutions may be summed up in the aphorism of St. Augustine,

"In essentials unity
In non-essentials liberty
But in all things charity."

This spirit of broad, tolerant kindness and wisdom should also pervade the institution and animate the service. Without it the materially well equipped institution lacks life; with it, even the more poorly equipped is a radiant source of good. In the counsels of such a liberal, wise, and humane board, two dynamic ideas sway, subordinate and dominate all other considerations, and give guidance and energy to the work. First, foremost, all the time, and fundamentally most important, is the exaltation of the service. In other words, that each institution do its specific work and satisfy the need it is designed to meet, in the most efficient manner. This is in behalf of the wards of the institution.

Secondly, and subordinated to the foregoing, is economy. This is in behalf of the commonwealth. These two dominant working ideas are not inharmonious nor mutually exclusive. No small, narrow, and trimming parsimony should ever be allowed to disturb or retard the special work of the institution, or embarrass its service. Much of this service is incommensurable with material standards and cannot be gauged in dollars and cents. On the other hand, the state should not be required to pay for anything, be it service or something else, more than it is worth.

As already intimated, the central governing board should so direct in a general way the special activities of the various state institutions that the service will form a harmonious whole, directed to the alleviation and amelioration of the defectives and unfortunates entrusted to its care in the highest possible degree, and to bring such service to the greatest possible number in need of it. And all this with the least burden to the state. This I am convinced can only be done by a central board having authority over all institutions in the category. With separate boards of managers for each institution, there is no unity of direction even in institutions of the same class, for instance, the hospitals for the insane. The powers that be in one institution do not know what is being done at another, to say nothing of working in harmony with another toward an advanced and exalted end in the future. The work, the difficulties, the problems involved in the care of the feeble-minded are unknown to the managements of institutions for the insane, or those of the school for the deaf to the school for the blind, notwithstanding the fact that much of the work, many of these difficulties and problems are similar, if not identical, in kindred institutions. Besides, all the charitable and correctional institutions have many features and matters in common, wherein a well directed unity of purpose will promote efficiency and economy by the avoidance of duplication, friction, and backward or awkward method. As an instance in point looking toward economy, I may draw attention to the purchase of supplies all institutions need in common. I need not produce argument that the supplies to meet the requirements of a dozen or more institutions can be bought more advantageously than those of a single institution.

What institutions should be brought and maintained under the dominion of a central governing board? Not the strictly educational, but all other institutions maintained by the state, and designed for the correction of serious defects in its citizens. These are the institutions usually designated charitable and correctional. Parenthetically, you may notice my avoidance of the word "penal." This is with design, for I think the spirit of humanity has at this age, and in this country, attained such a lofty attitude with widely extended horizon, that we can look upon our delinquent brother as an unfortunate to whom has been denied by inheritance or surroundings an adequate measure of the moral sense, which is at best but relative and a variable quantity. With this view, and in this spirit, we can talk of reformation, but not consequently of punishment.

The reformatory schools meet an urgent need by taking wayward youth while still in the plastic stage of character development out of surroundings that make for evil, and placing them amongst influences promotive of good. In many instances these young offenders are less the resultants of an inheritance of degeneracy than the product of an unfortunate and vicious environment. These may be rescued and snatched, as brands from the burning, by kindly methods of training and education, and by supplanting evil tendencies by new interests for good. Plant and cultivate fruits and flowers where grew the weeds. Even in those more unfortunate wards of these schools who have inherited a defective capacity for the development of moral sense, much may be done by a wise education on sound psychological principles. Even in these cases of innate depravity there is a spark which rightly recognized and fanned can be blown into a flame which will light the way to better things.

A training of the natural aptitude and powers will go far towards effacing evil trends. The schooling should be up to the standard and form an integral part of the general school system of the state, and, besides this, special talents in the individual should be cultivated and developed as much as may be for present pleasure and future usefulness. All, without exception, should be fitted for a place of future employment and the gaining of a livelihood by the thorough acquisition of a trade or handicraft, for the ability to do such special work well, and with pleasure and confidence in its knowledge and mastery, will be a safeguard against want. A good workman or workwoman has security in his or her ability and is armored against temptation and lapse when the time comes to stand and make a way alone.

I have already referred to the so-called penal institutions, wherein, in my opinion, the idea of reformation should reign dominant and every other consideration should be aligned to it. While it unfortunately is true that some of the beneficiaries of these institutions must for the good of society be held up as warning and deterrent object lessons to possible or prospective evil-doers, the prisoner himself should be surrounded by every influence, material and spiritual for self redemption. Here again, as elsewhere, set up a good interest to displace an evil trend.

Hospitals for the insane should be what the name indicates, and secondarily asylums; in other words, places for the care of sick people primarily, and then for the care of those who do not recover. The remedial function of the hospital should be held paramount and every effort bent to that end. The custodial feature minimized though held in a spirit of broad and enlightened humanity. It is all the more pertinent that this double aim, in due proportion, be not overlooked, since at any given time in an ordinary state hospital for the insane there are so very few curable, and the vast majority of its population is not. While the biennial reports for the hospitals for the insane in my state show on the average, approximately a percentage of 33 in recoveries based on admissions (in some biennial periods it was higher, 40 and even 45 per cent), perhaps not more than 35 to 40 patients out of 1,000 in the hospital at any one given time will get well under treatment, and go home, while the new-comers incapable of recovery remain behind and further swell the already congested chronic hospital population. But much may be, and should be done by proper dietetic and hygienic care, to improve the physical condition and comfort of this latter incurable class, besides the mental status is improved and life generally made more endurable, even pleasant, by training, schooling, various occupations and amusments, so that a large proportion of these people, though they may never attain their own in mental and physical health, are, nevertheless, happy and contented, and able to enjoy their life here on earth, perhaps as much, or even more, than they would if outside amidst the strenuity of life.

The institution for feeble-minded has a well-defined function of raising, by schooling and training, those arrested in mental development not far remote from normality, to a higher degree of efficiency, and in many to a life of usefulness. Those of graver mental blight are made as comfortable as is possible with a shallow and limited mentality. I had a friend, now entered into Peace, who was an enthusiastic and intelligent worker in this field, one who carried the optimistic idea that the future would do much for these mentally enfeebled children by finding a way to stimulate into growth and function, inactive and undeveloped cells in these fallow and sterile brains. Is this a dream?

Some of our sister states have special institutions for the care and improvement of the epileptic, an unfortunate who merits the kindliest charity that can be extended to him. The custodial function of the institution for epileptics, as well as that for feeble-minded, can be most beneficially exercised by limiting to some extent at least the procreation of these degenerate classes.

In my state we have an institution for inebriates, doing excellent work in behalf of this class, but being more particularly useful as a deterrent to tipplers who are amenable to no influence but fear.

Gracious and kindly charity is that extended by the state to those unfortunate people who are not defective, save in that they lack a home with all that is implied in the name. Here we find orphan or destitute children where the state is in loco parentis. Again, the helpless and old whose latter days are made comfortable, if not happy. With us we have the home for the old soldier or his widow.

In my opinion, one of the greatest charities which can be exerted by any state, or any community for that matter, is that of caring for and restoring to health and usefulness those of our fellow citizens afflicted with tuberculosis. These people are not defective in any sense, except health, and as a rule are of the salt of the earth, so that when saved from a premature grave, something really has been done for human kind and a valuable asset restored to our commonwealth.

Perhaps there are other charitable activities in which the state could engage with benefit to our race and advantage to itself, but those thus briefly enumerated are the most important and can be carried out by its aid better and more systematically than in any other manner.

Again, a single governing board, can, and does serve the needs of the various institutions in a most efficient and equitable manner by requesting and urging appropriations from state funds. These appropriations are asked on a basis of certain knowlelge of the special needs of all the institutions, and with a view of a fair distribution of the funds available. My experience with the old system of separate boards was, that the institution which could enlist the most scheming and log rolling lobbyists in its behalf obtained the lion's share of the appropriations, and this irrespective of the urgency of its needs.

Then, under one board, all institutions, and more particularly those of one class, can have a uniform system of keeping records of whatsoever is worth preserving in the special experience of the institution, and thus very materially improving the statistics so that in the course of years they may become more useful. The same may be said of whatever scientific work is done by the various institutions. Furthermore, such a board can stimulate and encourage original research in various fields toward definite ends, and attack scientific problems from various sides in a systematic manner, and wthout needless duplication or loss of labor.

Perhaps one of the greatest activities of such a board is making the various state institutions available and serviceable to those in need of such aid. The separate institution is apt to be seclusive and exclusive, and its management and service, while interested in that of like nature, easily gets out of touch with others and the community generally. The public is ill informed as to the special work, methods, management and service. Many who could derive benefit from its ministration do not avail themselves of it, by not knowing or through misinformation. A central board can do much to acquaint the citizens of a state wth the institutions by means of regular conferences of its chief executives, wherein the affairs and matters of interest of the various institutions are discussed and published, not only in a regular publication for that purpose, but also by the local daily press, which is copied elsewhere. In this manner fairly accurate information about the state institutions is disseminated, at least state wide. The institutions themselves can be encouraged to aid in becoming better known by welcoming visits at all reasonable times by the good citizens of the state, and soliciting their friendship and confidence by frank, fair, and courteous treatment.

I, personally, have cherished the acquaintance and good will of ministers, doctors, lawyers, business men, farmers, newspaper men, in fact, all who come for information and not idle curiosity. These desirable visitors will act as a leaven for better information, and, perchance, be indirectly at least the means that some unfortunate inmate will be brought to the institution in time while he may be benefitted.

Finally, we owe to the future, and this we cannot repudiate. Perhaps the most important function of a central governing board is educational and looks toward prevention. An old saying would have us believe that prevention is to cure, approximately, in the old ratio of sixteen to one. This is wrong, they are incommensurable, and prevention is vastly to be preferred. In my own state the central governing board is charged with an educational crusade against the white plague. The public receives reliable information in regard to tuberculosis from publications, scientific and popular lectures, which reach practically every town and hamlet in our state, and is still more widely spread by the press.

But there are other evils to be prevented, which will be prevented, by knowledge and a wise and strenuous action by the people based thereon. This knowledge can only come to the people by education. Restrictive legislation can only be effective and useful as it is demanded by a well informed people.

Health and Sanitation

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

BY CHARLES F. EMERSON, M. D., CLIFTON SPRINGS, N. Y. CHAIRMAN,

THE MEDICAL METHOD OF HANDLING CERTAIN CHARITY PROBLEMS

During the several years that the present speaker was much interested in Charity Organization work and especially during that period when as Chairman of the Student Board he met in practical charity work those students in whose medical education he at that same time had a slight share, he was very much impressed by the close resemblance there is between the problems presented by the social ills of the poor and their physical diseases.

To trace at length such a parallelism might be interesting, but it would not be profitable. Nevertheless analogies have a suggestive value and a study of the similarity of the problems of these two sciences, this evidence of medical laws in the sociological world, may aid us to avoid error, may save us from making false moves.

It has cost centuries to develop our modern medicine and yet by far the greatest part of this advance has been made during the last fifty years. May we not, profiting by experience which the development of this science has cost, "make a short-cut" in the development of a fairly satisfactory sociological pathology, hygiene and therapy?

The history of the development of medical science leaves no doubt on one point: that so long as men were content with their theories of the causation of disease and treated symptoms, and only symptoms, so long medicine stood still. One text book, written B. C. 300, was one of those our grandfathers used. Its last edition appeared A. D. 1850. But about fifty years ago pathology became an important subject and radical changes followed. Now early in his medical course the student learns to distinguish between symptoms and the diseases which produce these symptoms. Symptoms may be, usually are, evidences of disease. But symptoms are not diseases. Symptoms are those features of disease of which the patient complains, or which are noticeable to his neighbors. The symptoms are not the disease, and yet were it not for these the patient might not know that he was sick. Pain, loss of weight. loss of strength, cough, etc., these are symptoms. Symptoms are for the most part due to demonstrable changes in the structure of, or in the functions of, organs, and to study these changes is the subject of pathology. Symptoms are finger-points which should direct us to a correct diagnosis of the disease producing these changes, providing we are already acquainted with that disease. If we are not, then symptoms may not help us at all. Seldom has the study of symptoms led to an understanding of a disease. Direct examination of the organs themselves, that is, pathology, will, or may, do that. After we understand the nature of these changes in the organs, then, and only then, can we understand the symptoms. For instance, a man has a severe headache. His headache is only a symptom; it is not a disease. The trouble causing this headache may be located in the nerves of the face, in the nose, in the ear, in the eye; the trouble causing it may be a tumor in the brain, kidney trouble, beginning typhoid fever, etc. These diseases so different in their character, so widely separate in location may for a time make their presence known only by a headache. The patient cares little for the cause; he wants to be rid of the headache and will judge of the doctor's ability by his success in quieting this headache. Whatever be the cause, the headache may be stopped temporarily by a certain one of a large group of headache remedies. These may quiet the symptoms, but they cannot benefit the patient by removing the cause. The doctor will try to quiet the headache, but then his duty is only begun, for he will determine whether this headache is due to troubles in eye, or in kidney, etc., and attack the troubles here even though the patient insists that these organs other than the head have not hurt him. But doctors could not deal with the problem in this way until the science of pathology had reached a rather full development.

Again our student learns to his surprise that some fatal diseases may run the major part of their course without a single symptom; that there are other maladies of nebulous nature which never yet shortened a man's life by a day, but the pain of which is of even maximum intensity; that with some diseases as the patient improves he suffers more; while with other diseases as he gets worse he feels better; that finally the symptoms, which are the all of the trouble to the patient, are to the doctor only the starting point in his care of the case. The patient talks of his asthmatic lungs, the doctor treats his nose; the patient talks of his swollen feet and gets medicine for his kidneys or heart; he talks of the back of his neck and gets a pair of specctacles; he talks of his painful knee and loses his tonsils. For in these organs and not in those giving the symptoms does the trouble lie.

I think it is a fairly accurate statement that sociology is in just about the condition medicine was before pathology was studied. In the social body we know only symptoms. That the poor are cold and hungry; that discouraged workers drink or acquire the drug habit; that the father gets negligent and deserts his family and wife; that the wife gets discouraged and commits suicide; that little children must work to support the family—these are only symptoms; they are not diseases. And, what is more, from these symptoms it is not safe to speculate where the causal disease may lie or what it may be. It may be as far distant in the social body as are the swollen, painful ankles from the quiet heart or kidneys, where alone is the disease. Yet it is these heartrending symptoms which the charitable organizations are expected to relieve. And, considering the terrible amount of suffering, poverty and misery which we find in all our cities, one cannot wonder at the multiplication of charitable societies and at their eagerness to relieve all the distress they can. Good! Let them bathe, massage and treat these swollen, painful ankles of society all they can, but the social body will not get better unless our treatment reaches also its heart or kidneys for perhaps there and there alone the trouble lies. In families and wards of a city which appear so very happy and apparently so much to be envied, there, possibly, is the disease, and there should treatment be applied. Like the man who, honestly believing his health to be excellent, submits to examination for insurance, for example, and finds to his horror that he has an incurable disease; so we hear of maladies discovered in parts of the social body where formerly they were least expected.

This is no new idea. This is the aim of some of our social work today. If I understand it rightly, the Russell Sage Foundation has as its aim the study of the causes of misery, not the study of its symptoms, and Edward T. Devine's little book on the Causes of Misery will be a classic as one of the first contributions in social pathology. Since the dawn of civilization, and especially since the beginning of the Christian Era, men have been studying and treating symptoms, misery in all its forms, and while now more funds may be available for the relief than ever before, yet of its causes, and therefore of its prevention, comparatively little is known. May the labors of our social pathologist be as fruitful as have been those of the medical pathologists of the last generation!

The accusation is often made that the modern doctor is too much interested in disease, too little in symptoms; that he treats that of which the patient knows nothing and seems to neglect that which is the all to the patient. This ''too scientific doctor'' is seldom popular, even though he may have an enviable record so far as actual cures are concerned. The accusation is just in every case that the patient honestly makes it, for, granting that the patient cannot be really helped unless the disease also is dealt with directly, symptoms deserve tender care and whatever else is done should receive it. It is more than possible that the accusation against our charity organization societies of ''cold heartedness,'' of being ''too scientific,'' may be justifiable. This, many think, is a sign of progress. I hardly agree, even though these workers are doing far more important work in removing the distress than are their less trained but more warm-hearted rivals in the field. I would not discourage the warm-heartedness and the overabundance of relief for the sore, swollen social ankles which hurt. They deserve attention, even though the disease is all in the social heart which does not hurt and the condition of which all envy. If we doctors allow a patient with a painful abdominal condition of uncertain nature to suffer it is in order that since he remains clear minded and can give his testimony as to his symptoms and can pass judgment on a proposed operation, we may explain to him our reason for not relieving the pain by a quieting drug; and even the poorest patient is then willing to suffer, for he understands the reason why. Perhaps in our charity work, if we would only take poor applicants and the public as well into our confidence and educate them more, explain to them the reason for not giving all the material relief they think necessary to relieve symptoms, possibly they might better co-operate with us. But if this is impractical then the mistake should be, as in medicine, in giving too much rather than too little attention to the symptoms, for from these the poor man suffers. The science of sociology is too young and uncertain for any wise social scientists (who also happen to control the funds for relief) to be very wise as to the best plans along which to treat a poor family. Nevertheless, if we wish the progress in social medicine to equal the phenomenal progress in the medical profession during the past fifty years and to save a few decades of time and a few millions of dollars, we certainly should study the pathology of social disorders much more carefully than has thus far been the case. Of course, relief giving can easily be overdone and we are already wise enough to avoid it in some measure. Material relief is the morphia of the sociological pharmacopea; indispensable at times, yet it creates a craving for itself; it is demanded in ever-increasing doses; once under its influence the patient becomes progressively unable to do without it. It is necessary, but it has its dangers. In charity work are many benevolent persons whose cry is to Relieve! Relieve! Relieve! Let there be no suffering! We wish there might not be. Yet suffering is not the only evil; it is but one symptom. The evil is that condition of society which allows the suffering to arise. This condition, like a latent cancer, would be just as dangerous, just as worthy of eradicating, even though as yet it has not caused one twinge of pain. Yet my heart always goes out to the poor, suffering ankles of society. They need comforting care whether or not the therapeutic measures affect the offending heart.

One of the chief reasons why medicine had to wait so long for its pathology was that it had several, carefully worked out, in every way sufficient, theories of disease. There was no need of pathology. Every point was covered satisfactorily to the the-causes. But unfortunately, for them, these theories proved empty of truth and pathology revealed that, which could be determined only by scientific work, not by speculations. The nature of an organic disease has never yet been inspired intuitively. Because of her easy satisfactory, all-explaining theories of disease Germany lagged decades behind France in the development of the pathology of the nineteenth century. But later when Germany threw off these theories and worked and studied hard, then she gave the world her present pathology.

What the pathology of the social body will be like I do not know. Perhaps it also will open our eyes to worlds of truth hitherto unsuspected, perhaps not, but I suspect it will. But of one thing I am sure: that as yet we know mostly of symptoms and have an ample supply of theory. Whether research will confirm these theories only hard research work can tell, and of this research work much is now being done. The result of hard, painstaking, discriminating, scientific research work, such as that reported in the Survey, will be a working pathology. We should all aid and honor these pioneers. They may not go around distributing alms, but their work will live, outlast all who do.

To discover the nature of a disease and how successfully to combat it when once it is present is often a difficult problem. But to avoid getting the disease is in many cases much easier. This means of prevention may now be possible only to a limited degree. Yet one thing is certain; man would be a great deal freer of disease than he is if he really tried. But unfortunately he thinks it necessary for him to run many risks and depends on the doctor to help him out of trouble. The criticism was once made of lawyers that some of our keenest legal talent are employed in aiding persons and corporations, not to keep the law, but to evade it. Whether or not this is true I cannot say, but of medicine I know often that very many patients think the doctor's chief duty is not to aid them to keep well, but to aid them to evade the laws of hygiene and escape punishment in case hygiene or society thinks that they shall break these laws. And I judge that a similar condition now exists in sociology. The public is very pleased if a charitable organization spends its money to help the poor to avoid calamities. It expects these

labor, the question of recreation for the poor are really among the most vital of the problems we consider in this conference.

And my second and last suggestion is akin to the first. You may smile and accuse the physician of preaching, but he is not, for this also is borrowed from medicine and is a bitter lesson which medicine has learned at a great price: That the highest duty of the doctor is to teach people the value of good health; to make them want to get well and to stay well; not to stand waiting for some brother to suffer and then hope he will employ us. I am sure that the highest duty of the charitable society is not to spend 100 per cent of its funds in helping those who are needy, but at least 50 per cent in preventing others from a like fate. And to do this one of the first aims should be to raise the ideals of the poor; to make them want to rise in the social scale; to make them want and therefore try to be independent. Determine with a spiritual theodolite the pitch of a boy's mind and one then knows in which direction his blood will flow. Give a boy an ideal which makes him restless and he will do something. It was most interesting to follow the work of our Johns Hopkins medical students who were engaged in Social Service. At first they were willing to be appointed the friendly visitors of almost any sort of family where there was poverty and distress. Later, however, they beccame fastidious. They demanded families in which there were boys under seventeen years of age. It was not that this task was easier; it was harder; but they decided that their efforts counted in the long run far more with a boy of sixteen than with a man of forty. Give the children a chance to grow up as children, to play, to conserve human force, then stimulate their ambition, and as adults they will render a different account of themselves than did their fathers.

There has long been a rather strong antagonism between charitable and religious organizations, just as there has been between medicine and religion. But to the advantage of all three a reaction is now setting in. In my opinion, were a charitable organization to plan in cold blood as to the best way to help their dependent families to be less needy, that is, to need less or not at all the help which these charitable organizations are intended to give, then they would recognize that the strategic point to conquer would be the ideals of the families. The problem is not to make a man want to live more comfortably. Who does not? But to arouse within him that ambition to rise which will make him struggle. I have never seen material relief alone exerting that influence. That is the reason why our friendly visitors are not allowed to give any material relief at all. I mean that to do the best work for a family spiritual uplift must have first place. That means that charitable and religious organizations must work in closer harmony.

If we were asked, "What religion is best adapted to foster the ideals of a family?" we might each be pardoned if we each claimed that distinction for our own religion, and I, a Presbyterian and a presiding elder with a theology of a rather blue hue, might be expected to insist on the special advantages that denomination has to offer. But now we are not discussing theology. I have learned more from the poor Jewish family, with its beautiful family life, its careful observance of the Sabbath as a day of rest; its protection of childhood, and above all else the success of the elders in holding before their children the ideals of better things which are possible if they will work for them, than I have from Christian families.

It is said that once the Chinese, astonished at the appearance and power of a foreign steamship, built a boat along similar lines, with smoke-stack and side wheels, but it would not go. They may even have made smoke belch from the smoke-stack, but still it would not go. It lacked the power to go. So I have often seen Charitable Organizations work along similar lines. They will move a family into better quarters, clothe the children like the more fortunate neighbors, furnish coal and provisions. But to what use? My dear fellow workers, begin at the soul of the individual; lift that up; aid him to find that internal power which makes all things possible. Of proselyting there must be absolutely none, but using that theology the family knows best, fraternizing with the religious leaders whom they most respect, and forgetting self and our own creeds, let us attack the citadel of the soul and through that channel accomplish social as well as spiritual uplift of the families.

THE HISTORY AND STATUS OF HOSPITAL SOCIAL WORK

BY GARNET ISABEL PELTON, WELLESLEY, MASS.

There seems to be some difference of opinion, and perhaps confusion, as to what hospital social work is. This paper is presented from the standpoint of the following interpretation of the term.

The work must first be distinguished from that of a charity organization agent or from the "follow up" work of a clinic nurse. It uses the technical training and tools of both of these in the treatment of its patients; but applying the principles of modern philanthropy to the sick poor, and nursing and teaching them in their homes, are the methods rather than the underlying purposes of hospital social service. The botanist and biologist often use similar instruments and technique, but their fundamental aims differ. The aim of hospital social work is the social diagnosis, prognosis and treatment of the hospital's or dispensary's sick poor wherever the need is indicated.

In looking back over the history of hospitals and of medicine, it is impossible to discern the first faint glimmer of the idea of the inseparable relations of the diseased environment and the diseased man. Inside the hospitals, until the nineteenth century, we look for it in vain. Hospitals, of a kind, there were from the dawn of history, but they were, in effect, either primitive medical schools, asylums for the unfortunate, resorts for religious cures or camp hospitals. The early Christians built them lavishly, but here again they were shelters for the sick, the poor, the aged and the orphan. The hospital of the twelfth century, built exclusively for the sick, showed no other change in its character. The relation of disease and surroundings, even within its own walls, did not penetrate far into the hospital of the seventeenth century, when four small-pox patients were to be seen in one bed, and funerals were held in the wards. From that time until the middle of the nineteenth century, except for a building movement in between, hospitals largely stagnated. Even in our own day until recently, so unconscious was the hospital that pauperism produces patients, that it went calmly on producing paupers, and one writer said, "The out patient department of a great hospital was the greatest pauperizing agency existing in England."

Outside the hospitals we do not look in vain for the appearance of the idea of the relation between living conditions and disease. We see it growing in the minds of certain famous physicians, notably Hippocrates. But it appears most strikingly in reference to the masses rather than to the individual. Plague and pestilence taught it. In ancient Egypt public hygiene and sanitation were established on a remarkably thorough scale. This was also true of other nations. We find it in the laws of Moses and in the ruins of Rome. But public sanitation for a long period also stagnated.

In looking for some reason to account for the slow awakening to one of the most potent sources of disease, we find that from primeval days until recently, sickness was supposed to be a supernatural visitation. It was caused by a disease demon, an avenging deity; in the Buddhist belief, by sin in a former life. A Christian divine says, "Diseases are sent by Providence for the punishment of sin, and the attempt to prevent them is a diabolical operation." Such baneful superstition held in check both diagnosis and the perception of external social causes of sickness.

The quickened life of the nineteenth century has liberated the science of medicine. There is a renaissance in hospital building. According to the last census, the growth of hospitals had outstripped that of every other form of benevolent institution. This growth has been equalled by improvement in construction, in administration, in nursing and medical skill, and in the attention given to the individual patient. The recently discovered germ theory has accentuated the dangers of conditions that invite germs. These are chiefly represented in standards of living sufficiently low to please the germ and to lessen human vitality. Prevention rather than cure is the watchword, hygiene rather than drugs. Diagnosis grows searching, and is now turning its gaze into the social as well as the physical body. Philanthropists have helped to lead the way in this onward march by the study of social maladjustment, by the development of charitable agencies and experts, and by generous assistance in hospital reform.

Florence Nightingale saw the great truth of the social sources of disease, and proclaimed it in her own clear way. She impressed it on her friend Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell.

When Dr. Blackwell, in 1859, founded the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, she visited at the homes of her patients, and sent a lay worker to teach mothers the care of their homes and their children. "Several families," she says, "have been visited where some member was sick, and found utterly destitute, suffering from hunger, and though honest and industrious, disappointed in every effort to obtain work. To such families a little help with money, generally in the form of a loan till work could be procured, has proved invaluable, and a small poor fund placed by some friends in the hands of the attending physicians, for this special object, has saved several worthy families from despair and impending starvation." The work of the New York Infirmary, in its fundamental problems, is the prototype of hospital social work today. It was started almost a quarter of a century before the germ theory, organized charity or visiting nursing smoothed the way. Today there is a Social Service Department at the Infirmary, and the clinic physicians collect valuable data.

Another form of social healing, which can only be mentioned, though its history is long and widespread, is the cheer and diversion given to hospital patients through visits, flowers, books, music, drives, and more lately by kindergarten for children and occupational classes for nervous patients. Nor should the many individual efforts of doctor, nurses and visitors for patients in special need, be omitted.

Among the classified social needs which first received systematic attention in hospitals and dispensaries were the "follow up" work with children and the protection of maternity.

An interesting example of the former was started twenty years ago by Dr. Henry Dwight Chapin, attending physician of the Babies' Ward of the Post-Graduate Hospital in New York. In order "to improve any faulty life conditions that either might cause the original disease or tend to a relapse," says Dr. Chapin, "every child leaving the hospital was visited in its home." Later a woman physician was employed in place of the volunteer visitors, and this arrangement still continues. Dr. Chapin further developed this work by placing certain children, temporarily, for convalescence, in carefully selected homes in Morristown. These children are under the supervision of a resident physician and visiting nurse, employed for that purpose.

The prospective mothers, married and unmarried, come to the same medical relief quarters.

One of the efforts in these directions, started twelve years ago, and in line with hospital social service today, is the work of the two agents of the Ladies Auxiliary of the Lying-In Hospital in New York. The home of every dispensary patient is visited at the time of confinement, not only by the doctor and nurse, but also by the Auxiliary agent. She sends women to cook and clean, and provides extra food and clothes when necessary. The mother with her child is sometimes sent away for convalesence. Permanent need is referred to a proper agency. Over three thousand women receive such care every year. The patient in the wards whose future is not provided for is looked after with wise friendliness, suitable work in a place where she can keep her child is found if possible.

In England the abuse of the dispensary by patients who could pay led to systematic social work, a decade ago, in two large dispensaries in London. Cases of distress were also investigated. Judging from recent printed reports, the resulting work, which has also been imitated by other dispensaries, is comparable to that here, in problems, in the ways they are met, and in volume.

An experiment in Baltimore led to the education of medical students in social work. In the fall of 1901, Dr. Charles P. Emerson, at Johns Hopkins Hospital, who was a director of the Charity Organization Society, determined to interest medical students in one or two poor families each, as friendly visitors under the direction of a C. O. S. agent. "We began," says Dr. Emerson, "with two or three and ended with over sixty, or nearly one-quarter of the whole student body in the medical department. The primary object was not to benefit the Hopkins patients. Later we recognized the importance of studying the conditions of health among the poor in order to understand aright their diseases, but again I say the work was a part of the education of the student. This work is even more flourishing now." Cooperation with it is a distinctive feature of the present Social Service Department.

A movement that awakened student nurses to an interest in the living conditions of their patients was started in 1904 by Miss Maxwell, in connection with the Visiting Nursing Department which she initiated in that year at the Presbyterian Hospital in New York City. "'From the very beginning 'social work' was done by the Instructor among the patients in the Hospital wards and in the Dispensary." There are now, besides the Instructor and three student visiting nurses, an assistant social worker for the dispensary and one for the wards. The visiting nurse of the tuberculosis clinic is also associated with the department, but "student nurses give nursing care to advanced cases." Special attention is paid to hygiene and diet in the home. A weekly menu has been worked out for a family of six living on $9 or $10 a week, and there is a diet kitchen in connection with the work, where almost two thousand eggs and over twenty-nine thousand quarts of milk are dispensed annually. The hospital physicians express warm appreciation of the added efficiency the department gives to the medical work, and Miss Maxwell emphasizes "the salutary effect in the development of the humanitarian side of the student nurse."

But it was Boston that saw the beginning of hospital social work of a general nature, apart from charity organization work or visiting nursing. Curiously enough, this started simultaneously in two dispensaries, each being unaware of the other's intention.

On October 2, 1905, a small dispensary was opened in Berkeley Temple, to minister chiefly to the poor but not destitute Protestants who lived in that locality. The position of office secretary was filled for two hours daily by the Pastor's helper. She enquired into cases of need and visited the patients' homes. This was the beginning of the Social Service in the Berkeley Infirmary today.

On October 3, 1905, a nurse who had had some settlement experience was installed at the Out Patient Department of the Massachusetts General Hospital by Dr. Richard C. Cabot. The clinic physicians were invited to use her services to investigate the home conditions of any of their patients, to see that the treatment they prescribed was carried out; also to connect patients needing charitable help with the proper agencies. Besides these duties she endeavored to be on the alert for any friendly attentions to patients, to promote the same spirit among the employees, to visit ward patients, inoculating the hospital internes and nurses with their social needs, and to cooperate generously with outside charities. The seed fell upon ground long fertile, and grew like a weed. In a little over a year, a meeting of the out patient officials recognized the work as a department. Thus was born, the first example in this country of general, organized hospital social service, as a separate entity and yet as an integral part of a hospital.

The chief problems that took shape in the early months are now met by separate divisions of the work under specially trained workers. The present staff numbers eight, with a large corps of volunteers, and 2,422 patients were dealt with during this last year. Forty-five per cent of the out patients come from the surrounding towns, so that the suburban element is a characteristic feature of the work. This fact led in four months to the formation of the Suburban Tuberculosis Class, later to a special study of suburban resources and tuberculosis propaganda in the suburbs. The psychiatric division, for women with nervous disorders, is another distinctive feature, as is the work with unmarried mothers and with other sex problems. The records of the department are full and carefully written, and every year there is some attempt at special research. This year it has been "a study of girls in industry." Propaganda, especially by public speaking, is a strong policy of the service. Social work with the wards has been separated from the Department, and is under a nurse employed as executive assistant to the Admitting Physician. A supervisory committee, representing different interests, was formed a year ago in February. It represents the out-patient staff, the social workers of the city, the visiting ladies' committee, and the hospital administration. The department, while closely connected with the hospital, is supported by voluntary contributions.

Nine months later, in July, 1906, similar work was started at Bellevue Hospital in New York. It was inspired by the Massachusetts General, and initiated by Dr. S. T. Armstrong, the superintendent of the hospital, and by Mrs. John L. Wilkie, one of the managers of the Training School. A Bellevue nurse, with three years' experience of school nursing, was put in charge. This movement, owing partly to its metropolitan field and the destitution of the patients, grew so rapidly that today it is the largest and perhaps the most active of its kind. There are fifteen nurses, two clerical workers, and a large corps of Free Synagogue volunteers. Last year there were 6,698 new cases.

The divisions of the Bellevue Social Service Bureau are: The Convalescent Relief, with three nurses, which attends principally to ward patients but administers the whole Bureau; the Child Welfare, with three nurses, one for the "follow up" work of the children's ward and two for the children's dispensary clinics; the Psychopathic, with one nurse, responsible for social work with the patients in the psychopathic wards, and a special follow up nurse for the alcoholic and drug habitues; the Tuberculosis Clinic, with seven nurses, one clerical worker and several volunteers, and the Free Synagogue Social Service, with fourteen regular volunteers under Dr. Goldstein, who look after Jewish patients. Not connected with the social service, but in touch with it, is a financial investigator. One of the chief characteristics of the department is the thoroughness of the Child Welfare work. There is an effort to make every child who enters the hospital or dispensary "a whole child." A large work is also done in Convalescent and Fresh Air homes and only the lack of such homes kept the figure from soaring higher. The prison and alcoholic wards are another distinctive feature of the work. A multitude of miscellaneous problems form the largest division as they do almost everywhere. Research on the subject of cooperation with other agencies is at present under way. While a part of the training school, the work is practically an independent department of the hospital with almost unrestricted privileges. There is an advisory committee representing the trustees of the hospital, the medical board and dispensary, the managers and superintendent of the training schools and the New York City Visiting Committee. This board is subdivided into executive committees, one for each division of the department. The work is supported in the main by the hospital, with generous supplementary assistance from the committee.

Nineteen hundred and seven saw the beginning of six social service experiments, one of which has been discontinued.

In January of that year, Dr. Linsly R. Williams, started the work at the dispensary known as Vanderbilt Clinic in New York, as an extension of the work of the Department of Visiting Nursing. That department included a nurse for general cases, one for children and two for tuberculosis. Vanderbilt Clinic averages about the same number of daily patients as the Massachusetts General Out-Patient. It is characterized by its connection with a medical school rather than with a hospital, and by the unusual variety of its clinics. This last feature results in a corresponding variety of problems for the social workers, and probably accounts for the fact that there are no large or marked groupings of problems, except tuberculosis. The nursing service of the tuberculosis clinic, which is one of the Association of Tuberculosis Clinics, is now a part of the Social Service, as it is at the Presbyterian and Bellevue Hospitals and also at the Flower Hospital. Employment for the handicapped is emphasized as the most marked difficulty met in the Social Service. There are two social workers one of whom is a nurse, and nine regular volunteers engaged in the work. Every patient that comes to the Dispensary is interviewed by the volunteers. The work is administered and supported by the Ladies' Auxiliary, yet is an integral part of the Clinic.

In May, 1907, Mt. Sinai Hospital in New York City appointed a social worker of experience as a financial investigator, in order that the trust funds to support free beds might be responsibly administered. Not only has this been accomplished but the investigator saves the hospital her salary. Two months later Mt. Sinai followed this experiment by the organization of a Social Welfare Department with a nurse who had done visiting nursing, in charge. Two social workers, both nurses, and a student visiting nurse form the present staff. The work is chiefly with patients in the wards, but they are also occasionally recruited from the Dispensary, and an effort is made to help rejected patients in evident need. The method of getting hold of patients entering the hospital, whose anxieties or home conditions retard their recovery, is admirable. The home of every discharged child is visited and the nurse continues a careful oversight if conditions indicate it. About one-third of the work is with children, among whom there is a difficult group of cardiacs. Another third is securing proper convalescence for patients leaving the hospital. The dominant tone of this extension of the hospital is thoroughness and prevention. It is a department of the hospital, supported by the special contributions of a small group of the directors.

Another interesting work of this kind was started in October of the same year at the Massachusetts Charitable Eye and Ear Infirmary in Boston, through the initiative of the Association for Promoting the Interests of the Blind. It was "done to supplement the medical work for the prevention of blindness." An innovation, which gives the opportunity of getting at every patient needing the social worker's attention, is "a definite connection with the hospital through the Registration Department." This also marks a distinct advance in Hospital Extension work, as it introduces the social point of view into the administrative work of the hospital." An aggressive campaign is carried on to forestall eye and ear troubles by teaching hygiene in the homes. The difficulty of employment for the handicapped and sex problems stand out strikingly against the background of these pathetic maladies. This Infirmary is the only one in the country that takes cases of **ophthalmia neonatorum**, the cause of so much blindness. The study of 116 such cases and the forcible conclusions drawn form a special feature of the recent annual report.

1908 saw only five more examples of this work started. A peculiarly interesting one of these is the ante as well as post partem care of mothers and infants undertaken by Dr. Herman Schwarz of Dr. Hill's Maternity Clinic in New York. A social worker from the Clinic visits the mother as soon as she learns of her condition. She revisits her once a month, or oftener if necessary, until the time of her confinement, trying to get proper food, hygienic conditions and rest of body and mind for the woman for a long period before and after confinement. The babies are then also looked after for one year. Dr. Schwarz shows by his statistics that infant mortality bears a striking relation to breast feeding, as well as to overcrowding, overwork, low wages, rent, number of children and all the other factors of a low standard of living.

In this same year in Cook County Hospital in Chicago, the United Charities employed two agents to make provision for patients who were well enough to leave the hospital but likely to become ill again through unfavorable conditions. The loss of opportunity by lack of organic connection with the hospital Mr. Kingsley expresses as follows: "Our difficulties are increased from the fact that we are at the hospital not as an integral part but as a volunteer agency."

1909 saw ten new beginnings of Hospital Social Service. The Rochester Homoeopathic Hospital bravely started in a city where there was no Charity Organization Society, and a comparative scarcity of other relief agencies to fall back on. At the New York Hospital a nurse of long experience offered her services to start the work. Social Service at the Polhemus Memorial Clinic in Brooklyn was a settlement movement and run by volunteers.

A specially interesting example of the work in this year was formally started at the Boston Dispensary only last October. The previous work in certain clinics had been leading up to it. Already a staff of five is working with originality and skill. Social Service is being conceived there in a broad sense, and is shown by the latest plan of the Dispensary management to put a social worker at the head of the whole institution. This large, general Dispensary is the medical center of the Instructive District Nursing Association and is used freely by the School nurses.

The first six weeks of 1910 launched six more such social ventures. The work at the Montefiore House in New York is characterized by dealing only with chronic or incurable cases; that at the City Hospital on Randall's Island by semi-acute and chronic cases, and by a large number of the inefficient and alcoholics. Beth Israel opens this service in the heart of the Jewish quarters on the East Side. At the Children's Hospital in Boston, the last on the list, the work is the development of the Out Door Relief Service started in 1895 for children whose parents were unable to bring them to the clinics for surgical dressings and the application of orthopedic apparatus. The superintendent writes "We feel the need of a better organized work, in charge of one thoroughly trained and familiar with all the relief agencies and work done by other institutions."

All the thirty-odd experiments in Hospital Social Work in this country have their own individual features, as the foregoing examples show. These are due to the locality, the size and the character of each hospital, to the class of patients treated, to the administration of the work and to the training and personality of the workers. But the same fundamental problems underlie each form, and attest the need and unity of the work. Even these fundamental problems appear in markedly different proportions, according to whether the Social Service is given to ward or dispensary patients. In the former case "follow-up" work with children, convalescents and chronics predominates. In the dispensary, tuberculosis is the overwhelming difficulty, followed, perhaps, by employment for the handicapped. And the variety of problems is greater. A large number of patients must be taught hygiene, and ultimately referred to other agencies. With each person there are subsidiary as well as primary problems of differing degrees. The following is a list culled from several weeks' study of records:

1. Referring to the right outside agency.
2. Teaching hygiene constantly to the individual and in the home.
3. Investigation of home conditions.
4. Follow up work with (a) Children, (b) Convalescents, (c) Chronics, (d) Rejected cases.
5. Tuberculosis.
6. Venereal diseases and sex problems.
7. Intemperance.
8. Neurasthenia.
9. Drug habitues and suicides.
10. Employment problems.
    (a) For the newly recovered.
    (b) For the handicapped.
    (c) Finding change of work.

    (d) Arranging combination of work and treatment.
11. Exploiting the hospital by the patient.
12. Exploiting the patient by the hospital.
13. Need of loans
    (a) For surgical appliances.
    (b) For time between convalescence and new job.
    (c) For fee at Employment Bureau.
    (d) For tools.
    (e) For transportation.
14. Need of proper food.
15. Need of clothing.
16. Need of advice
    (a) Persuading wage earners to come to hospital.
    (b) Persuading mothers of families to come.
    (c) Persuading the timid and ignorant.
    (d) Giving patient fair statement of his condition.
17. Relieving the anxiety of
    (a) Wage earners in the ward.
    (b) Mothers.
    (c) The friendless.
    (d) The foreigner.
18. Developing the spirit of friendliness to patients in the dispensary.
19. Awakening nurses and doctors to the social conditions of their patients.

All these problems seem to be directly related to the social diagnosis, prognosis and treatment of the hospital's sick poor.

The motto over the door of the wonderful Virchow Hospital in Berlin, where also I am told Social Work is carried on, may well be the motto of all Hospital Social Service—"Treat the disease, but do not omit to treat the man."

HOSPITAL SOCIAL SERVICE; PRINCIPLES AND IMPLICATIONS

BY SIDNEY E. GOLDSTEIN, DIRECTOR OF SOCIAL SERVICE, FREE SYNAGOGUE, NEW YORK

What is hospital social service? When we think out this question conscientiously we eventually conclude that we cannot answer it completely. The reason is that the phrase "Hospital Social Service" corresponds in our minds with no clean-cut idea of a specific social endeavor as does the term "Placing Out," or "Probation," "Remedial Loan," or "Industrial Insurance." That our ideas are so indistinct and indefinite is not surprising. The work itself is still undefined, and, upon investigation, proves to be somewhat capricious in form. In Boston it is one thing; in Baltimore it is another; while in New York it may be either one or both, or something entirely different from each in aspect and intention. This looseness and dissimilarity in the work is due to the fact that the movement has developed in separate centres without sufficient effort to co-operate and to co-ordinate; to the fact that we have not conjointly mapped out our province and surveyed our territory; to the fact that we have not determined for ourselves exactly what principles should guide us in our progress and should govern us as we enlarge the scope and extend the limits of our service. Hence our immediate object ought to be to formulate a group of principles. Of these two only shall be discussed at the present time.

The first principle is this: The family should be the unit of treatment. This principle is accepted and employed in most departments of philanthropy, but it needs to be announced and emphasized here again, because it is at present outside the range of hospital concern. The nurse and the interne and the attending physician are interested primarily in disease. This they confess in their moments of confidence and candor. What they see and assume to treat is an exciting case of pneumonia or a vicious attack of appendicitis. If the man or the woman dies, they feel a sense of chagrin and defeat less because they lose a patient than because they fail to master a disease. The hospital administrator reaches a larger view. He feels some solicitude for the patient as a person. His daily contact with the patient's relatives and friends, the anxious questions, the appealing eyes and quivering lips, the heartaches and forebodings, the sleepless nights and restless days of worry and dread, all expressing themselves in strained, unnatural voice and nervous gesture—these things in time force him to realize that it is not clinical material, but a man or a woman or a child that is committed to his care, and for whose treatment the board of trustees and the community hold him accountable. The social worker, however, rises higher even than the administrator. He possesses and holds, not a medical and not an institutional, but a social viewpoint. His research and his experience teach him that in all social distress the family is the unit of suffering, and therefore must be the unit of treatment.

This principle is supported by arguments that are clear and vital and convincing. In the first place, sickness is seldom an isolated phenomenon. It is in most cases nothing more than a symptom. It appears as a manifestation of undernourishment and malnutrition; of dark, damp rooms in a basement, or five flights of stairs in a tenement; of heavy housework or domestic irritability; of occupation, low wages and long hours; of indifference, ignorance, neglect, incompetence; of the general discouragement and lassitude into which the weak, the worried, the wretched inevitably drift. Sickness is a sign of morbid social conditions—conditions in which the entire family is imbedded. How is it possible to single out any individual member of this family and to treat such a member successfully? Here is a young girl with rheumatism and heart disease—a typical case in every large dispensary. We attribute her frequent relapses to the damp rooms in which she lives on the ground floor of a rear house. She ought to live in a dry, sunlit, cheerful place; but how can she? Her father's earnings are too irregular and insufficient. We wish to cure the girl, but this we can do only by lifting the whole family out of its unhappy environment and placing them upon a higher social plane. Or take another illustration from the long, pitiful procession: Here is a man with tuberculosis. We trace his trouble to a starved out body; to unsanitary housing; to dusty factories; to overwork and underpayment. How can he alone be removed from this industrial mal-adjustment; this uninhabitable home; these years or centuries of slow starvation? How unwise and futile and inhuman to send this man to a sanitarium and to leave his family to suffer and fester in the city! How absurd and senseless to expect a man to conquer consumption when he is harassed by the fear that his wife and children are uncared for and in danger!

The family must be taken as the unit of treatment for another reason: Sickness is frequently a danger signal. It cautions us against impending distress. This fact we fail to understand or appreciate, otherwise our inaction could be construed as little less than criminal negligence. If a mother is ill in the hospital, this means that the children are neglected at home. Their meals are not properly prepared; their wants are not met. They run loose at all hours; the whole house goes wrong. The father cannot remain at home to care for the children without forfeiting his wages and perhaps his position. The mother's illness may mean also that an infant is in need of service. Make a tour through any hospital and inquire where the babies of the women are. Some babies are at home with elder brothers or sisters, or in the custody of some other incompetent relative. Some are admitted, with the mother, to the wards, because there is no one at home to watch them. But the hospital is no place for a well baby. The baby may contract some disease at any moment. At best it loses strength and weight and vitality in the heavy-laden atmosphere of the institution. If the father falls sick this also should serve as a warning. The sickness robs the family of support—the family being robbed of support is in extreme danger of slipping down among the destitute. This is not an overstatement. In our large cities—in our manufacturing towns—there are hundreds and hundreds of families who are able to earn only the meanest necessities for each day as it passes. They walk constantly upon the verge of dependency; it needs only but some calamity—such as sickness, accident, unemployment—to thrust them over the edge and downward to destitution. It is sound social economy to catch a family as near as possible to the point from which it begins to decline. This point in fully one-third of the cases is a single spell of sickness of the wage earner.

The second principle is this: Social care must be prompt and continuous. The patient should be interviewed and the case investigated immediately upon admission. An application to the hospital is not the commencement of a case—it is the climax. It presupposes a long series of events and a mental struggle. Men and women do not attempt to enter a hospital until home resources are exhausted. Neither do they leave their families without much reluctance and many misgivings. If the patient is told at once that those at home will be protected and aided, it relieves his mind and improves his chances for recovery. Anxiety, we must remember, is a tremendous handicap in sickness. This initial investigation, however, is not sufficient. Care must continue regularly in the wards, not only because the visits of the social worker are cheering and reassuring, but because through regular visits sympathy is awakened, confidence is established, tales are unfolded, material is collected, which lead to a correct understanding, and therefore, a correct treatment, of the case. Furthermore, the patient and the family may need nothing at the date of admission, but at the end of a few weeks the situation may change radically. The disease may prove more stubborn than anticipated; the patient may not be prepared for so long a siege. The savings may be spent. More than once a patient, who has declined all assistance with a smile in the first, second and third week, has called us to the bedside in the fourth week, and has confided to us with much embarrassment and pain the sad fact that the children are now suffering for want of food.

But more important than interviews or investigations or visits to the wards is the need and the kind of after care. After care is a somewhat misunderstood phrase. After care does not mean the disbursement of a few cents for carfare or the distribution of a few pieces of clothing; it does not mean merely letters to employment agencies or cards of reference to relief organizations. It should not end even with a period of two weeks in a convalescent home. This form of hospital service, widely and generously practiced, is little better than the old and obsolescent method unless it is followed up. Otherwise it closes the case at the very moment when it ought to be kept wide open. If a young woman enters the hospital with a crushed hand and the best part of the hand is amputated, and she is maimed for work, how can the case be closed by providing her with a second-hand skirt and waist and a railroad ticket and by sending her to the country? The case is not closed to her. It is not closed to her until she returns home; until all pains disappear; until she is certain that she requires no further treatment; until she is able to share in the normal routine of her life; until she is taught in some school for the crippled how to earn her livelihood. Until this point is reached the case is not closed to her, and should not be closed to us. The patient must be guarded until she learns to adjust herself to the new conditions that incapacity or infirmity impose. No case is socially closed until the patient and the family are socially rehabilitated and re-established.

Now we face the pertinent question: How can these two principles—family unit treatment and social re-establishment—be applied in hospital social service? There are various methods in use in different hospitals. One method has been worked out by the Free Synagogue Division in Bellevue Hospital in New York. The wards of this hospital are grouped into sections; some sections consist of one ward; some consist of two or three wards. Each section is placed under the care of one or more workers, all of whom are volunteers. These volunteers are held rigidly responsible for the patients admitted to their sections. They are required to visit their sections and their patients at least once a week and more often if necessary. Some volunteers go to the hospital as frequently as three times a week. They interview the patients as soon as feasible after admission and make a home investigation at once, if the case demands it. They then arrange to care for the family if such care is needed, and to care for the patient if such care is required. No financial aid is extended except to relieve immediate and urgent distress, until it is ascertained whether or not the case is under the care of some other agency. Every effort is made to avoid duplication and confusion. Each worker consults with the director in every case in collating material, in making a social diagnosis, in planning a course of treatment, and in estimating the results. The guiding thoughts are these: There is something more to a sick man than his sickness. Social care in sickness can often prevent distress and forestall destitution.

This method is not the ideal one. The social service department should not be an extra institutional body that fastens itself upon the hospital, as in the case of the Free Synagogue. Neither should it be an appendage of the Training School for Nurses, as it has become in most other cases. The Social Service Department should be accepted as an inseparable part of the hospital itself. The department is organized to do work that the hospital, as a social institution with a social function, should do; and that it should not indifferently delegate to an alien organization or a pseudo-relief agency loosely attached to the division of nurses. It is the duty of the hospital to complete its own work, or to see that it is completed by outside agencies; and its own work is not completed until the patient is restored to full health and to normal social position. Where should this new department be located? Dr. Goldwater, in his striking essay on "The Unfinished Work of the Hospital," points out the inadequacy of service rendered in the admitting room. The department of social service should properly be in the admission and discharge office. Patients should pass through this department on entering the hospital and upon discharge from the institution. Care would thus be insured to every case. This plan provides for a larger and much better equipped admitting and discharge office than most hospitals possess or desire. But why should this office not be larger? The work that it does is essentially important and far-reaching, and its splendid possibilities ought to be appreciated and exploited.

The staff of the social service department should be composed of workers specially trained for this form of service. This point cannot be urged and emphasized with too great stress. The movement, containing great and golden promise, has thus far failed of its fullest achievement, largely because it has been committed to the care of women who are little more than graduates of schools for nurses. A nurse is not a specially trained hospital social service worker; neither is a medical man or a general hospital administrator. Special training includes hospital experience; includes medical knowledge; includes some idea of nursing, district nursing especially. But to these must be added the social passion which is innate in some men and many women, and the social discipline that comes from special research and experience in different divisions of philanthropy. The question may legitimately be asked: Where are such workers to be found? They cannot be found. They must first be born to the work and then adequately educated. No curriculum has been arranged by which they can be educated. Such a course will be arranged as soon as we realize that we have here a new and special service that demands new and special instruction and expertness. Until we do realize this truth, social service workers should be selected who approximate most closely the ideal we have suggested. The staff must also be large enough to allow the department to cover the ground it appropriates as its own. The individual workers must have time to get acquainted with the patients; they must have time for observation; for the accumulation of evidence for analysis and diagnosis, and for their own refreshment and recreation. The workers must likewise be permitted to keep track of the case in the period of after-care, even though the patient has passed into the hands of another agency. It is a serious mistake to sever patient and worker at the hospital gate. It is unsatisfying and discouraging to the worker and it deprives the patient of an adviser, a counsellor, a friend, at the very stage when need is most insistent.

What relation should this department hold to the existing agencies for relief and support of the sick? There are many who assert that the department ought to do nothing more than refer and distribute cases to the different charity organization societies. If a case of distress is discovered in the ward, drop a postal to the organization and let them do the rest. This is a simple method, but there are some arguments against it. One argument is this: We can easily refer the names and addresses of our patients, but without special effort we can never transmit to anyone else the sympathy, the confidence, the affection that we have won in the silent moment of common suffering at the bedside and that together form the source of our influence and the secret of our success. The weightiest argument, however, is this: Without the fullest co-operation of the hospital social workers the workers of other organizations are not equipped to do this work. They lack the knowledge—the experience—the special training that is essential to successful treatment where sickness is the social cause. The relation here, as elsewhere, must be one of co-operation. The hospital department should assure itself at once whether or not a case is assisted by some other body. It should also avail itself in its work of all societies that can supplement its own efforts. All other societies, on the other hand, ought to surrender to the hospital department all cases in which a sick patient is transferred to the institution. If this were done at the opening of all cases, fewer families would become dependent, and more families would be reconstructed and re-established.

We now arrive at the social implications of this movement. The movement is still young. It is safe, therefore, to predict of it great things. Should it innocently ignore our predictions, it may be accused of no more ingratitude than children are accustomed to bestow upon their parents. The movement is destined to aid somewhat, first of all, in the resocialization of the hospital. All our so-called social institutions are being resocialized—the school, the church, the reformatory, the insurance company, the government. All these institutions that were originally called into being to meet some special social need and that have now drifted aloof, are being forced into renewed contact with society. John Dewey, who has done so much to resocialize education, tells a tale that describes well our present situation: It is the story of a New England miller who advertised his mill for sale. He asked a price so absurdly low that the people became suspicious. Still they could discover nothing wrong with the mill. Finally, one day, a friend went to him and said, "Tell me, what is the trouble with your mill? The building seems to be in good condition and the machinery is apparently in good order." The miller replied: "Yes; the building is in good condition and so is the machinery. There is only one fault. The mill wheel stands just about a foot above the water." This is the trouble with the hospital, the mill wheel stands just about a foot above the water. The hospital was originally created for the care of the sick. In the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it became, with the advance of medicine and surgery and the increase of physicians, an adjunct to the medical school. Today it is in most instances the private domain of a medical board or a body of lay trustees. The splendid opportunities for medical instruction that a hospital affords and offers should not be neglected. But the hospital is primarily a public institution and should serve the public in the largest way, it is a social institution and should fulfill its social functions wisely and completely. It is not enough to act merely as a reception house for the sick. The hospital must become socially interested in sickness. It must become an educational influence in the community for greater health and stricter hygiene. The social service movement in the hospital will in time arouse this deeper interest; will cultivate this wider vision.

Another achievement to which this movement will assist us, and one much to be desired, is a re-statement of sickness as a social problem. No one who has not attempted to study disease from this angle can credit how little we know, how little we may affirm with safety and with accuracy. Let us ask ourselves a few pointed questions: How many times does a given individual go to a hospital in a year or in five years? How many days' treatment, and how much in money does he cost the community? How many dispensaries do patients attend simultaneously? How many patients travel five miles to a dispensary, and how many dispensaries do they pass in reaching the one they select? How many cases of malpractice are treated in our institutions? How many unmarried mothers are admitted to the maternity wards? How many of these are imbeciles or otherwise abnormal? How many cases of dependency, temporary or chronic, are due to sickness? How much does a given tenement block cost the public in hospital care? A series of such questions can be asked and no answer can be given. The material from which the answers could be drawn is not collected; the machinery by which the material could be collected has not been fashioned. The social service worker will learn to write out social histories of patients as physicians now write out the medical histories. With these histories in our hands we shall be able to study sickness and its causes, and we shall also learn something of its social consequences. A new territory will then be opened to us for exploration.

DISCUSSION.

DR. RICHARD C. CABOT, Massachusetts General Hospital.—There is little that I can say that is not a repetition of what Dr. Goldstein has said, yet I want to state clearly that on all the points which he has made I am in absolute agreement with him.

As my part of this afternoon's program I thought it best to "select at random," as he has said, what seems to be the heart and kernel of social service and to see if I can convey my feeling to you.

I think that all vital things in this world—and surely social, service is a vital thing—have a body and a soul.

Now the body of social service work seems to me to consist in supplementing what is done by the physician—in supplementing his medical work in the ways already pointed out: First, by educational work; next, by prevention in the widest sense; and, lastly, by sociological research.

So much in bare outline for what I have called the body of social work in hospitals. Now for its soul.

I shall approach the subject in what may seem a somewhat roundabout fashion. Did you ever land from an ocean steamer and see among the passengers one whose friends have not come to meet him? There he is on the wharf, stranded. If you have had this experience you have seen one of the most pitiful sights in the world. There is nothing more forlorn than to be the one person for whom nobody is on the look-out. Now if you have ever had the privilege, perhaps from the understanding of language, to interpret for that poor waif and help him find his family and his friends, you have known one of the greatest joys that ever came into your life. You go home saying: "This is my red letter day. I have enjoyed many things in life but never anything like this."

Or did you ever chance to find a child lost in the woods, as I once did, and crying on the ferns beneath a tree, and to be able to take him home? If you ever have, you said to yourself: "This is the opportunity of my life."

But such things do not come very often to us. Such touches of nature as make the world so blessedly akin are rare in an average human life. They give us our golden opportunities but they are rare except in hospitals. In hospitals these precious opportunities are common; not the opportunity to right a complicated industrial tangle; but the opportunities for more instant friendliness—as great an opportunity as to give food to a man starving or let in air for a body of entombed miners. The spiritual atmosphere within our hospitals is a pretty rarified one, thin and hard to breathe. Most of us have been in hospitals or in social work so long that we have forgotten how a hospital feels to the average sufferer. The sights, the sounds and the worse possibilities which they imagine behind closed doors they cannot open, the cries they hear are usually not the cries of pain but of delirium under ether, but the new comers do not know that. The doctors' voices which they hear are in fact only quick and imperative, but they sound to them angry and brutal. Then the multitudes of sick and sad people bring an overwhelming sense of the world's misery, new to them, familiar to us. When their own turn comes to be examined an illusion of heartlessness is produced by the doctor's scientific precision and concentration; and then that other illusion of heartlessness which comes from the heaping up of seemingly lifeless details—records, rubber stamps and cards—which are so absolutely necessary in the body of this work but seem so soulless to them. Finally, after they have been examined, comes the shock of being confronted, as they often are, with the horror of an incurable illness, the terrible prospect of an operation, the sudden sharp announcement to a mother that she must leave her child in the hospital, or that she must herself go to the sanitarium or asylum. These are some of the things that make the hospital terrible, and these are some of the opportunities which the hospital gives for simple human friendliness, unequalled chances it seems to me, to slake that thirst which seems to us often unquenchable, to restore the balance. That is what seems to me to be the soul of social service. A little friendly talk, a few explanations of the sights and sounds about them, someone to whom the patient can unburden himself, someone who can stand for the kindly side of the hospital's mission—this does wonders to counteract the impression of a terrible, friendless, soulless machine—which the hospital is apt otherwise to present.

Of course this friendly and sympathetic spirit is useless unless we have back of it the body of social work—the definite methods of helpfulness which can make the doctor's work effective by removing obstacles from the path towards recovery. But our social work is sure to have a body. The danger is that, in our desire to avoid the reproaches of sentimentalism, we may forget the soul of work—human sympathy.

A POSSIBLE SOLUTION OF THE MIDWIFE PROBLEM.

BY CAROLYN CONANT VAN BLARCOM, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, COMMITTEE ON PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS, OF THE NEW YORK ASSOCIATION FOR THE BLIND.

The problem of the midwife is one which is being considered with increasing gravity by those who are interested in the movement for prevention of blindness, for although the carelessness of many physicians is equally reprehensible, it is due in great measure to the ignorance and neglect on the part of midwives that so many babies become blind from what is commonly known as babies' sore eyes (opthalmia neonatorum).

As in any other phase of public betterment work, publicity, education, and legislation are forces which give impulse to the movement as a whole, but the actual preservation of the eyesight of infants rests with those who attend upon the infants themselves at birth and during the early weeks of life.

This is the crux of the situation.

Accepting this, the importance of the midwife's share in preventing blindness is evident when we face the fact that the eyesight of 43,834 infants in New York city alone, during 1905, was in the care of these women, or 42 per cent of the births during that year were attended by midwives, while in 1907, 52,536 births were attended by them. In Buffalo, N. Y., a city of 400,000 inhabitants, nearly one-half of the births during one year were reported by midwives, while in Chicago, in 1907, they attended 86 per cent of all births.

Summarizing from these figures and others, we find that at least 40 per cent of the births in the large cities of our country are attended by these women.

Their fitness to use efficiently a prophylactic against ophthalmia neonatorum and to recognize and appreciate the gravity of early symptoms of this disease is a question worthy of serious consideration.

We learn from the medical profession that blindness from ophthalmia neonatorum would practically never occur if the eyes of every child were properly bathed and treated with a prophylactic skilfully applied immediately after birth—not merely the perfunctory use of drops, but a skilful execution of the advocated treatment—this in addition to prompt and efficient medical care upon appearance of the early symptoms of the disease which is responsible today for quite 7,000 blind persons in this country.

The desired conditions, then, seem to be the universal use of a prophylactic at birth and early recognition and treatment of the disease.

Are the midwives in this country, who attend such a large percentage of births, capable of discharging these functions? The results of midwife investigations recently made in two or three of our large cities leave little room for doubt as to their unfitness to practice under present conditions.

An investigation of these women in Baltimore, made under the auspices of the Mother's Relief Society, in 1908, disclosed the fact that of 150 midwives then practicing in Baltimore, 97 were over 50 years of age, 20 being between the ages of 70 and 90, while of 45 colored midwives, 30 could not read.

In the Maryland State School for the Blind, in Baltimore, 79 per cent of those blind from ophthalmia neonatorum were delivered by midwives. Is it remarkable that all those babies went blind from lack of skillful care when their only attendants were ignorant, untrained women?

During a recent investigation made under the auspices of the Boston School for Social Workers, it was found that of 32 midwives questioned—these scattered throughout five cities in Massachusetts—only about ten had any knowledge of ophthalmia neonatorum, and these used no prophylactic.

Miss Crowell's graphic account of her midwife investigations in New York city, in 1906, has been so frequently quoted in this connection that a recital of its details would be an unnecessary repetition. Suffice it to say that after personally interviewing 500 midwives, Miss Crowell was horrified at the hopelessly dirty, ignorant, incompetent women she encountered. She says that of these 500, less than 10 per cent (50) could be classified as capable, reliable midwives, while "as for their bags and other equipment, from a professional standpoint, by far the greater number would make fit decorations for a chamber of horrors."

These reports sum up the situation so well that we are forced to admit that in the name of humanity one of two things should be done with the midwife—she should be eliminated, or educated and placed under state control.

Elimination is the solution frequently advocated, but in view of the fact that the foreign population in America clings tenaciously to the midwife, and also because of the real need for her among the poorer classes, the process of elimination does not give promise of being simple or easy. This was supposed to have been settled in one or two states in which it was made illegal for midwives to practice. In Massachusetts, for example—one of the states referred to—this has not worked satisfactorily.

Through a curious oversight in codifying the laws, midwives in this state are recognized on the birth certificates although they have no legal status. Consequently they practice unmolested, and are paid for returning birth certificates.

As it has been said, "it is a condition, not a theory which confronts us," and a condition which is sadly in need of being altered.

This has been impressively set forth by Miss Alice Gregory, of the National Training School for Midwives in England, concerning the need in her own country. She says, "if we would—if we only could—recognize that just for once, there was something we might learn from other countries—that it is with some purpose that Holland, and Belgium, and France and Italy give a full two years' training to their midwives; and even poor little Norway, as well as Sweden and Denmark, one year, we should have done more for the health of the next generation than we have ever yet accomplished. Some of these countries give the training free; some of them subsidise the salaries of all midwives working in scattered districts (either by state or parish aid). All of them recognize that this is not a subject for a little private philanthropy, to be given or withheld according to the fancy of the moment, but one of immense national importance, which can only be treated worthily when it is treated nationally."

Because of this condition in England, the "Association for Promoting the Training and Supply of Midwives" was formed for the specified purpose of preventing "the death of women in childbirth, infant mortality, blindness, physical degeneration." The result is that midwives in England are under the supervision and control of the Central Midwives Board, established in 1902 by an act of parliament, the title of which is "An act to secure the better training of midwives and to regulate their practice."

Under the authority of this act, the Midwives Board provides for the admission of midwives to practice, though it does not itself undertake any of the training or instruction required. These are carried out in institutions recognized by the Board as training schools for midwives, or under the authority of a registered medical practitioner recognized by the Board as a teacher of midwifery.

Many of the maternity hospitals in England are desirous of utilizing their cases for the purpose of training midwives, possibly because the fees paid by the pupils contribute materially to the revenue of the hospitals and also because of the high character of their work thus vouched for. But before these schools can undertake to train women to practice midwifery, they must secure the recognition of the Board, by conforming to its requirements.

The Midwives' Act forbids any woman not holding a certificate issued by the Central Midwives' Board to practice as a midwife or to call herself a midwife, or to adopt any similar title under penalty. In order to be examined and licensed by this Board a candidate must present a diploma from a recognized training school, together with a certificate as to her moral character, and so rigidly is the latter enforced that a person convicted of falsifying as to an applicant's training or her character, is guilty of a misdemeanor and liable to imprisonment for twelve months.

Mr. G. W. Wilson, Secretary of the English Midwives Board, in a recent letter writes: "You will see that the key to the situation as regards the relations between the Board and the hospitals is the fact that the State has made the Board the supreme authority in all matters regarding the training and licensing of midwives."

The rules, applying specifically for midwives, which have been adopted and enforced by the Midwives Board, pertain to the:

Person of the midwife;
Her equipment;
Her duties to mother and child;
Her obligations with regard to disinfection;
Securing medical assistance;
Responsibility in returning notifications of birth and death.

These rules are enforced, through the agency of Local Supervising Authorities, which are councils of the counties or county boroughs throughout England and Wales.

The duties of the local supervising authorities are as follows:

(1.) To exercise general supervision over all midwives practicing within their area in accordance with the rules to be laid down under this act.

(2.) To investigate charges of malpractice, negligence or misconduct on the part of any midwife practicing within their area, and, should a prima facie case be established, to report the same to the Central Midwives' Board.

(3.) To suspend any midwife from practice, in accordance with the rules under this Act, if such suspension appears necessary in order to prevent the spread of infection.

(4.) To report at once to the said Board the name of any midwife practicing in their area convicted of an offense.

(5.) During the month of January of each year to supply the Secretary of the Central Midwives' Board with the name and addresses of all midwives who, during the preceding year, have notified their intention to practice within their area, and to keep a current copy of the roll of midwives accessible at all reasonable times for public inspection.

(6.) To report at once to the Central Midwives' Board the death of any midwife or any change in the name or address of any midwife in their area, so that the necessary alteration may be made in the roll.

(7.) To give due notice of the effect of the Act, so far as practicable, to persons at present using the title of midwife.

The English method of educating, examining, registering and controlling midwives is clear and simple and practicable. Those of other European countries, though older and differing somewhat as to details, are in the essentials much like the one obtaining in England.

A modification of this general system would be quite feasible for adoption in this country, since the problem in America today is strongly analogous to the one formerly existing in England, though ours is of greater magnitude, and it resolves itself into the need of supplying: 1. Facilities for the education and training of midwives; 2, examination and licensure by the State; 3, supervision and control by the State. Complete mastery of the situation requires that all three of these provisions exist.

Concerning education, there are already scattered throughout this country schools of midwifery, poorly conducted as a rule, and poorly attended, since there is little or no incentive for a prospective midwife to enter them in quest of knowledge or training. A training school diploma is not necessary in order to enable her to practice; consequently, this feeble attempt to provide educational facilities is almost without value.

If the State Board of Regents (in New York) or Boards of Education (in those States where regents do not exist) were to establish a standard to which all schools for midwifery were required to conform, an important step would be taken toward the adequate training of these women.

Clinical material for teaching purposes might be secured by means of co-operation between such training schools and city, county or other public hospitals approved by the State Board of Regents or Boards of Education.

Or the entire training, both practical and theoretical, might better be given in maternity hospitals, as it is in England.

Such schools, being designed to train women to follow a legitimate calling, would not be in disrepute, and their boards would be serving humanity well if they provided really excellent teachers and thorough courses of practical training. In addition to this initial training, there should be provision for subsequent training of registered midwives, in order that they might return for short courses of instruction every two or three years, in conformity with requirements which should be imposed by the State Board of Education.

In regard to examination and licensure, there are in New York State, for example, five special acts, for three counties and two cities, which require that midwives be examined and licensed before being allowed to practice. In Maryland, a law of similar purport, but covering the entire State, has recently been enacted, but because of the absence of any definite provision for education, these examinations and requirements are in each instance deplorably ineffective. About all that has thus far been required is that the candidate shall be able to read and write, be of good character, and have seen five cases of normal labor. Into the care of women with these meagre qualifications is entrusted children, the preservation of whose eyesight often depends upon the skill and intelligence of the accoucheur! Also the future well-being of the mother and child.

As a rule, one who desires to become a physician must be intelligent and well educated at the outset, spend from two to four years in study, and then pass a State Board examination, before he is legally qualified to assume the responsibility of attending upon the birth of a child; while a nurse, also intelligent and educated, spends two or three years in training before she is considered competent simply to execute the orders of the doctor, and give nursing care to mother and babe during that critical period of two or three weeks immediately after birth.

But in this country, except in a few localities, both of these functions—those of doctor and nurse—may be discharged by any untrained, unlettered woman who chooses to style herself a midwife.

The authority to register and license midwives should also be vested with the State Boards of Education. If those boards required a diploma from a school of midwifery which they had sanctioned before granting a license, those desiring to follow this profession would be obliged to take advantage of the educational opportunities provided.

Midwives should be required to renew their licenses annually and to take the short post-graduate course, above mentioned, every two or three years.

Any one not properly registered and licensed should be prosecuted for performing any of the functions of a midwife habitually or for pay. The importance of enforcing such a law cannot be overestimated, for no amount of education or legislation will meet the needs of the situation unless the laws passed be rigidly enforced.

The State Board of Education should adopt rules and regulations governing the practice of midwifery and should stipulate the details of a midwife's equipment.

The control of the midwives, however, and enforcement of these rules would probably be most satisfactorily carried on by local Health Boards. These local Health Officers should also be vested with power and authority to supervise the midwives themselves, their work, home and equipment, and to revoke licenses for violation of any of the regulations governing them or their practice.

Thus the three needs—education, state registration and state control—would be met, and a definite step would be taken to prevent blindness as well as other calamities. It has been said that " it is the lame and the blind who are paying, the working woman with permanently impaired health, the motherless children."

These suggestions would be unfair if they left the impression that the midwife were solely to blame for blindness from ophthalmia neonatorum, or that she alone needed regulation. Although we look to the medical profession for standards of excellence, there are many members of that profession who give no better care to the eyes of infants than do midwives, and much blindness from ophthalmia neonatorum is due to their carelessness.

For example, of 116 cases of ophthalmia neonatorum treated during 1909 at the Massachusetts Charitable Eye and Ear Infirmary, 114 occurred in the practice of physicians, and only two in those of midwives. Of 27 cases of true ophthalmia neonatorum visited by nurses working under direction of the New York City Department of Health in 1909, 22 were infants delivered by physicians, five by midwives. Of 33 cases of ophthalmia neonatorum inspected by a field worker of the New York School of Philanthropy, working under the direction of the Committee on Prevention of Blindness, 22 were traced to doctors, 11 to midwives. Of these 22 doctors, one only had used a prophylactic against ophthalmia neonatorum, while three of the eleven midwives used the nitrate of silver solution supplied gratuitously by the New York State Department of Health.

Moreover, I recently heard of a case of ophthalmia neonatorum reported by a midwife to the local Health Officer each day for three consecutive days, and when no notice was taken of this report the midwife herself took the child to an eye dispensary for treatment.

This brings up an important point, for naturally the patient does not profit simply by a formal report to the Health Officer. Provision should be made for the prompt and efficient care of infants suffering from ophthalmia neonatorum, and the Health Officer should be empowered and required to take action upon receiving notification that such a case existed in his territory.

The adoption of some such general plan as has here been outlined would simply provide that protection to which the infant citizen is entitled against the assaults of ignorance, indifference and neglect which menace his happiness and well-being for life.

The training, registering and control of midwives would not only raise the status of their profession, but would have a reactionary effect upon those who are equally in the wrong at present—physicians who are careless, and Health Officers who do not discharge their functions.

The compulsory use of a prophylactic against ophthalmia neonatorum would then be robbed of the dangers which attend upon its unskillful application; birth certificates would be returned and filed with some degree of accuracy, and surely, the ultimate result of these conditions would be a marked decrease or possibly utter absence in our midst of those pathetic victims—the needlessly blind from ophthalmia neonatorum.

PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS FROM OPTHALMIA NEONATORUM FROM A SOCIAL WORKER'S POINT OF VIEW

BY MISS LUCY WRIGHT, GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COMMISSION FOR THE BLIND.

The Problem.

The skill of the medical profession has made possible prevention of blindness from ophthalmia neonatorum. It remains for social workers, under their direction to popularize and spread the news. On first thought, it seems as though the heralding of the facts alone would end the tragedy of needless blindness. If we could make people recall the wistful, listening faces and the sensitive groping hands of the young blind, knowing how easily from one-fourth to a half of them could have been spared a life of blindness, you would think this might be enough. But publicity alone will not do the work. And it is of the social worker's part in tackling the problem more closely that I wish to speak this morning.

For some of us social workers, it is a matter of observation, that babies may develop in the ten days following birth, inflamed, puffy, discharging lids, commonly known as sore eyes. Not as many of us know what Dr. Post has just told us that not only can this dangerous, infectious germ-disease be so cared for that blindness may be prevented; and still fewer know that the disease itself, opthalmia neonatorum, the bringer of darkness, can be avoided, even in the face of infection, if drops of the right liquid preventive are put by skillful hands into the baby's eyes at birth.

In the meantime, children are becoming blind from ophthalmia neonatorum throughout the country until we count at the very least 6,500 among the needlessly blind from this disease. And that is not half the story. For two reasons we have thus far underestimated our problem, for in addition to those who live to grow up and are recognized as blind, we must remember the blind babies who have died. The mortality among these infants is very high. In Massachusetts during the past year, the death rate among 116 ophthalmia neonatorum cases known to us was more than twice as great as the percentage of infant mortality in general in the State. As Miss Brannick has said in her recent study of these cases, "Dead, blind babies tell no tales and so make no impression on the public; but in closing the case against infant ophthalmia, these dead babies, as well as their perhaps less fortunate fellow-victims who live to grope their way through life, should appear as evidence."

The second group who should be remembered are those who have lost one eye, or have eyes scarred and disfigured as a result of this disease. It is easy to forget them because partial blindness is not so readily recognized by the community as total blindness. If proportions as found at the Massachusetts Charitable Eye and Ear Infirmary this year are any indication, there are more than twice as many lose one eye as lose both, and there are as many with scarred and disfigured eyes as there are of the totally blind.

The Social Worker's Part.

Local conditions vary, but I venture to say that social workers in any part of the country, tracing back a case of blindness resulting from ophthalmia neonatorum, will find perhaps all of the following contributing factors present:

At bottom either

1. Ignorance of the virulent nature of gonorrheal or other infection which may be present in the household or institution and, through carelessness on the part of the person caring for the baby, become the cause of inflammation in a child's eyes.
2. Varying standards of skillful physicians in regard to use of prophylactic, and ignorance of most midwives and some physicians in regard to the facts.
3. Variations and limitations of our health boards in the enforcement of our health laws.
4. Lack of use of hospital facilities, even where they exist, for care of disease when it has been allowed to develop.

Study the Individual Case.

The first word to social workers in any community should be, learn the local conditions of your state or city by getting acquainted with the individual case. Know how the babies of your community are cared for at birth. You are likely by this means to come upon some very surprising facts of interest not only in this matter of prevention of blindness from ophthalmia neonatorum, but bearing upon the whole question of infant mortality and baby hygiene.

A few weeks ago a mother came into the office of the Massachusetts Commission for the Blind with a bundle in her arms from which she unrolled a tiny three months old baby, totally blind. "It is a pitiful baby I have to show you," she herself said, and it was. Because she was sent from the Eye and Ear Infirmary, we had the official diagnosis ophthalmia neonatorum and the word "too late." It was for us to find out where the slip-up occurred. I continue with this illustration because I believe that in taking up this subject in any community, it is only by applying the stern test of the individual case, and a study of many cases, really of every case having bad results, that we can arrive at the real difficulties, and learn in what proportion parents, those under whose auspices babies are born, health officers, lack of hospital facilities, are contributing to blindness. If we wait until these children turn up in schools for the blind later, we are likely to lose more than half the story. In this and other problems, we must know under what conditions the babies of our community are born.

To return to the "pitiful baby" brought in by this "New England woman," to quote her own phrases, we learned that the child's father, Canadian French, was said to be of bad moral character. The family were not dependent. They employed a physician and domestic nurse when this child and when older children were born. The doctor, although he must have known the danger of infection from the mother's condition and the father's reputation, did not use the preventive drops or warn the mother. When the baby's eyes became inflamed, he did, knowing the law, report the case to the local board of health, and apparently prescribed the right medicine. He told the mother he would save the sight if he could; he did not tell her the nature of the trouble nor did he provide for the needed expert nursing. Later, too late, a good neighbor guided the mother with her three months old baby to the Eye and Ear Infirmary, who in turn sent her to us, the Commission for the Blind. It happens that the baby is dead now, but the little creature lived long enough to tell her story to an interested State Board of Health, an interested Hospital with a Social Service Department and an interested Commission for the Blind, who know that a bad parent, a careless physician and an inactive local board of health were all involved in the loss of this baby's sight.

We had, you see, a reporting law which was technically complied with, adequate hospital facilities and a place to direct blind babies to, but we had not yet secured an effective system for stopping babies from becoming blind.

Research.

Under these circumstances, in Massachusetts we have found continued research the most necessary and helpful factor in trying to work out a system of prevention which will stand the test of the individual case. I do not mean by this that we have undertaken mere inquiry or investigation, but research in connection with constructive work at the Eye Hospital, in field work of the Commission for the Blind, and studies of local conditions bearing on the subject of ophthalmia neonatorum, undertaken by the Research Department of the School for Social Workers. The fact that at least 50 per cent of the children in the Nursery for Blind Babies, more than 25 per cent in the Perkins Institution for the Blind and in all between 300 and 400 citizens were blind as a result of this disease, was enough to start a movement for prevention of blindness, but not to guide it.

Constructive Research.

Workers for the blind, who awoke to the subject of needless blindness in 1902, early recognized that our greatest existing factor for prevention of blindness, our most important store-house for research and our best centre for supplementary social work might be found in the Massachusetts Charitable Eye and Ear Infirmary. Here, since 1898, in a building devoted to the care of contagious eye diseases, wards have been set apart for the care of cases of ophthalmia neonatorum, and here the first research was undertaken in 1905, by the Massachusetts Association for the Blind, in co-operation with the Eye and Ear Infirmary. A physician who is also a social worker made an inquiry into the prevalence, distribution and results of treatment of ophthalmia neonatorum, following up 92 cases which had been treated at the Infirmary during thirteen months. The report on this study (published in the "Outlook for the Blind," October, 1907) emphasized the need of slow and patient teaching of all classes of people in regard to this disease, its cause, the possibility of avoiding it and the resources for curing it if acquired. It called attention to the advantages offered for such teaching in connection with hospitals and dispensaries where applications for medical aid are constant. It should be noted that this research was made to include not only inquiry but constructive work. For example, several lying-in hospitals adopted the custom of sending cases of infant ophthalmia which might develop to the special wards of the Infirmary. Individual cases needing medical attention were brought back to the hospital and the blind were referred to the Commission for the Blind. Connection with whatever resources correspond to this in other communities, probably less centralized clinics and hospitals, is surely the most important and effective key to reaching individual cases.

Research and Educational Work Through Hospital Social Service.

The second step in research, the natural outgrowth of the first investigation was again taken in association with constructive work, when in October, 1907, through the co-operation of the superintendent of the hospital and a private committee, social service work was inaugurated at the Massachusetts Charitable Eye and Ear Infirmary, with Miss Catherine Brannick as its head worker. Last year the committee submitted among other reports her study of hospital records on the subject of ophthalmia neonatorum from 1902-1907, as well as a study of 46 cases of ophthalmia neonatorum, taken at random from the records of the hospital for 1907-1908. The second report, 1908-1909, consists of a social service study of 116 cases of ophthalmia neonatorum. This study tells among other things, the stories of the following:

Six children, coming to the hospital so late that they are totally blind as a result of this disease.

Seventeen children who have lost one eye each as a result of delayed treatment of this disease.

Six children with eyes disfigured and sight impaired by scars from this disease.

In nearly every case the homes of the 116 babies were visited, and active educational and social service work done in connection with a large proportion of cases. This second investigation, among many other results, emphasizes the responsibility of physicians rather than midwives for the cases resulting in blindness in this state. As the social worker has summarized the case: "The general practitioner has yet much to learn of the disease, and the parents know nothing of it. Upon these two groups—the practitioners and the parents—the baby must depend for the gift of sight, and the campaign of education must be carried on to include the two." You will see that without these studies we should have prepared our literature and started our campaign at the less important points of attack, continuing to hammer away at the midwives, for example, and neglecting our friends the physicians.

Research Through Field Work.

Another form of helpful research on this subject is the field work which has been a part of the larger investigation of the Causes of Eye Disablement, now in progress under the Research Department of the Boston School for Social Workers (aided by a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation). The department has very kindly allowed the Commission for the Blind to make use of the results of that part of their work which has been analyzed and applies to ophthalmia neonatorum. I will summarize briefly. A fuller report of this and other steps in the Massachusetts campaign, as well as the work for prevention of blindness in other states, is being distributed at this conference through the Committee on Prevention of Blindness of the Russell Sage Foundation. So I will say only that in ten cities of the State, the work has included investigations by three regular and five part-time workers in ten cities of the state. It has included a canvass through Boards of Health, obstetricians and midwives, hospitals (both public and private), district nurses and oculists to discover facts relating to ophthalmia neonatorum. In general, it may be said that this investigation has brought out so clearly the conditions to be faced in small cities and the need of continuous field work in this direction, that the Association and Commission for the Blind have co-operated to engage one of the fellows employed in the research during the year past as their agent, to carry forward constructive field work.

The nature of the other results of this extensive but necessarily incomplete canvass, which have thus far been made use of, relate to the use of prophylactic measures; the need of testing of the reporting law; and the practice of midwives as found in these cities and show very briefly:

I. Use of Prophylactic by Physicians. Few physicians seen in this investigation were found to use prophylactic measures regularly.

As a result of interviewing 95 physicians, selected largely because of a wide obstetrical practice, in five cities of the commonwealth, it has been found that in their combined practice, involving 5,949 births, which are 48 per cent of the total births in all these cities; 17 per cent of the babies were protected by the routine use of prophylactic;

41 per cent of the babies were in the care of physicians who might or might not use a prophylactic, according to their judgment; and 42 per cent are in the care of physicians who never make use of prophylactic measures. This brings out the lack of uniformity in the practice of physicians, and behind this, without doubt, the lack of agreement on the part of physicians as to routine use of prophylactic, a condition which contributes bad results in the face of knowledge to avoid them.

II. Testing the Reporting Law. This investigation disclosed a great discrepancy between the number of cases of ophthalmia neonatorum found by the investigators, and the number of cases which had been reported to the local boards of health for the same period. A comparison of the cases found by these workers in their necessarily partial canvass, with the number of cases reported to local boards of health in accordance with the law, follows:

Total Number of Births Recorded 1909		Number Ophthalmia Neonatorum Cases Reported to Local Boards of Health	Ophthalmia Neonatorum Cases Found by School Investigators
City A	4773	0	9
" B	4095	8	20
" C	518	0	3
" D	2802	4	24
" E	2221	10	26
" F	1582	4	11
" G	2430	7	15
Total	18421	33	108

There is, of course, no means of knowing how many more cases may exist, but these figures are sufficient to show that unless our reporting laws are vigorously enforced, they are a small factor for prevention of blindness.

III. The Practice of Midwives.

Massachusetts has a midwife problem which the studies at the hospitals have not heretofore brought out. As the Secretary of our Board of Health has stated, in Massachusetts "the midwife has no legal status. She practices a branch of medicine without a license, yet, curiously enough, through an oversight in codifying the laws, she is officially recognized on the birth certificate in use in this commonwealth." The investigations of the School for Social Workers bring out the following interesting facts:

Number of births recorded by midwives in five cities during 1909.

Total Number of Births Recorded	Births Reported by Midwives	Per Cent Reported by Midwives
City A 4095	166	4%
" B 2617	242	9%
" C 518	58	11%
" D 2802	748	27%
" E 4763	869	18%

This information is sufficient to call for the regulation of midwife practice. In fairness to midwives, however, it should be added that neither this nor earlier investigations have given evidence that midwives are more to blame than physicians for blindness as a result of ophthalmia neonatorum.

I have, thus far, spoken of research of this type both because it is fundamental to local work and also because it seems to be peculiarly the social worker's share in this movement.

There remain other difficult questions of concern to the social workers, especially that of the relation of sex-disease to this cause of blindness. There are social workers who believe that publicity on this one point would do more than any other one thing to stir and reform people and so prevent blindness, namely to make it known that a very large proportion of ophthalmia neonatorum is the result of gonorrheal infection from the parents. I believe that we should face the problem of gonorrhea in the exact proportion in which it is present but that we are not warranted in basing a campaign for prevention of blindness on this ground alone for the following reasons: The fact, as I understand it, is that in a very large proportion of cases resulting in blindness, the infection, whether due to fault or accident, is gonorrheal. But this is not the whole story,—inflammation of the eyes of the new-born also occurs from other infections, and the wise law for requiring the reporting of such inflammations does not call for a diagnosis of ophthalmia neonatorum. It calls for the reporting of any inflammation, and is our only safety in securing proper treatment of all inflammations whether due to gonorrheal infection or not, until we have arrived at the universal practice of prophylaxis in every single case, whether or not the danger of infection is known to be present. Moreover, in this or any other cause, neither publicity alone, nor the exploiting of terrible facts alone, will accomplish the desired results. Slow, patient teaching of the masses of the people in every possible way must be our means and here are innumerable practical things to be done. It is for us to join in asking of our school authorities and our churches that, at the right time and in the right way, our young people are taught the facts of biology and the need and power of self-control. It is for us to ask that physicians in their clinics, use the educational opportunity given them with young men. It is for educational institutions where medical students are trained, where health officers take special courses, to see that their students are suitably informed. In short, at every point where we are preparing our young men and women to be good parents, students to be good health officers, medical students to be good physicians, this should be one of the dangers made known. Workers for the blind have every reason to fall in line and tell their share of the truth in a general campaign against sex disease, but at the same time we must, because of the ignorance of masses of people, rich and poor, first hold those entrusted with the protection of the health of the people up to the highest standards of responsibility and efficiency, and at the same time educate our people.

Presently, along with workers in other fields, we shall recognize that it is not enough that skillful doctors and nurses can save sight in the face of disease. We shall recognize the right of little children not only to start out in life without a handicap but to ask that they shall not even be exposed on the threshold, to the danger of being made needlessly blind for life.

THE PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS

BY M. H. POST, M. D., ST. LOUIS.

This is an age in which great movements are going forward for the betterment of the community. The Individual is no longer satisfied with striving for the improvement of his own condition only, but endeavors to improve the condition of those about him.

There are at least two motives which bring about this condition, first, a pure altruism, and second, a feeling that all mankind are inter-dependent, and that a calamity befalling one affects all of us more or less. This was illustrated by the conduct of our country in its last war. It is illustrated by the "Social Settlement," the fight against tuberculosis, and the existence of this society. In this movement medical questions are taking a very prominent position, and I have been requested to discuss one of them before you. Education is the great demand of the hour, and undoubtedly education will go far to improve bad conditions. In education on medical subjects we must bear in mind that "A little learning is a dangerous thing," and bearing this in mind, you have asked me to speak very plainly.

In the first place it is necessary to understand exactly what Ophthalmia Neonatorum is. Its exact meaning is inflammation of the eyes of the new born. It is not, however, applied to those inflammations of the eye-lids of young babies where there is a little redness of the lids with scant secretion of matter, but to those cases where there is considerable swelling and redness of the lids, and a profuse discharge of pus, beginning a few days after the birth of the child.

In our own country as far as statistics have been collected it causes about one-fourth of all blindness. Our last census informs us that there are a little over 64,000 blind people in the United States, that is, there are about 16,000 blind from this cause in this country. Think what an army that is. These figures do not vary much from those of the census of 1890. These are blind from birth; it is blindness for a lifetime. The condition appeals to our sympathy. Think of it as you enjoy the beauty about you, the glory of the sun and stars, the beauty of the landscape. "The pity of it."

Consider it on a lower plane. These lives are largely dependent and instead of contributing to the wealth of the community they are, with few exceptions, a drain on its resources. But there is a brighter side to the picture. It is possible to reduce this ratio immensely.

We wish to take an active part in diminishing the number of recruits for this vast army, so that each year its enrollment may grow less. We can accomplish this by educating the people so that they will demand proper care of the child's eyes at once if the disease develops.

A method of caring for children's eyes at the time of birth was introduced in Leipzig in 1880 which reduced the percentage of this disease to the number of births from a little over nine per cent. to 0.2 per cent. Furthermore, by modern methods of treatment where the disease has occurred, a very large percentage of such cases can be cured.

That you may thoroughly understand the situation; that you may have that thorough knowledge which is not "a dangerous thing;" it seems to be best that I should speak plainly as I would to a medical audience. The disease is caused by a germ,developed in the vaginal canal of the mother, being introduced into the eyes, or more correctly speaking into the conjunctival sacs of the child. This germ is generally supposed to be the gonococcus, and its presence is usually considered proof positive of immorality on the part of one of the parents. The statement that their child has Ophthalmia Neonatorum to parents having this idea, might start suspicions which would break up the happiness of a home. The facts are that statistics go to prove that the accusing presence of the gonococcus is found in about sixty-three per cent. of Ophthalmia Neonatorum cases, the other thirty-seven per cent. being due to the innocent pneumococcus, staphylococcus, etc. Undoubtedly Ophthalmia Neonatorum caused by the gonococcus is more difficult to cure than when caused by one of the other germs.

The first prophylactic measure that we would suggest is that our boys and girls be educated that they must lead moral, clean lives from their youth up. That women should demand of their husbands not only that they are, but that they always have been moral men, and that men should demand the same thing of those whom they would make the mothers of their children. This may seem Utopian; but it is the ideal.

The second measure relates to the obstetrician. He should make microscopic examinations of the vaginal secretions of the mother, where that is possible, before the birth of the child, and if germs are found, likely to produce Ophthalmia Neonatorum, or the appearances are suspicious, he should use antiseptic douches which will render the vaginal canal aseptic. As soon as the child is born he should carefully clean the face, hands and eyes of the child, and having done this drop into the conjunctival sacs some of the various antiseptic solutions. Probably the best plan is to follow the method introduced to the profession by Crede in 1882, which consists of putting a drop of a two per cent. solution of Silver Nitrate on the center of each cornea, and allowing it to diffuse itself through the conjunctival sacs.

So much for the preventive measures. The medical profession are making strenuous efforts to have these precautions taken, where they may seem necessary. The modern accouchement is a model of asepticism, and our modern obstetricians take every precaution that neither mother nor child shall suffer from any lack of surgical cleanliness. The use of strong antiseptics, such as a two per cent. solution of Silver Nitrate in the eyes causes considerable irritation, and if the obstetrician, from his knowledge of the character of the parents, and the physical condition of the mother, can exclude the presence of the gonococcus, mild antiseptic measures may be substituted.

The next point is to insure that no chances shall be taken where Opthalmia Neonatorum has made its appearance. The large majority of such cases, when taken early, can be cured. The fatal results, so far as sight is concerned, are generally the result of carelessness; dependence upon dropping boracic acid solution, or the more favorite remedy, with many people, the mother's breast milk, into the eyes of the child, the latter is nasty to say the least.

All regularly educated physicians are supposed to know how to take care of these cases. They are given instruction in Opthalmology in the medical college though when specialists can be reached the general practitioner turns such cases over to him. The Ophthalmic surgeons have given, and are giving an immense amount of time and study to the best methods of curing this disease; they fully realize its danger.

Here legislation can come to our assistance, and it has been called upon. Missouri was among the earliest to take up the subject, and fifteen years ago passed a law for the prevention of blindness from this cause; the object of the legislation being to require that all such cases be reported at once to those who are competent to take care of them, to Health Officers or where there are none to regularly qualified physicians.

The agitation for legislation began about seventeen years ago; a few physicians, especially a few oculists, taking an active part in it, till now it is sweeping over the country, and the popular press are printing articles about it which are eagerly read.

The following states have laws upon the subject, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas and Wisconsin. Other states having no law, through their Boards of Health are taking active and efficient measures against the disease, as Maine and Minnesota, which require these cases to be reported to a Health Officer, New York and Louisiana which furnish, without any charge, prophylactic preparations to physicians upon application, Kentucky distributing an excellent circular on the subject to physicians, midwives and the public, Oregon, which makes it one of the reportable diseases, and the territory of Arizona which prints, on the back of every birth certificate, warnings in regard to the disease, and a description of methods to prevent it. Many of the other states are trying to secure legislation, and the profession all over the country is becoming thoroughly awake to the necessity of making every effort to prevent blindness from this cause.

The prevention of blindness from Opthalmia Neonatorum must be accomplished by education; legislation is ultimately a means to education.

I can probably best close my paper by reading to you the law of this state, as it now stands, and certain suggestions made by the Committee on Opthalmia Neonatorum of the Missouri State Medical Association at the meeting of that Association held the 3rd of this month at Hannibal, Mo.

The law is as follows:

"Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, as follows:

"Section 1. Should one or both lids of either eye or of both eyes of an infant become red or swollen, or should there be any discharge from either eye or from both eyes, at any time within three weeks after birth, it shall be the duty of the midwife, nurse, or other person having charge of said infant, at once, unless for good cause shown, to report the condition of said eyes to a legally qualified practitioner of medicine.

"Section 2. Every health officer shall furnish a copy of this Act to each and every one who is known to him to act as midwife or nurse, in the city or town for which such health officer is appointed, and the Secretary of State shall cause a sufficient number of copies of this Act to be printed, and shall supply the same to such health officers on application.

Section 3. Any failure to comply with the provisions of this Act shall be a misdemeanor, and shall be punishable by a fine of not less than ten nor more than one hundred dollars, or by imprisonment not to exceed six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

"Section 4. All Acts and parts of Acts inconsistent with this Act are hereby repealed."

Passed and signed by Governor Stone in April 1895.

The recommendations of the committee are as follows:

"That the report of cases of Ophthalmia Neonatorum be made to the Registrar, the Health Officer, or a regular qualified physician.

That the Registrar or Health Officer be required to treat cases of Ophthalmia Neonatorum, if other competent service had not been secured, or if he could not secure it.

That the Missouri State Board of Health supply to the physicians of the state upon application, one fluid drachm dark colored ampules filled with a one per cent. solution of Silver Nitrate, also a suitable dropper, to be used in their confinement cases as the conditions may indicate.

That each birth certificate state whether or not precautions against Ophthalmia Neonatorum had been taken.

That on the back of each birth certificate, the following or something similar be printed:

Ophthalmia Neonatorum causes about one-fourth of all blindness, and is usually caused by infection of the child's eyes by the vaginal secretions of the mother.

To prevent it, cleanse the eye-lids, face and hands of the child thoroughly, and drop into its eyes two or three drops of a one per cent., (or five grains to the ounce) solution of Silver Nitrate, as soon as possible after the birth of the child. If there is special reason to suspect gonorrhoeal infection, an hour later wash out the eyes with a five grain to the ounce Boracic Acid solution and repeat the Silver Nitrate treatment.

There is special legislation on this subject providing a penalty for negligence."

CO-OPERATION IN PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS

BY DR. F. PARK LEWIS, BUFFALO N. Y.

The keynote of the work which we have endeavored to inaugurate under the authority of the American Medical Association is prevention, and the resultant harmony which we have attempted to obtain is co-operation. For many years the most progressive physicians have attempted to modify conditions so that disease might be lessened, but as the doctor is ordinarily made aware of the presence of disease after it has manifested itself, obviously he can be helpful in preventing its development as an adviser only. The real work must be done by the social visitor, by the health authorities, by the teachers and others who come closely in touch with the people at such times as help is still possible.

The dominant thought of today, as well of energy as of material resources, is conservation. We are learning, seemingly, for the first time that the real wealth of the nation is in its citizens, present and prospective. To save a human life, as is done in preventing tuberculosis, is to add a definite if indeterminate increase to the wealth of the nation. To conserve human sight is to save that which makes the man or woman a productive and valuable asset to the commonwealth, to lose which is usually equivalent to a negative prefix, because it means dependence.

It is not necessary to speak of the humanitarian aspect of stopping preventable blindness. The horror of living in perpetual night needs no emphasis. When it is proved that at least one-quarter of all existing blindness ought never to have occurred and that as large a proportion is inevitable in the future unless steps are taken to prevent it, the duty and the responsibility that rests upon each one of us to take such steps as may aid in the accomplishment of this end becomes very clear.

To affect any permanently beneficial results in this work, the co-operation of several classes of our citizens is imperative. The physicians, through an organized movement now perfected in each state, will advise, will indicate lines of profitable inquiry, will outline the protective measures that should be taken. They very soon, unaided, reach the limits of their possibilities and scientific philanthropy is called on for help. The social settlement workers, the agents of organized charity, those engaged in social service in connection with dispensaries and hospitals, girls' friendly societies and others of that class, can render assistance of inestimable value.

There is required the official action of those in authority in connection with the public health. A committee on the prevention of blindness will probably be appointed this week at the meeting of the conference of state and provincial health officers at Washington. The basic educational work must be carried on through our public schools and this phase of the subject will be presented at the meeting of the National Educational Association, at which it is hoped that a committee prepared to co-operate with those other organizations will then be appointed. It is earnestly urged that a committee be appointed at this Conference of Charities and Correction to work in co-operation with one from the American Medical Association, the American Public Health Association, the Conference of State and Provincial Health Officers and from the National Educational Association for team work in conserving and preventing blindness.

By such a combined committee working in conjunction with the committee on Prevention of Blindness of the New York Association for the Blind, under the authority of the Russell Sage Foundation, which has already provided for the financial direction of such a campaign, systematic and efficient work could be definitely planned and carried into effect in each state. Through these representative committees, the ultimate unit in each of these bodies could be reached and made helpful. There would be no waste effort and effective measures could be determined upon, whereby sight might be conserved where it is now threatened and blindness prevented where it seemed inevitable, otherwise.

DISCUSSION.

SAMUEL L. ELIOT, New York.—It is most fortunate that bulletin No. 1 of the Prevention of Blindness Committee of the Russell Sage Foundation has arrived at last, and is at the disposal of the members of the Conference. Its writers and compilers have striven hard to have it ready for the Conference. It contains a complete digest of all that has been done and is being done at present in those States where especial organization of the work has taken place, as well as in the country at large.

During this Conference we have heard from representatives of the Prevention of Blindness in New York, Massachusetts and Ohio—for Mr. H. H. Shirer spoke of the work in the latter State, at the meeting of the section on State Supervision and Administration. Dr. Post has this morning touched upon the work of the medical profession in prevention of blindness throughout the United States as well as in Missouri. It remains that something be said about the aspect of the work which the Committee on Prevention of Blindness of the Sage Foundation has set its hand to. Bulletin No. 1 gives the details relating to the manner in which this work came to be undertaken. It may be worth while, however, to suggest the three main factors in the situation which led immediately to the appointment of a national secretary. In the first place, the correspondence from the country at large grew upon the hands of Dr. F. Park Lewis, chairman of the National Committee on Ophthalmia Neonatorum of the A. M. A., to the point where he became convinced that the work might well occupy the entire time of one person, and in the same way, the national correspondence of the New York and Massachusetts offices increased very rapidly. In the second place the co-operative organization of medical and social workers in both New York and Massachusetts seemed to indicate very strongly that the work so ably inaugurated by the medical association through its committees on Ophthalmia Neonatorum in every State of the Union, might be supplemented and reinforced by placing a national secretary in the field who could do everything possible towards synthesizing the medical and social forces upon the issue of prevention of blindness throughout the States. Finally a silent though forceful factor leading to the inauguration of a national campaign, lay in the example afforded by the tuberculosis campaign. Doubtless the essentially fine statesmanship at the basis of that propaganda will apply to many another subject—and prevention of blindness is not the least of these.

As to the methods which the national campaign will adopt, it is only necessary to note two very general aspects, which are as follows:

Existing agencies, whether schools for the blind, boards of health, associations or commissions for the blind in any given State, if they are sufficiently sound, non-political and active, will be heartily congratulated and encouraged in their work, and the resources of the central office at 105 East 22nd Street, New York City, will be at their disposal.

But the co-operative independent committees composed of medical men and social workers in Massachusetts and New York offer excellent precedents in regard to the manner of organization, and strongly suggest that the work in most States will be organized on fresh lines, rather than attached to existing institutions and agencies. It is felt in general that the work will thus have a certain freedom, and initiative which it would otherwise be impossible for it to attain.

The Russel Sage Foundation will therefore on the whole favor this form of organization, which, when completed, it will leave with full responsibility, merely standing ready to help in every possible way with the resources of the central office.

Occupational Standards

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

BY PAUL U. KELLOGG, ASSOCIATE EDITOR OF THE SURVEY, CHAIRMAN

The story is told of one of the old New England divines—Jonathan Edwards, I think—that he wrote his sermons horseback; there his best thoughts came to him; and having no means for jotting them down in the saddle, he would pin bits of paper to his riding coat, for every thought a slip. Then on his return he would seat himself at his desk, and as he unpinned one slip after another, the thoughts they stood for would come to mind and he would add them to his manuscript. In that way the tags which dappled the old horseman were in truth a formidable sermon, none the less instinct with the fiery convictions and judgment of the New England preacher, because those who passed him on the highroad could not read them, or even guess their meaning. We who are members of the National Conference of Charities and Correction can find a special application for this story if we will. The people who come to the charities, the reformatories, the hospitals, the settlements of America, bear marks upon them, clues as to the causes which bring them there, which, if we have patience and vision, we may read, as the old New England divine read his bits of paper. Not the least of our responsibilities is to gather clues, to see if there is meaning in them, a preachment for the whole world which escapes the every day citizen and which must remain fragmentary texts unless we jointly co-ordinate them into a gospel of understanding and action.

Much of this mute human testimony, whether it comes to us in the form of premature widowhood, or broken health, or inefficiency, or juvenile crime; whether we find it in a painter's poisoned blood, in a telephone girl's frazzled nerve cells, in the empty sleeve of a brakeman, or in the underfed child of an underpaid man, has the stamp of the workshop about it. It was not the thought of the National Conference in creating this new Committee on Occupational Standards, a year ago, to ascribe to industrial causes the whole gamut of miseries that affect the race. The nursery recipe of what goes to make little girls and little boys—sugar and spice, and lizards and snails, and puppy dogs' tails, if you will remember—is probably no more varied than the elements which enter into the dependency and delinquency of their elders, or which depress or thwart the fair-living of a generation or a people. Heredity, alcoholism, home environment, ignorance and many other forces, or secondary forces, no less than work conditions, enter in. But I take it that the appointment of this committee was a recognition on the part of this Conference of the increasing importance of industrial factors in modern social life, not only as influential in themselves but as accentuating other influences and sometimes wholly dominating or perverting them. This is not because industry is antagonistic to human nature; but because men and women are closely bound up in their work and dependent upon it for their every day existence. If we deliberately set these forces off by themselves, as we see their effects upon individual and family, community and state, we can act more intelligently with respect to them in our professional work; we can from this vantage ground make a distinctive contribution toward the common understanding and solution of the economic issues which grip the American people today as never before in their history.

The subject matter before the Committee on Occupational Standards is thus not specialized; it bears upon the work taken up under every other committee of the Conference; its most important bearing of all is upon the joint relation of that work to public opinion. In line with the thought expressed by leaders of the Conference, the Committee proceeded in mapping out its program in the belief that both charity and correction, in their preventive aspects, involve the consideration of certain minimum requirements of well-being. These requirements may be defined in terms of the working life more clearly than has yet been done. Miss Addams in her address as President of the Conference, has emphasized how many reforms of government and social welfare have been carried through because those people who have had to care for the wounded in our social order have insisted on prevention. Yet, if we regard the whole field we shall see that only a beginning has as yet been made, because there has been no adequate co-ordination of their testimony. This Conference more than any other body affords a medium for such a pooling of experience. Here are represented those who must care for the morally, physically and economically sick or disabled; here, also, the logical outcome of those who must care, are represented the organizations which are promoting special reforms to reach these ends. The National Child Labor Committee forwards certain standards of education, physique, age, etc., which it wants enacted in every American State as a measure of protection for the future citizenship of the country. The National Consumers' League and the Woman's Trade Union League stand for certain hours, wages and health conditions for the women who work, not only for the sake of those women, but for the sake of the unborn children of those women. The American Association for Labor Legislation is promoting the great campaigns for the elimination of work accidents and trade diseases. The National Tuberculosis Association pronounces against any industrial conditions which tend to cause or to spread the white plague. This Conference offers the best common platform for these various activities that are thus concerned with the assertion of occupational standards. Further, here also are represented schools and foundations committed to the scientific study of the causes which affect living conditions. While as a National Conference, this body can put forward no platform, the consecutive and co-ordinated discussion of these subjects before its annual sessions cannot fail more or less to crystallize in men's minds what may be called an industrial program of minimums—standards which various organizations can here urge, defend and gain belief for, and which can here be brought to the pragmatic judgment of those who deal with actual cases;—a program definite enough so that a public legislator, or a business manager, who disregards these standards may know that he offends as definitely as the man who disobeys generally accepted rules of health or violates the ordinary canons of decency.

The call for such a crystallization of judgment and experience is urgent. It is not primarily an employer's function to think out and prevent social waste in industry. His first function is to produce goods. Have the members of this Conference whose duty it is to care for such waste, any suggestions to give employers if they are willing to carry them out? This is our first call. Moreover, the church is arousing itself to a new social evangelism, but needs instruction and information so as to make the quickened social conscience of the time do more than brood and criticise. Thus, the Commission on Social Service of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, representing altogether hundreds of thousands of members, has declared unequivocally against the twelve hour day and the seven day week, and for a living family wage. This is our second great call for collective wisdom from those who know conditions and cases first-hand. Again not only are we under obligations to let managers of industrial operations know the human consequences of their policies; and not only are we under obligations to share our knowledge with the older social institutions or the newer leaders who are crying for light as to the way out; but we are faced with a demand from courts and legislatures for economic and human facts on which to base statutes and decisions in harmony with present conditions. Or the call may be to present a bristling array of realities against the parrot like re-assertion of great truths in the terms of an out-of-date industrial epoch. Our laws of compensation for industrial accidents, for instance, hark back to the musings of an English judge as to whether the master of the house could be held liable if the chambermaid put damp sheets on the hostler's bed and the hostler got the sniffles. If our laws of negligence date to before the years of railway systems and dynamos; if our ideas of health regulation have made no concessions to the germ theory of disease; if our statutes as to hours of work are governed altogether by what the lawyer says as to freedom of contract and not at all by what the scientist says as to fatigue; then we are facing emergent problems in industry and statesmanship. It took centuries to work out just laws of navigation, of fisheries and riparian rights; to name but three phases of man's industrial relations toward one great natural agent—water; the responsibility of our generation is to work out the rules of the game with respect to the newer but equally formidable forces and agents in our modern industrial life.

At such a juncture, a grave responsibility as "witnesses" and "next friends," rests upon those to whom the consequences for good or ill in the industrial order are ponderable and embodied in flesh and blood. It is a responsibility as yet unmet. In our readiness to accept Miss Addams' tribute to the contributions which humanitarian activities have made to nobler and juster government, let us be square enough with ourselves to acknowledge that, with respect to economic causes, charitable and correctional agencies are not yet awake to their stewardship. Important gains here and there have been made, but, in the mass, we are dumb and shortsighted. Those of us who have to deal with some of the broken and bruised waste which is dropped beside the machinery of industry, know more or less dimly, that we are close to a great human problem—not only in the wrecks of the trades, but in less spectacular consequence in the ordinary every day living of people. Yet we who are in position to see, if we will, more clearly than others, whose work is piled up beyond our means and strength when preventable causes of disease and crime and misery go unrestricted, have not voiced these things as they should be voiced, incontrovertibly and irrepresssibly, to the end that work shall become a conserving expression of natural powers, and not a process of human depletion. Here in this Conference, are those who care for the wounded in the industrial order, those whose function it is to study conditions of life and labor, those who urge certain reforms. Yet Miss Lathrop in her inquiry as to institutional records, found that no public institution in the United States has successfully drawn out its potential store of industrial facts. Yet Mr. Andrews shows us that while Illinois has appointed a Commission on Industrial Diseases, neither State nor National governments, institutions of research, nor universities, nor medical schools have as yet produced a literature as to the effects of American processes of manufacture upon health, comparable in the remotest degree with that gathered by any of the countries of Western Europe. Our hospitals have mended the broken bodies of injured workers, our orphanages and juvenile re-institutions have sheltered their fatherless households, our almshouses have cared for the lifelong cripples of work; yet these agencies, the country over, have not stood up as a man to demand that preventable accidents shall cease, or that the industries shall bear the cost of their human wear and tear. Shall it continue to remain for others to represent these causes, when there is not an American commonwealth which as yet protects its working people on a par with Britain or France or Germany, or the lesser civilized states? We have spent more time in these Conferences in discussing methods of assisting families from which the natural breadwinner has been taken, than in purposefully scrutinizing the causes which make them applicants for aid. Well may we ask with Mrs. Kelley, "Why do we have widows?" Or why, if an industry kills a man, must we have economic as well as physical widowhood? Our activity in securing extradition laws for family-deserting husbands who evade their home responsibilities has been well directed, laws have been passed in the District of Columbia, Texas, New Hampshire, California, Oregon and Maine, but we have nothing in kind to say for ourselves with respect to compensation laws for *family-deserting industries.*

With this broad and, as yet, undeveloped field before it, the committee in its initial year has not undertaken to make a report, but to block out in its section meetings certain of the main phases of industrial conditions in which the existence or enforcement of higher standards would apparently affect the work of charity and correction. The subjects presented are not new to the Conference; there have been important committees in the past which have taken up industrial justice, industrial insurance, labor conditions, immigration and the like. They have been inspiring and influential, but they have not been part of a long plan the effect of which would be cumulative and serve to crystallize the common judgments of the members. The committee has proceeded in the faith that the Conference has reached a point where it is disposed to give constructive thought to industrial causes, and to think through the relation of these causes to the works of public relief and private philanthropy of say the next ten years. And, further, to think through the relations of this relief and this philanthropy to the collective efforts of the democracy. By discussing industrial causes in terms of standards, we have a common denominator which binds them together and relates them readily to every sphere of activity represented by this Conference. Hospitals, reformatories, charitable societies, courts, children's institutions, all are concerned if hours of work are prolonged beyond the standard of human endurance, if trades are carried on amid preventable conditions which are destructive to physical well being, if industry fails to make fair standards of restitution to those who are killed or crippled at work, throwing the burden on their families or on the public, if with rising costs of living standards of wages fail to make normal life possible. These are the major phases of industrial conditions discussed at this year's session of the committee; there are other equally important phases, such as standards of industrial education and efficiency, and standards of seasonal work, which we must commit to the sessions of later years. The committee this year breaks ground by stating the field covered; another year its successor—the Committee on Standards of Living and of Labor of the Boston Conference may well call upon tuberculosis associations, consumers' leagues, child labor committees, manufacturers' associations, health associations and charitable societies to report what standards in any of these fields they subscribe to. Such programs the Conference must leave to others to formulate; its great work—work clearly within its scope, work which it will be renegade if it fails to accept as its responsibility, is to afford a national medium for bringing together the facts whereever hidden and however gathered and for putting them before its members and before the public. In this way we find meaning in the slips which tag the men and women and children who come from the mines and railroads, from the mills and smelters and workshops, to our organized care.

I beg of the Conference not to let these matters drop until insane asylums, hospitals, sanatoriums, and charitable societies recognize in their systems of case records the necessity for entering significant data as to the industrial biographies of their people; until schools and foundations and governments have set experts at work consciously to elicit this information; until trade processes and our institutional populations are made the subject of scientific study and research and the general facts as to occupational risks are established clearly enough to enable an institutional staff to identify them; until national, state and local governments give us regularly more significant and comparative data as to industrial conditions.

While the committee makes no formal report, and while I must refer you to the papers at the section meetings for a thorough presentation of the need for occupational standards in different fields, it may serve this general meeting for me to outline those fields in such a way as to show how economic forces, perhaps natural in themselves, tend to produce standards inimical to human welfare, and how the efforts to crystallize public opinion for positive and constructive standards, are rational and practicable, and not a dash at the wind mills.

First, take prolonged hours of work. This is one result of the powerful economic tendency toward making industry continuous. On the one hand, the capital invested in plant and machinery can be worked twenty-four hours a day for practically the same price that it can be worked for twelve, or ten, or eight hours a day. On the other hand, whatever his hourly wages or piece rates may be, the individual workman clings pretty desperately to a lump standard of income in his pay envelope, which will make possible the sort of expenditures he is accustomed to; he will submit to an extension of hours, often coupled with a cut in the piece rate, where he would not submit to a lessening of his pay; and in the one case as in the other, there is a saving for the employer in labor cost. There are economic reasons for short hours, equally good as those against them, but not so obvious; and wherever competition is fierce, and neither trade unions, legislation, nor a labor shortage serve to restrain employers, we have an extension of hours, we have the meanest bargainer, the hardest driver, setting the standard of labor cost with which all other employers must compete. At tonight's session, Dr. Favill and Prof. Greeley, the one a physician, the other a lawyer, will discuss the bearings of the recent decision of the Illinois Supreme Court, upholding the constitutionality of a statute prohibiting the night labor of women, and practically reversing an earlier decision of the same court. Public opinion is thus crystallizing in the matter of the hours of woman's work. It is pronouncing for a standard which will prohibit night work, which will curtail all work for women at least to a ten hour day; which will cut down that shift by a third or a half in occupations where there is great tension, as at telephone switchboards. And among the unanswerable arguments in behalf of these changes have been the case of nervous prostration, of anemic childhood, of craving for stimulants which follow in the wake of overwork among women.

The federal statutes reducing hours of employes on interstate railroads, the mining laws of some western states and the New York law sharply defining the time limits for caisson work, show beginnings toward the establishment of legal standards of hours for men's work where safety and health are at stake, supplemental to whatever standards may be set by the demands of trade unions or the policies of enlightened employers.

Let me call to your attention one phase of men's work which demands further protective legislation. I refer to the continuous processes. Here the tendency, as illustrated in the steel industry, is to sink it to the level of twelve hour shifts and seven days a week. The Bureau of Statistics of the New York State Department of Labor has been making a comparative study of this problem and a comprehensive report will be issued. This I have been able to draw upon in what I say here. Prominent among these industries are iron and steel, paper, cement, railroads, street railways, telephone, telegraph, mines, smelters and glass.

In some of these operations there are considerations of public necessity, or, as in the case of handling hot metal, there are technical reasons for continuous activity; in other cases there is no such justification. Where a plant is operated continuously the working force must be divided between two shifts or three; the men must work twelve hours or eight. There is no possible middle ground such as a ten hour day. We may not be ready to accept the eight hour day for all occupations and all men; but where the choice perforce lies between an eight hour day or a twelve hour day, I believe the decision would be prompt and final. Probation officers must have testimony to offer on what sort of a father a man can be who spends twelve hours out of his twenty-four within the mill walls; charity visitors and settlement workers will have testimony to give on the sort of householder and citizen that man can be.

Coupled with the twelve hour day in the continuous industry is often the seven day week. For instance, in steel making, in the Pittsburg district, it used to be the custom to set the rolls going Monday morning at 6:00 a. m.; then the starting time was brought forward to midnight, then to 6:00 p. m. Sunday. In paper making in New York State there was, up to two years ago, a full twenty-four hours' stop from Sunday morning until Monday morning; during the last year the practice has been to stop the mills only from 7 o'clock Sunday morning until 6 o'clock Sunday evening. In certain lines, such as the blast furnaces, work goes on without stop for Sunday at all, because of the large financial loss involved in banking the fires. But because you have to work a blast furnace seven days a week is no sufficent reason why you must work a blast furnace man seven days a week; you can give every man on the crew one day off in seven. France, for instance, provides that there shall be a weekly day of rest of twenty-four hours in all establishments, commercial and industrial; the rest day to be Sunday unless it can be shown that a simultaneous period of rest on Sunday for the entire staff of an establishment would be injurious to public interest, or would disorganize the normal working of the establishment in question. In such cases the twenty-four hour rest must be provided at some other time in the week, or by rotation. The effect of this law of 1906 was not to reduce output in continuous industries, but to increase the labor one-seventh and the daily wages the same. Since the early eighties, American courts have generally sustained Sunday laws on the basis of police power, not, to quote the Federal Supreme Court, "from any right of the government to legislate for the promotion of religious observances, but from its right to protect all persons from the physical and moral debasement which comes from uninterrupted labor." This old Sunday observance legislation has much of it broken down, especially with respect to industries not easily interrupted, and the tendency is for this disregard of the law to extend to other industries and trades. The joint special committee of the Massachusetts Legislature, appointed to revise the Sunday laws in 1907, estimated that 221, 985 men were employed Sundays in the State of Massachusetts in sixteen trades and callings, not including factories. This was over seven per cent of the population of the State. The Pittsburgh Survey found one man in five in the steel industry working seven days in the week in 1907-8—a proportion subsequently reduced by action of the United States Steel Corporation with respect to certain kinds of Sunday labor. The same judicial reasoning which has sustained Sunday legislation would in the face of changed industrial conditions support seven day legislation. Missouri, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia and Wisconsin have laws to restrict the length of a man's working week in certain callings, but Massachusetts and California are the only American states which have passed laws requiring one day of rest in seven for all employes.

The antithesis of long hours, overtime and Sunday work is seasonal work, with its periods of rush and slackness. Standards which would restrict the work day, which would provide for double, or time-and-a-half pay for overtime, would do much toward spreading out the work of the seasonal trades over the rest of the year. We had hoped to have Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, of Boston, as one of the evening's speakers, discuss legal and business adjustments which would make advancing occupational standards possible. At one time Mr. Brandeis was called in as counsel by a New England shoe manufacturer, who was known among his associates as one of the most progressive men in the trade, but whose men were continually on strike for one reason or another. Mr. Brandeis had a work record prepared for each man in the plant. These he compiled. The showing was startling. The shoe trade is a seasonal one, and the working year of practically every man in the plant was made up of alternate periods of non-employment and rush work; of no-income weeks and weeks of overstrain. The attorney took the position that every man who worked at all in the industry was entitled to a full year's occupation and a full year's income, and that it was up to the commercial and technical men in the industry to adjust and develop methods of advance sales and stock handling which would make this possible. The manufacturer accepted this position; the technical men met it; every man in the plant today works the year through; there have been no strikes; the working force is stable; the workers the most effective in New England. It may not be possible in ice-gathering, lumbering, fruit canning and certain other employments, to effect such an adjustment; there are, nevertheless, hundreds of occupations in which it would be possible, but in which, today, it is easier to sweat the workers and alternately lay them off than to make wholesalers, retailers and consumers show some ordinary American forethought in buying. An all the year round plant means an all the year round household. Miss McDowell's vivid picture of what under-employment means in the stockyards district of Chicago, given at last year's National Conference at Buffalo, shows what a staggering burden these industrial mal-adjustments put upon the home, choking its creative and health developing forces and encouraging mal-nutrition, improvidence, wife desertion, and all the other evidences of irregular and depressed living.

A working day which will give the worker a chance to be a householder and a citizen, which will give him a chance to recoup the physical drains of his work; a working week which will give a man one day off in seven for his family and his town; a working year which will give a full year's income as a basis of livelihood—these are occupational standards of the sort which ultimately react upon the activities of every member of this Conference, which will determine whether the human basis of our American industries shall be destructive or shall be firm in elements of wholesome living.

When we turn from the question of hours to the question of trade diseases, we are entering a more technical field, yet one in which common standards are developing among the civilized nations. Fourteen countries have signed the treaty, promoted by the International Association for Labor Legislation, prohibiting the use of poisonous phosphorus in the manufacture of matches. Trade diseases may be grouped into those occasioned by breathing impure air, by extremes or rapid variations in temperature, by humidity, by poisons and by over-fatigue. Settlement workers who have known tuberculous girls in the cigar trades, or men with hatter's shakes in felt manufacture, physicians who trace cases of pneumonia to the engine room or to the reek of steam in a badly constructed laundry, and relief workers who are called to help in the resulting household emergencies need not be told of the relation of such conditions to problems of charity and welfare. The American Association for Labor Legislation has a Commission on Industrial Hygiene, of which Dr. Favill is chairman, and the Federal Bureau of Labor has just published as Bulletin No. 86, the results of the investigation carried on by Dr. John B. Andrews on phosphorus poisoning in the match industry in this country. Illinois has taken the lead in the appointment of an Industrial Diseases Commission; on June 10 and 11, the first national conference on this subject meets in Chicago. The need is for extended and scientific study of industrial hygiene, which will remove health regulation from the region of guess work, which will enable us to draft legislative standards that will be as specific and mandatory upon the factory inspector, as heights of rooms and widths of courts are in tenement house legislation.

In the field of preventing accidents, we are faced with the same need for a closer standardization of safety. Our factory acts are full of such vague terms as ''proper'' and ''sufficient,'' ''whenever possible'' and ''wherever practicable.'' These are not standards any more than to provide for ''a reasonable compliance'' with a factory act is to enforce it. The New York Employers' Liability Commission will, during the present year, make a study of safety provisions. On the basis of such studies as these in New York and Illinois, many of our factory regulations must be re-written.

At the same time, Miss Eastman's study of the causation of industrial accidents in Pittsburgh showed that so many of the danger points are inherent in the specialized processes of a trade, so much depends upon the unregulated vigilance and discipline of the management that we will be successful in establishing right standards of industrial safety only when we act directly through the will of the employer; only when there shall be a strong economic motive to make the work safe, at the time of construction, at the time of installation and at the time of operation. Only as we make killing come higher can we, to her mind, be surer of safety. We can see what this means if we remember that out of the 500 men killed in work accidents in a given year in the Pittsburgh district, considering both married and single men, in half the cases the employer bore no share of the income loss whatever. The burden stayed where it first fell, on the shoulders of the working people and their families; a burden which meant that mothers must go out to work, that children must leave school, that homes must be broken up, and standards of living abandoned. While employers have taken out fire insurance and boiler insurance, while a few of them have established more or less generous systems of relief, the human wear and tear of industry has in great part fallen on the community—in some degree upon every form of philanthropic agency, and most of all on the families of workers themselves.

A new era is dawning in this field; state commissions have been at work the past year in Wisconsin, Minnesota and New York; a nation-wide movement is asserting itself which would by law place a regular share of the income loss due to every industrial accident upon the employer; by him to be distributed among the great body of consumers. Of the need for such regular and dependable standards of compensation for the killed worker, there is scarcely a delegate present but could bear witness out of his own experience; to the discussion of what is an adequate standard of payment for embodiment in such statutes, the relief workers and charitable visitors should have no uncertain testimony to offer. If the family of the stricken wage earner is to escape dependence, then the payment must be immediate and ample and must have elements of permanence in it.

Similarly in the case of compensation for work injuries, and in the case of compensation for trade diseases.

I need scarcely add that there are ample economic arguments against the present system of employers' liability—its great waste, in lawyers' fees and court costs, the irritation it provokes, the ugly traits in human nature it nurses, in addition to the misery which it causes. Within the past fortnight, the National Manufacturers' Association has declared for a system of indemnity in work accident cases, to take the place of the present unsatisfactory liability laws. The Steel Corporation and the International Harvester Company have, within the past month, inaugurated systematic plans of relief.

The movements to develop standards of health and safety at work are supplemented by movements bearing on the physical, educational and industrial fitness of the workers themselves. Thus, we have child labor legislation, prohibiting the employment of boys and girls who do not meet standards as to age, weight or schooling; thus, the Massachusetts State Board of Health carries on a physical examination of workers in the hope of eliminating incipient tuberculoisis; thus in underground work in New York by the law of 1909, every employe must pass a physical entrance examination; thus, at the instigation of the National Child Labor Committee, three states have the past year enacted legislation raising the minimum age of night messenger service to eighteen or twenty-one, because by far the larger part of the service has to do with immoral resorts, and venereal diseases are rife among the lads who carry the messages; thus, we have the National Consumers' League declaring for half-time school for all minors as the goal of its next ten years' activity. These citations illustrate what might be called industrial eugenics, the conscious operation of selective forces by means of occupational standards, which would neutralize many of these trades which as at present carried on accentuate natural weaknesses, which would block thousands of cases of incipient ill-health and inefficiency and which, in turn, would make constructively for the industrial and social fitness of the American worker. For we are entering upon a field where it is not enough to prevent abnormality and disease, any more than it is enough to care for them. We must be builders in a democracy; the occupational standards cited are more than negative minimums; they are positive, some of them, in educational and developmental elements. Increasingly should this be true.

In the field of wages we come upon the old battleground of employer and employe, but even here we may at the least enunciate standards below which an industry cannot go without destroying some part of the social fabric of which that industry is but another part. A sheer self-respect for the human animal would not let us accept any lower standard for a woman worker than that of self-support. Yet we have had the spectacle of the manufacturers of one great State maintaining that the inviolable right of civil contract is invaded if we limit the hours of woman's work to ten, and endeavoring to hold to their argument by the contention that a mature woman could not maintain herself unless she worked overtime at night. Why, a she-hippopotamus in a swamp can do that well for herself year on end. Is the human race in the year 1910, working through a factory system and our vaunted contrivances of money, and electricity and steam to do less? When we come to men's wages, we can for a starter enunciate as a second physical minimum that an industry is not production, but is depredation, which fails to enable its workmen to maintain their families in physical well being. Yet, what are the indications? Miss Byington's study of Homestead shows that sixty per cent of the workers of the steel mills get less than $2 a day, and that given the cost of rents and food in the Pittsburgh district, such a wage is not enough to supply the average family with the barest necessities. Such families live in one and two room houses, or they take in lodgers to supplement the man's wages. A single man may make a small fortune on such a wage and go back to the old country; but a large proportion of these men are not single men; and the man who takes America in earnest, who settles with his family in Homestead, must do so at the cost of many of those things which in America we hold dearest. Miss Byington tells a story of one of the little railroad stations in Homestead. As she rested there, a Slovak came in and sat down beside a woman with a two year old child. "He made shy advances to the baby, coaxing her in a voice of heart-breaking loneliness. She would not come, and finally her mother took her away. The Slovak turned to the rest of the company, taking them all into his confidence, saying simply, 'Me wife, me baby, Hungar.' But were his family in America, it would mean death for one baby in three; it would mean hard work in a little, dirty, unsanitary house for the mother; it would mean sickness and evil. With them in Hungary, it meant for him isolation and loneliness, and the abnormal life of the crowded lodging house."

The Buffalo Social Survey estimates that there are 14,000 Polish workers in that city; they make up one-fifth of the entire labor supply, one-third of all common and unskilled labor. Over sixty-three per cent of these men average $9.00 a week; or $1.50 a day when they work. That would be $500 per year which would allow for no interruptions due to slack work, bad weather or sickness. The usual income is seldom over $400—or from $150 to $250 less per year than the lowest budget which Buffalo charity workers would set for a man, his wife and three children to eke out an existence upon. In order to meet the absolutely necessary expenditures, the wife works also, leaving the children uncared for; or boarders are taken, involving still further congestion and lack of privacy. The results, according to Mr. Daniels and Mr. Almy, are "infant mortality, immorality, truancy and illiteracy, juvenile delinquency, stunted vitality, disease, progressive deterioration and poor citizenship." The situation in Buffalo is probably repeated in St. Louis as it is in New York, in Chicago and the other industrial centers.

I put it before this Conference as a great question mark whether all our works of charity and reform in a given city put together build up life as fast as this great body of underpaid, underfed, underhoused, underlived men, women and children depresses and battens it down. Certain it is that all the financial contributions to charity put together do not equal the difference between the wages which the employers get these men for and the cost of the maintenance of these families at a true living level. The employers of America are getting a great fund of working capital without paying the interest charges; the cities are eating up a great human endowment which comes to them from the country districts of America and Europe, without creating a sinking fund of healthful childhood to take its place, once it is exhausted. Possibly the manufacturers of no industry or of no city could single handed pay for what they get without going to the wall. But that in itself may be but another argument for collective standards set by society itself, rendered practicable for the individual employer because enforced upon all competitors alike. It is a national situation we are facing and one which the social workers of America should lodge a protest against, in the terms of the men and women and children who come to them for help; from whose meager living breed the kindred problems of juvenile crime, ignorance and ill-health. We can help public opinion in its search after the terms of life which it can afford to have any people accept, without jeopardizing the well being of this generation or the next.

I have stated merely physical minimums; the Boston-1915 movement has struck a new chord in announcing as its public industrial policy that every willing worker in the New England industries should be enabled to support himself and his family in moderate comfort, with a fair measure of current joys and recreation, with education for their children and with margin enough to provide through insurance against the contingencies of sickness, death and accident, and enough to provide in addition for old age when it comes. Below that standard, they say is not self-sufficiency. Thursday's section meeting of this committee will take up the practical bearings upon existing wages of American studies as to the cost of living, and we shall get a fairer idea of how far the earnings of the rank and file of American workers fall short of standards appreciably above what we take for granted among the brutes; how far they admit of those ampler and more spiritual values which we associate with the American home. Prof. Chapin will show to what extent low standards of income are current among the stock yards workers of Chicago, the teamsters of New York, the shoe workers of Massachusetts, the mine workers of Illinois, the millers of Minnesota and the like. The indications he has gathered are a searching plea for a rigorous and widespread inquiry into wages and costs of living in our major industries, which will give us indisputable evidence as to whether we are exhausting the working power of our people. In his paper on minimum wages and minimum wage boards, Father Ryan will put forward the elementary steps by which the governments of England and Australia, in contrast with our stupid unthrift, are endeavoring to cope with this problem of labor conservation. As a progressive advocate of an industrial statecraft more fluid and reasonable than has marked American courts and legislatures to date, he will discuss the applicability of these measures to labor conditions in the United States.

That these are not doctrinaire standards which have been discussed, but standards which the workers themselves, even when disorganized and held to submission under various forms of repression, are beginning to revolt against, are indicated by the remarkable statistics drawn by the Federal Bureau of Labor from the pay-roll of the Bethlehem Steel Company at South

Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The report is unmatched as an authentic record of the extent to which the twelve hour day, the seven day week and the single-man's pay have become entrenched in one of the master industries of the country, where there are no labor organizations to dislodge them. The men with shorter hours, higher pay, and more intelligence claimed they feared that the encroachments of overtime and Sunday work were leading to a twelve hour day and a seven day schedule for the whole force. Therefore they protested; therefore the protesting committee was discharged; therefore the strike which has been on since February 4th.

Out of every one hundred men at Bethlehem in January,

Twenty-nine worked seven days a week.

Forty-three, including these twenty-nine worked some Sundays.

Fifty-one worked twelve hours a day.

Twenty-five worked twelve hours a day, seven days a week.

Forty-six earned less than two dollars a day.

These are the grim figures which the United States Bureau of Labor gives us of the working shifts of the Bethlehem Steel Company. They are not figures which would help enact a high tariff or would give a man, say of Lincoln's intelligence, much assurance as to what civilization and prosperity are to mean for the people of the United States of America. The pay is that of single men; the hours are those of lodgers rather than of fathers and husbands who can participate in household living; the weekly schedule is that of a work-engrossed citizenship, which must leave to the leeching and loafing elements in the community the responsibility for carrying on town and county and State.

The men closed their statement to the public with these words: "Although this is the seventh week of the strike and we want a settlement, still we will fight to a finish if forced to it, in order that we may have our nights for our wives and children, and our Sundays to worship God as we see fit."

To paraphrase their statement: Although—or because—we have been working twenty centuries since the birth of Christ, and although—or because—we have a new continent under our feet, I believe that we can insist that the work of Americans be carried out on certain standards of hours, of rest, of safety, of health; of restitution when the worker is killed or injured or diseased by his work; of current wages such as will sustain life amply. I believe it is the unescapable responsibility of every member of this Conference to contribute courageously from his experience toward the formulation of such standards in public opinion and in law.

THECHANGING ATTITUDE OF THE COURTS TOWARDS SOCIAL LEGISLATION

BY LOUIS M. GREELY, NORTHWESTERN LAW SCHOOL, CHICAGO

I am going to say something to you about the recent brilliant victory for progressive social legislation which Mr. Brandeis was so largely instrumental in achieving, and some matters which it suggests to me. I refer to the recent decision of the Illinois Supreme Court sustaining the Constitutionality of the ten hour labor law for Women employed in mechanical occupations and laundries. This victory is a memorable one in every sense. It is important for the result actually accomplished, it is even more important in the promise it holds out for the future. The immediate result is important because it establishes the right to limit by statute the hours of labor for women in a State where this right had seemed to be denied, in a State where the doctrine of the constitutionally guaranteed right of freedom to contract had been pushed as far and as vigorously applied to the defeat of attempted labor and social legislation, as in any State of the Union. It was only fifteen years ago that the same Court, in denouncing as unconstitutional an eight hour law for women, announced doctrines that, logically carried out, would have rendered void a ten hour law just as much as an eight hour law. And such was the practical effect of the decision according to common understanding, and such was the interpretation which Judge Tuthill, of the lower court, put upon it (and as I think was amply justified in putting upon it) when he held the ten hour law invalid, notwithstanding the attempt of the Supreme Court in the latter case (quite unsuccessfully as it seems to me), to distinguish this earlier decision.

A great victory, then, has been gained in a stronghold of conservatism, the Court of a great industrial state has been led to change its position in a matter most important to social progress. This is the immediate and inspiring result of the victory. But more important still is the hope which this victory holds out for the future. For it marks, as it seems to me, a tendency toward a change of attitude on the part of the Courts toward matters of social regulation generally—a change of which other indications are not wanting—a tendency to recede from the extreme lengths to which the courts have gone in enforcing the principle of the sanctity of the individual right of free contract and to give more just recognition to the limitations upon this right which considerations of public welfare permit. It marks furthermore, a tendency to recognize more truly the wide latitude of discretion as to what the public welfare demands, which, under our constitutional systems, the legislatures are granted, and should be allowed to exercise.

At the risk of being tiresome, I am going to state briefly the constitutional problem which most social and labor legislation raises. The constitutions of our states and the Federal Constitution contain, in slightly varying phraseology, statements to the effect that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law. These phrases have been interpreted to mean that the legislature may not impose restrictions upon these fundamental rights unless solid grounds of public good justify the restrictions.

In all this few would find anything to object to. But the Courts have, in comparatively recent years, gone a step beyond this, and have said that the right freely to make contracts, including the right of a workingman to agree to work upon what terms and for what wages he chooses, is embraced within the words liberty and property in the constitutional formula above referred to, and is therefore protected from arbitrary legislative restriction.

Here we reach the storm center of our problem. For the courts have said that this constitutional right, freely to contract, means that the workman may not by law be prevented from accepting employment on any terms he may agree to, even though it may be notorious that those terms are disastrous to him, and that he is driven to accept them by his necessities and not from any free choice. Some courts have further said that the disastrous consequences to the individual workman afford no grounds of public welfare for a law to protect him from those consequences. Surely a perverse logic this which, in the name of a theoretic right of free contract robs the workman, who has no actual freedom of contract, of the law which he requires for his well being and which affords him the necessary protection he is powerless to secure for himself.

It is from this extreme view that the courts are, as it seems to me, rapidly receding. And the change is being brought about not by changing the constitutional principle, but by shifting the emphasis from one element of it to the other. Individual Freedom of Contract subject to restraint, in the interest of the public good. The courts used to lay the stress on the Individual Freedom of Contract part of this, now the stress is being laid more and more on the other part—the Public Welfare part.

The truth of this is strikingly shown by contrasting the language of the two decisions of the Illinois Supreme Court above referred to, the former one overthrowing the eight hour law and the recent one sustaining the ten hour law. In the earlier case the Court said:

> "This enactment is a purely arbitrary restriction upon the fundamental right of the citizen to control his or her own time and faculties. It substitutes the judgment of the legislature for the judgment of the employer and employee in a matter about which they are competent to agree with each other. It assumes to dictate to what extent the capacity to labor may be exercised by the employee and takes away the right of private judgment as to the amount and duration of labor to be put forth in a specified period. When the legislature thus undertakes to impose an unreasonable and unnecessary burden upon any one citizen or class of citizens, it transcends the authority entrusted to it by the

> constitution, even though it imposes the same burden upon all other citizens or classes of citizens. General laws may be as tyrannical as partial laws. * * * Liberty, as has already been stated, includes the right to make contracts, as well with reference to the amount and duration of labor to be performed, as concerning any other lawful matter. Hence the right to make contracts is an inherent and inalienable one, and any attempt to unreasonably abridge it is opposed to the constitution. * * * It is not the nature of the things done, but the sex of the persons doing them, which is made the basis of the claim that the act is a measure for the promotion of the public health. It is sought to sustain the Act as an exercise of the police power upon the alleged ground, that it is designed to protect woman on account of her sex and physique. * * * As a general thing it is the province of the legislature to determine what regulations are necessary to protect the public health and secure the public safety and welfare. But inasmuch as sex is no bar, under the constitution and the law, to the endowment of woman with the fundamental and inalienable rights of liberty and property which include the right to make her own contracts, the mere fact of sex will not justify the legislature in putting forth the police power of the State for the purpose of limiting her exercise of those rights, unless the courts are able to see that there is some fair, just and reasonable connection between such limitation and the public health, safety or welfare proposed to be secured by it. There is no reasonable ground—at least none which has been made manifest to us in the arguments of counsel—for fixing upon eight hours in one day as the limit within which woman can work without injury to her physique, and beyond which, if she work, injury will necessarily follow. But the police power of the State can only be permitted to limit or abridge such a fundamental right as the right to make contracts, when the exercise of such power is necessary to promote the health, comfort, welfare or safety of society or the public; and it is questionable whether it can be exercised to prevent injury to the individual engaged in a particular calling."

Here the Court quotes from the opinion of the New York Court of Appeals in the Jacobs case to the effect that to sustain a law prohibiting the manufacture of cigars and the preparation of tobacco in any form in tenement houses, it would not be sufficient that "its manipulation may be injurious to those engaged in its preparation and manufacture; but it would have to be injurious to the public health."

Now listen to Mr. Justice Hand speaking for the Court in the later case. He says:

> "It is known to all men (and what we know as men we can not profess to be ignorant of as judges), "that woman's physical structure and the performance of maternal functions place her at a great disadvantage in the battle of life; that while a man can work for more than ten hours a day without injury to himself, a woman, especially when the burdens of motherhood are upon her, cannot; that while a man can work standing upon his feet for more than ten hours a day, day after day, without injury to himself, a woman cannot; and that to require a woman to stand upon her feet for more than ten hours in any one day and perform severe manual labor while thus standing, day after day, has the effect to impair her health, and that as weakly and sickly women cannot be the mothers of vigorous children, it is of the greatest importance to the public that the State take such measures as may be necessary to protect its women from the consequences induced by long, continuous manual labor in those occupations which tend to break them down physically.
>
> "It would therefore seeem obvious that legislation which limits the number of hours which women shall be permitted to work to ten hours in a single day in such employments as are carried on in mechanical establishments, factories, and laundries, would tend to preserve the health of women and insure the production of vigorous offspring by them, and would directly conduce to the health, morals, and general welfare of the public, and that such legislation would fall clearly within the police power of the State.

In 1895 the Court could see nothing in the "mere fact of sex" to justify the legislature in restricting the hours of labor for women, and was apparently inclined to hold that the fact that injury would ensue to workwomen themselves from excessive hours of labor, would not justify the legislature in restricting their hours of work—in other words, that the State had no legitimate interest in protecting the health of her workingwomen considered as individuals. In 1910, the same Court says the lesser physical vitality and endurance of women, their inherent physical limitations due to sex and maternal functions, the consequent economic disadvantage of women, the probability of transmission of the consequences of impaired physical health and vigor from mother to child, are "known to all men," and afford ample ground of public welfare for restricting the hours of labor for women. The formal constitutional doctrines announced in these cases are the same, but how different the spirit that breathes through them.

The Illinois Supreme Court is not the only one that is progressing. The Supreme Court of Washington (State v. Buchanan, 29 Wash., 503), in sustaining a ten hour law for women, says (and the Illinois Court quotes it):

> "Law is or ought to be a progressive science. While the principles of justice are immutable, changing conditions of society and the evolution of employment make a change in the application of principles absolutely necessary to an intelligent administration of government. In the early history of the law, when employments were few and simple, the relative conditions of the citizen and the State were different, and many employments and uses which were then considered inalienable rights have since, from the very necessity of changed conditions, been subjected to legislative control, restriction and restraint. This all flows from the old announcement made by Blackstone, that when man enters society, as a compensation for the protection which society gives to him, he must yield up some of his natural rights and as the responsibilities of the government increase and a greater degree of protection is afforded to the citizen, the recompense is the yielding of more individual rights. The changing conditions of society have made an imperative call upon the State for the exercise of these additional powers, and the welfare of society demands that the State should assume these powers, and it is the duty of the court to sustain them whenever it is found that they are based upon the idea of the promotion and protection of society."

Most sound and encouraging doctrine this, though some of the reasoning has a rather quaint 18th century flavor.

Mark this utterance of a judge of the Court of Appeals of New York, a stronghold of conservatism in these matters:

> "Under a judicial system which has for centuries magnified the sacredness of individual rights, there is much less danger of doing injustice to the individual than there is of overlooking the obligations of those in authority to organized society."

(Werner, J., in People v. Strolle, 191, N. Y., 42, 69).

The attitude of the United States Supreme Court has been most liberal toward legislation of the kind we are discussing. It has generally sustained it. The one striking exception is the case of Lochner v. New York, 198, U. S., 45, in which that Court overthrew the New York ten hour law for bakers, which the State Court sustained. But that was a decision of a bare majority of the Court, and it was the occasion of a most striking dissenting opinion by Justice Holmes. He says:

> "This case is decided upon an economic theory which a large part of the country do not entertain. If it were a question whether I agreed with that theory, I should desire to study it further and long before making up my mind. But I do not conceive that to be my duty, because I strongly believe that my agreement or disagreement has nothing to do with the right of a majority to embody their opinions in law. It is settled by various decisions of this Court that State constitutions and State laws may regulate life in many ways which we as legislators might think as injudicious, or if you like, as tyrannical, as this, and which equally with this interfere with the liberty of contract. * * * The Fourteenth Amendment does not enact Mr. Herbert Spencer's Social Statics."

After referring to some of the laws restricting the freedom of contract which the court had sustained, Justice Holmes proceeds:

> "Some of these laws embody convictions or prejudices which judges are likely to share. Some may not. But a constitution is not intended to embody any particular economic theory whether of paternalism and the organic relation of the citizen to the State or of laissez

> faire. It is made for people of fundamentally differing views, and the accident of our finding certain opinions natural and familiar or novel and even shocking, ought not to conclude our judgment upon the question whether statutes embodying them conflict with the Constitution of the United States. * * * I think the word liberty in the Fourteenth Amendment is perverted when it is held to prevent the natural outcome of a dominant opinion, unless it can be said that a rational and fair man necessarily would admit that the statute proposed would infringe fundamental principles as they have been understood by the traditions of our people and our law. It does not need research to show that no such sweeping condemnation can be passed upon the statute before us. A reasonable man might think it proper on the score of health. Men whom I certainly could not pronounce unreasonable would uphold it as a first instalment of a general regulation of the hours of work."

Since that decision, Justices Brown, Peckham and Brewer, who concurred in the opinion of the Court, have passed from the bench, while all of the four dissenting judges, Harlan, White, Holmes and Day still remain, and in the recent case of McLean v. Arkansas, 211, U. S. 539, the Court, in sustaining a state law requiring coal miners to be paid by weight of the coal as mined and not after it had been screened, the Court, speaking through Justice Day, announces views almost as advanced as those of Justice Holmes just quoted. Only Justices Brewer and Peckham dissented. Justice Moody, who had taken Justice Brown's place on the bench, concurred in the opinion of the Court. As the court is now composed, it is not at all improbable that it might, if the case came before it, overrule the Lochner case, and sustain a ten hour law.

May I trespass on your patience to make one more quotation from a law case, the McLean case just referred to. I promise it shall be the last quotation I shall make. The Court, in its opinion sustaining the coal weighing act, notes the conflicting views of State Courts on similar statutes, passes them by without discussion, but emphasizes the fact that various State legislatures have deemed such statutes necesary. It then considers a recent report of a Congressional Committee, bearing upon the justice or injustice to the miner of weighing coal after screening and the effect of it upon the relations of labor to capital. This report showed a conflict of opinion upon this subject, some witnesses believing that the method of weighing after screening worked practical injustice to the miners and disturbed the harmonious relations of employed toward employer, others believing the contrary. The Court then says:

> "We are unable to say in the light of the conditions shown in the public inquiry referred to, and in the necessity for such laws, evinced in the enactments of the legislatures of various states, that this law had no reasonable relation to the protection of a large class of laborers in the receipt of their just dues and the promotion of the harmonious relations of capital and labor engaged in a great industry in the State."

The Court says elsewhere:

> "The mere fact that a court may differ with the legislature in its views of public policy or that judges may hold views inconsistent with the propriety of the legislation in question, affords no ground for judicial interference, unless the act in question is unmistakably and palpably in excess of legislative power. * * * If the law in controversy has a reasonable relation to the protection of the public health, safety or welfare, it is not to be set aside because the judiciary may be of opinion that the act will fail of its purpose or because it is thought to be an unwise exertion of the authority vested in the legislative branch of the Government."

Note the method of opinion, its avoidance of mere closet ratiocination, its sticking to the concrete fact. Note above all how carefully the Court observes the constitutional limits of its own powers, and how fully it accords to the legislature the powers conferred upon it by the Constitution. For the Court says in effect that the legislatures, not Courts, are to decide what the public good requires and are to be left free to try experiments in social legislation not inconsistent with the spirit of our institutions so long as those experiments may reasonably be supposed to hold out prospects of public good, even though the Judges, as men, disbelieve in the experiments and think that the public welfare will be hindered not helped by them, or even that disastrous consequences will ensue to the public from them.

What a refreshing contrast this is to the emptiness of much of the judicial reasoning on these topics. If all constitutional opinions were hereafter conceived in the spirit of this one, how many constitutional bugaboos would disappear.

If constitutional limitations were generally understood and applied in the way Justice Holmes or Justice Day would apply them, there is surely nothing in them to prevent a very wide measure of social reform. For these limitations, as these men conceive of them, really embody nothing more than general principles of legislation which are now accepted by all civilized countries the world over, principles which are practically enforced by public opinion in countries which do not, like our own, permit a judicial determination of the constitutionality of legislation. Even if we had no written constitutions or the ones we have were without life, liberty and property clauses, we should still insist that individual freedom of contract be left unrestrained so far as public considerations did not justify placing restraints upon it.

Individual freedom of contract, but a freedom controlled as the interest of the general welfare may require. What is there in this, properly understood and applied, to prevent any of the great measures for social amelioration now in sight. Take for instance the question of insurance for employees in dangerous occupations, whether furnished in whole or in part by the government, or wholly by way of enforced contribution from employer and from employee. Surely it cannot now fairly be questioned that such measures are to be justified as measures calculated, or which at any rate may be reasonably conceived of as calculated, to advance the public welfare, or even as essential to the public welfare, notwithstanding the conflict of opinion as to their practical advisability. The interests of society require that these dangerous occupations be carried on and workmen engaged in them are in reality performing a necessary service to the community.

We have long been paying out of the public treasury enormous sums to our disabled soldiers and to those dependent on them. Why does the case of the employee in the Steel Mill or the Powder Factory differ in kind from that of the soldier (though there may perhaps be a difference in degree.) Is not the mill hand or the factory hand, in a sense, a soldier enlisted in a dangerous warfare for his country's good. Look at the matter from a different point of view. Every day the enormous waste to society from industrial accidents becomes clearer and clearer. Day by day the burden imposed on public charity by these accidents become heavier and heavier, and the conviction becomes stronger and stronger that our present inaction in these matters must give place to intelligent action in order that these great evils be lessened. The question is not one of imposing fresh burdens upon the public. The burden of industrial accidents already falls upon the public. The question is how this burden shall best be adjusted in the interest of the public itself. The present way is to supply a charitable dole to those whose independence has already been crushed by misfortunes with which they are unable to cope. Would it not be a wiser way to preserve the spirit of independence and of hope by providing insurance money which would be received as a matter of right, and not as mere charity? In this way children could be kept at school, the mother's tasks would be lightened so that she could give proper attention to the bringing up of her children. Who shall say that measures to promote these great ends are not fairly conceived in the public interest?

Look at the matter from another side, the economic side. Can it be said that governmental or enforced employees' accident insurance is economically impossible—that is to say, impossible without such economic disturbance as would result disastrously to all classes and especially the working classes? Evidently not. Germany, which is and has been for decades advancing commercially and industrially by leaps and bounds, has for years had employees' accident insurance paid for in part, as I understand, by the Government, and the rest by enforced contributions from employers and employees. Can it be said that Germany has suffered economically from these measures? Where are the evidences of it? She is rapidly gaining on her commercial rivals, and at the same time is keeping up the enormous burden of her military system. Are her working people suffering? We find very few of them coming here nowadays to improve their condition. Looking nearer home we see our great industrial organizations voluntarily adopting systems of accident insurance for their employees. Surely those in control of these organizations must have made a careful examination of the probable results of these measures before adopting them, and have come to the conclusion that, looked at in the large and in the long run, they would pay. (I do not wish to intimate that these men were not influenced by public spirited reasons, also. I believe they were.) Whatever one's views as to the trusts may be, it is surely a great advantage that the vastness of these organizations which makes necessary their conduct along broad and statesman-like lines, and supplies the means of experimenting with policies which, entailing an immediate loss, hold out hopes of benefit in the long run, has made it possible for them to undertake measures of this kind. If these measures have the success which their originators evidently hope and which we must hope, what person will be so rash as to say that legislation to accomplish the same ends is not well within a reasonble conception of the public good or economically impracticable.

Take the question of the general eight-hour day. No doubt the pronouncements of the courts, including even the United States Supreme Court, are against it to-day. But who shall say that they will continue to be. More and more clearly the disastrous effects of excessive toil are made manifest by the researches of the learned and the experience of the civilized world. The courts have now recognized this in the case of women. But men, though stronger physically than women and better adapted for hard work, are still human beings with limited physical powers and endurance. If the excessive toil which breaks down the mother's health causes transmitted weakness in the child, is not the same thing true, though perhaps in a less degree, as to the father? Who shall say that within the next fifteen years some learned court of last resort may not declare that it is known to all men that children have fathers as well as mothers, and that the impaired vitality of the father due to excessive toil, means inherited weakness or disease for the child?

There is besides another aspect of this question. The public welfare includes more than mere physical welfare. It includes moral welfare, too. Man cannot live by bread alone. A life that expends itself, exhausts itself in the struggle for the mere means of subsistence, is not a human life at all. A man must have an opportunity for recreation, for enjoyment, for reflection, for culture, before a truly human existence becomes possible for him. When this great moral idea, of restricting hours of labor so that a human existence shall become possible for all working men and women, takes possession of us, sets the national heart on fire, can it be that our constitutional formulas will be construed in so narrow, so petty a sense as to exclude the possibility of its realization by law?

I am, of course, not unmindful that our constitutional principles and our constitutional formulas cannot be understood except in the light of their historical and legal development. These principles, and even the language in which they are set forth, come to us from Magna Charta, the Petition of Rights, the Bill of Rights and other great documents of English liberty. No doubt these constitutional statements have meant different things in different times and the historical context has been necessary to their true understanding. Yet, after all, they have always stood for liberty, for freedom, for advance under varying conditions and varying social needs. Can it be that in our time and in our free country these time-honored statements have become dead and fossilized, incapable of development and cramping us within the narrow limits of some particular social or economical creed?

Heretofore we have been afraid to try our democratic experiment in a thorough going way, or, perhaps rather, we have been too busy to try it. We have been engrossed, perhaps necessarily engrossed, in the material development of our country. Our master minds have been engaged in the fields of commerce, industry, finance—not in the field of politics. Our attention has been engrossed in business. We have been too busy to attend to politics. The result has been that legislative bodies have deteriorated in quality until we are no longer able to trust them. To remedy this we have sought to tie their hands by adopting constitutions full of detailed and minute restrictions upon legislative action. We have very generally been able to elect honest and upright judges. And so we have gradually grown more and more to rely on our courts to protect us against our legislatures. In this way the courts have gradually come to exercise and we have become accustomed to their exercising a degree of restraint never contemplated or permitted by our constitutional systems, till nowadays constitutional decisions sometimes reflect only the private opinions or prejudices, or even crochets, of the judges who constitute the court, or a majority of it.

But we shall not always be satisfied to have a democracy tempered by court decisions. We have already begun the task of setting our legislative house in order. In every direction we see the signs of a great moral awakening. We see this in the political unrest, the political ferment at work in our great political parties. We see it in the increased willingness of our people to abandon party affiliations in the interest of reform. We see it in the efforts everywhere put forth to wrest our nominating machinery from the control of the party bosses. We are coming rapidly to the point where our business and our politics must converge. We have heretofore neglected our politics for our business. But that is no longer possible. The great political questions which now press upon us for a solution are economic, industrial, business questions. The very vastness of our industrial organizations has made their ultimate regulation by the public seem inevitable. The beginnings of regulation we already see in the measures urged by the administration upon congress.

Is it not inevitable that the public consideration of the trust problem, together with the growing realization of the injustice and the social waste attendant upon our present industrial arrangements, will force upon us this other problem of establishing by law thorough going reform in our industrial system. Can we much longer delay the beginnings of this reform? When we set ourselves to the accomplishment of this great task, let it be in a democratic spirit. Let us listen to, let us weigh the arguments of all men and women, whatever their opinions on political or social or economic matters may be. Let us not rest content with the view that our constitutions commit us to any particular social or economic theory, or that they prevent a solution upon broad comprehensive lines of our present day social problems. To work for this solution should be the task of all of us, of all public spirited men and women. We can all lend a hand. The lawyers' part should be the work of bringing the courts to a less narrow view of the scope of constitutional principles, a more realizing sense of the actual facts and conditions of present industrial life, and a juster view of the rights and powers of the legislatures under our constitutional system. Mr. Brandeis has already done brilliant and distinguished service in this direction.

Let us not be afraid of the future, let us not be afraid of our democratic institutions. Let us put our faith in discussion, education, enlightenment. Let us believe that our people, after discussion, education, enlightenment, are capable of a just and sane solution of these difficulties. Let us hope that this solution may come about as it should come about, gradually and without financial disturbance, and let us work to that end. But let us not postpone justice. Let us remember that justice must be done, though the heavens fall; that to deny justice is to bring the heavens crashing down about our ears.

THE TOXIN OF FATIGUE

BY HENRY BAIRD FAVILL, M. D.

When I was invited to present this subject I had some doubt as to the possibility of making it worth your attention. The more I thought of it, the more I have come to feel that in addition to its intrinsic significance, the idea involved is of serious importance to the general movement looking toward industrial reform.

We are told and we have come to think that the chief reason why reforms in social affairs, be they political or other, are spasmodic and evanescent, lies in the character of the agencies which inaugurate movements for correction of abuses.

The idea prevails that the forces of selfishness are always alert, aggressive and organized, and the forces of reform are unorganized and temporary in their purpose.

This is probably very true. There are other elements, however, of great importance in determining the lack of consistent and stable progress characteristic of social reforms.

As a rule, foundations of reform movements are not broad enough. Frequently they are not sound enough. No movement involving the whole people goes far that does not reckon accurately with human nature. No movement can stand which has not unfailing truth, unequivocal fact as its foundation.

These two factors, essential soundness and popular support, do not necessarily coincide. In fact it is often with the utmost difficulty that popular interest can be enlisted to support measures of the clearest propriety.

In order to have success at all there must be satisfied that human need which we may call without reflection or reproach, sentimental. In order to have permanence and ultimate respect there must be met the requirements of intellectual approval. Whatever is done ultimately harmonizes and utilizes both of these factors in human affairs.

It is very obvious that the trend of social development is progressive. It appears to be true that efforts at reform and even radical reconstruction are accorded a measure of respect and co-operation far beyond what a few years ago would have been possible. The reason for this, to a considerable extent, lies in the sagacity of the builders. We have come to see that unquestionable fact is the cornerstone of any structure. No great movement is now undertaken by intelligent persons without systematic effort to determine the facts relating to the subject. Rational as this is it must be admitted that as a distinct and predominating feature of social movements it is comparatively new.

There can be no doubt that results achieved under this conception of social development will have a permanence and progressive influence which could not belong to matters less well considered.

The gathering of data of critical accuracy is for the most part preliminary work. It is the work of individuals, of small groups, of unseen hands, actuated and inspired by clear social vision.

There remains always to be accomplished organization for the purpose of making effective the moral value which such results embody. Here opens up before us all the fine art of propaganda, the unlimited field of the Social Worker.

As I have intimated, at this point there comes in a grave danger, the danger that popular passion shall be substituted for intelligent motive and utilized to extravagant ends. The effective check upon this tendency is clearly defined data coupled with the determination that fancy shall be made to square with fact.

Scientific accuracy is greatly to be desired in all discussions subject to the illumination of science. Accurate determination of underlying facts is obligatory upon those who undertake constructive movements. The fullest array of information having definite scientific value and bearing upon such questions as social reform is in the utmost degree desirable. It must be recognized, however, that there are matters of human interest and enormous social importance which are only partially open to scientific interpretation and with regard to which methods of adjustment must be found other than purely scientific.

Considerable interest has been evoked and some measure of encouragement expressed by reason of the fact that there has been rather conclusively determined through researches of the laboratory the fact that fatigue has a certain definiteness of nature and degree hitherto not fully realized.

It has been conceived that if fatigue could be made a ponderable quantity, accurately measured and accounted for, it would be a long step toward meeting the problems related to fatigue.

There have been advanced consequently valuable propositions dealing with the physiologic aspects of fatigue. For a great while it has been believed that living machinery showed a tendency to flag in its operations, not because of exhaustion of certain vital principles, but because of an accumulation of the products of work. In other words, not that the machinery was empty, but that it was choked.

There is a great deal of truth in this view. Physiology is an extraordinarily complicated subject and our knowledge of it in its ultimate facts is meager. There are certain broad principles, however, which are not only obvious, but which stand the test of all physiologic investigation that we have.

A machine which is at the same time building up and tearing down must have, if it is to maintain its integrity, a very delicate adjustment of balance which ensures not only processes of construction and destruction, but processes of introduction of usable materials and elimination of used materials.

It may perhaps not be generally understood that a living organism can exist many times longer without nourishment than it can without elimination. Any living organism will die promptly if the waste products from its life processes accumulate; in other words, if there is non-elimination.

So it is undoubtedly true that an organism can be choked by the products of its own life activities.

It is well to remember that these vital processes in the human animal are distinctly of two kinds. All of the things which we do in our conscious activity, work, play, and thought are matters of voluntary effort. They are things of which we are conscious, over which we have control. They constitute what we have in mind when we speak of our activities. When we consider labor we are thinking solely of a voluntary expenditure of energy. But on the other side of this balance lie all those processes which are involuntary, unconscious, unrecognized; they are the nutritive processes, the so-called vegetative processes and are things utterly beyond our control.

In dealing then with any physiologic problem, such as the problem of fatigue, we are really dealing with factors over which we have various degrees of control. Normally we can measure, increase, or decrease, our voluntary efforts.

Life is made up of the interplay of voluntary efforts, but over our vegetative process we have neither control nor have we immediate consciousness of the processes. Under normal conditions vegetative life is automatic, adequate and with a large range of accommodation to physiologic demands. Under abnormal conditions, these factors markedly diminish so that the processes of nutrition, elimination and repair become variously diminished and open to all manner of disturbances which we are prone to regard as disease.

Experience shows and experiment verifies that not only is vegetative life necessarily taxed with sustaining voluntary life, but voluntary life can through excess or perversion not only throw more work upon vegetative life than it can accomplish, but also in this very process can distinctly limit the work that vegetative functions can perform.

It is very easy to see, therefore, that under given conditions labor can be pushed to a point beyond that at which vegetative life can meet it. If in addition to that fact we admit that this excessive demand, long continued, greatly limits vegetative power, we can easily conceive a status in which the products of work, which we call ''waste products,'' are more than the normal mechanism can dispose of.

Beyond a certain point the demand for elimination and the effort to eliminate cease to go hand in hand. From that time on though the demand be never so great, the response becomes progressively less.

Out of that combination of facts can arise any degree of physiologic poisoning which we have come to call ''toxic'' and there is no doubt that upon these simple lines there is a distinct body poisoning in accordance with these principles.

There is reason, however, to believe that the products of labor, particularly muscular labor, are not entirely due to accumulated waste. Laboratory research, verified by many competent observers, indicates that there is created in the process of muscular work, and perhaps in the process of mere mental and nervous work, substances of a nature distinctly poisonous, which have been designated as "toxic," the so-called "toxin of fatigue."

From a physiologic point of view this is very important. The bearing of it upon life processes, cellular activity, ultimate chemistry, nervous control and organic breakdown is very great, but it is after all distinctly a physiologic question, at the moment sub judice, and for practical purposes not material to our hand, though as a factor in the development of general intelligence upon the subject of work it has great value.

Scientific determination always is in the rear. Human experience has blocked out and worked out the field of human interests long before fundamental reasons have been determined.

Scientific demonstration comes afterward; explaining, illuminating, correcting, stimulating but rarely pointing the way. So we shall find in the discussion of our own problem that scientific facts here and there developing, operate to strengthen the belief in that which is sound, correct the weakness in that which is unsound, but by no possibility now can it be substituted for the lessons of experience in dealing with this most vital of human problems.

This should be no disappointment to the lovers of scientific demonstration and accuracy. It is true in all directions.

The study of tuberculosis received its greatest impetus from the discovery of the micro-organism which is the immediate cause of tuberculosis, but the problem of dealing with tuberculosis has gone on under this stimulus to the point of enormous efficiency with scarcely any assistance from scientific knowledge of this organism. Aside from the fact that quarantine is simpler and more effective because of our knowledge, the tuberculosis question could stand on the product of experience, irrespective of what we know of the germ, or its damaging effects. Although this may not always be true of the relationship between scientific discovery and common experience it is in most directions true now and the world cannot wait for any other relationship to be established.

We know enough as to the physiologic bearings of fatigue to enable us to deal wisely and thoroughly with this subject.

Let the search for truth in the laboratory go on, a stimulus to critical study, a help to hygienic living and a corrective to false physiology, but the wear and tear of the worker must speak for itself in terms of common experience.

What is this common experience with which our views of fatigue must square? As one views the intricate activities of civilized life, it seems as though it were almost too complex to discuss. For one living according to the most complicated type today the elements of fatigue seem so interwoven as to be inextricable. The combination of mental and physical, ambition and worry, mal-nutrition and want, demoralization and degeneracy make composite factors difficult to analyze. We are far from having attained such physiologic and psychologic knowledge as entitles us to final opinions upon many of these questions. There are, however, obvious lines upon which to proceed and the more limited the field of inquiry the fewer main paths there are to traverse in a preliminary study.

I desire to keep clear of theory involving the occult in physiology or psychology. I desire to pass by every panacea offered in solution of our human difficulties.

There is a play on the stage today which, without knowledge on my part as to what it is about, I am willing to take as my foundation as a discussion of fatigue. It is "What Every Woman Knows." If we can be of any assistance in analyzing or arranging or explaining the thing that she knows I shall regard this time as not misspent.

The purpose of this discussion is to further the establishment of fatigue as a factor in standardizing the number and arrangement of hours of labor. It is not purely merciful or perhaps primarily merciful, but fundamentally an attempt to economize the powers of our working population. It is desirable, therefore, that we clarify so far as we may our notion of fatigue and separate it into its various aspects.

Fatigue is a comprehensive term and not particularly valuable as related to our purpose. It is a mistake to consider that overwork and fatigue necessarily coincide. It is a mistake to believe that sufficiently clear evidences of fatigue arise in connection with unduly strenuous labor. The elements entering into the question of labor as related to endurance are complex. For example, much of the heaviest labor from the standpoint of physical exertion is not associated habitually with an immediate sense of exhaustion, even though its ultimate results be very destructive.

Heavier trades such as iron-workers, blacksmiths and many others, and even the activities of certain forms of athletics, are not characterized by any marked fatigue, and yet they are beyond question extremely destructive to the human organism.

The great increase in strength, bulk, activity and perhaps vitality incident to these strenuous occupations not only does not mitigate, but on the contrary rather accellerates destructive organic changes and serves to deprive them of the protective and conservative influence of fatigue.

The problem presented hereby is one of great practical difficulty. Picture the difficulty of persuading a blacksmith, who is able to do his full day's work without conscious fatigue, that his whole method of labor should be modified with respect to a deterioration far in the future. Yet there is not the least doubt that, if the logical course of standardization is pursued, just such a question as that must arise. The immediate questions before us will be simpler because more obvious.

What do we mean by fatigue? I think it is a mistake to consider the various manifestations of fatigue as merely matters of degree. The wear and tear upon the organism comes in so many ways and through such various phases that it is hardly comprehensible if we simply treat it as a gradation.

We assume that an individual who is tired will recuperate with rest. Under the simplest conditions this is true. It is not conceivable that there is a degree of fatigue which has no structural relation. The fact that our means of observation are not sufficient to show us what the structural change is, merely argues our limitation. It is to assume that even the simplest fatigue has a change in cellular structure which under ordinary circumstances rapidly returns to the normal.

It is undoubtedly true that conditions of prolonged tax with exhaustion produce structural cellular change which does not easily or rapidly return to the normal. Between these extremes there are doubtless all degrees, but our practical questions cannot rest upon a simple schematic basis like that. We have got to weigh and measure fatigue as related to the specific conditions under which it occurs. The problem is individual in each instance.

The character of work, age, sex, vitality and material conditions of the worker must be weighed together.

It is not a mechanical problem, it is not a mere physical problem. It is distinctly a human problem in which the interrelation of physical, mental and industrial needs must be intelligently interpreted.

Doubtless this interpretation will proceed irregularly, and unsymmetrically along the lines of least resistance. We have seen this clearly foreshadowed in the movement against child labor, followed markedly by the movement to limit the labors of women. These in turn will be succeeded by movements arising as the necessity for them becomes more obvious. Nevertheless no single movement along these lines can be regarded as final, nor even very useful except as it establishes beyond question recognition of the principle that labor is a human function and intended to elevate and not to degrade the race.

Every detail that can be worked out in building up an industrial system that squares with this ethical conception will be of value and immutable, but far in the distance lies that point at which all of these ideas will be gathered together, correlated and made to serve the real interests of humanity.

In the meantime we must strive point by point to clarify, demonstrate and make effective ideas looking to this end.

Long ago students of industrial conditions came to recognize as a type the individual who is ''spent'' by reason of undue labor before maturity. We have hardly yet grasped the idea that the same factors showing acutely in the results upon the immature, operate somewhat less manifestly in all laborers.

The two factors, specialization and economy of production, are bringing us to an industrial crisis which will have to be reckoned with. Specialization means beyond doubt industrial effectiveness, but its counterbalance is monotony. Economy of production means especially economy of time, but its counterbalance is ''speeding up.'' Out of these two factors arise the great offenses against human endurance and community welfare.

Both of these factors must be interpreted in the light of psychologic fact. The ultra-monotonous labor, by reason of its lack of conscious constructive quality, fails utterly to introduce into the personal equation of the laborer the compensating factor of intelligent interest. The ''speeding up'' process particularly related to this work, must be weighed in the light of its mental strain. Of the two, beyond doubt the ''speeding up'' process is the more destructive as a mere physical proposition, but as related to individual development or happiness or inspiration it is not so clear that monotony is not the worse.

It is quite possible for either of these lines to be pursued without very conscious fatigue until a great damage has been done. The elements entering into personal attitude toward work are so complex that one can scarcely forecast in particular how things will work out, but wide observation shows as a general proposition that in many lines of industry there is an enormous sacrifice of individuals upon this altar of economical production.

It is clear then that any questions of time as a measure of a day's labor must be established in relation to the character of the labor.

Fatigue is viciously progressive. When it has passed a given point there are at least three general considerations.

First, the actual structural change due to over tax and expenditure. Second, the impairment of nutritive processes distinctly limiting assimilation and repair. Third, the accumulation of poisonous products incident to the operation of the two preceding. Taken altogether we have an overwhelming incubus which no organism can long survive.

Are we going to meet this situation by the enactment of child labor laws? We are not. Are we going to meet it by the enactment of laws limiting the hours of work of women? We are not. How then are we likely to progress? By the creation of a new industrial conception. By the establishment of the principle that human industry is only beneficent in so far as it evokes and utilizes the largest individual powers for the longest time.

Any conception which makes material production paramount to the essential interest of the units entering into that production can only aggravate our present condition and accellerate an inevitable disaster.

The chief factor entering into the determination of this problem is the factor of endurance. The subordinate factors are happiness and harmony, but fatigue manifest or hidden is the essence of this question.

You will gather from this very cursory discussion my reservations upon the topic of this paper. Not only is our present knowledge chemical and biologic as to the ''Toxin of Fatigue'' insufficient to furnish us any practical data, but further, it is exceedingly ill-advised to attempt to establish working formulae upon any foundation so ill-secured. In so far as progress in industrial matters is to be furthered by legislative action, what is presented must carry conviction to the ordinary intelligent mind. Propaganda based upon hypothesis, half-truth or partially determined scientific knowledge is dangerous.

The laboratory developments upon this subject are stimulating and helpful. They cannot at present be used either effectively or with safety in a practical effort to correct the abuses of our social life.

When I discredit in this way laboratory results I do not at all discredit the laboratory idea. It is beyond all things the idea which we most need at this moment to establish a foundation for industrial reform. It cannot, however, be the chemical laboratory, or the physiologic laboratory except as to minor adjunct. Our laboratory is the human laboratory. The field of operation, the individuals who make up our industrial life; it is the shop, the office, the factory and the mine. What is needed above all things as bearing upon this question is comprehensive and profound study of the conditions of labor, particularly with reference to the question of human endurance.

This means an accurate, analytical study of work as it is done where it is done, freely regarding all of the collateral conditions under which workers live.

With this modification I am convinced that laboratory work as a foundation for industrial reform, one phase of which is the standardization of hours of labor, is fundamental.

Fatigue must be approached from the standpoint of its results, obvious and demonstrable to the intelligent mind. The chemistry of fatigue must be a side issue. Given any such exhaustive research into the ultimate facts of laboring conditions, we shall have acquired a fund of knowledge upon which can safely be built an elaborate system of industrial hygiene.

If, however, we had at hand now, the information necessary to a general conscientious attack upon this problem, we would still be far from great achievement.

The second factor, which I have before mentioned, must be secured. Popular belief in the principle and doctrine that we stand for is a necessary antecedent condition. It is not likely that a great change in the conception of industrial morality can take place abruptly. It is likely that a long series of experiments, advances, retreats and half-victories will mark the progress of the next few years.

It is necessary, however, for those agencies in society assuming responsibility for these movements, and arraying public influence in furtherance of them should proceed consciously, unerringly and without essential compromise toward the establishment of an ethical conception of labor and its relation to life.

Properly combined with and reinforced by a mass of honestly determined facts, this phase of the matter cannot be discredited by being called sentimental.

Unless backed and fortified by clearly determined facts a sentimental campaign will fail, but all the research and determination of fact conceivable will fall far short of its achievement except as it is vitalized and promulgated by the deepest moral sentiment of the people.

WORK ACCIDENTS AND EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY

BY MISS CRYSTAL EASTMAN, SECRETARY COMMISSION ON EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY AND CAUSES OF INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS, UNEMPLOYMENT AND LACK OF FARM LABOR, NEW YORK

Nearly three years ago I went to Pittsburgh under the direction of the now famous Survey and spent twelve months investigating the industrial accident situation there. Then I came back to New York and began to tell people what I had learned. Somehow it was a success—probably because the subject was just becoming popular and because I was the lucky one who had first gathered facts about it. At first it was fun to be introduced as a person who knew all about industrial accidents and enjoyed telling my little knowledge. But the time soon came when I was tired of my story, when Pittsburgh and her killed and injured workmen bored me beyond words. I used to lie awake nights hoping somebody would ask me to make a speech about "The Barbaric Hair-Dress of the Female Tribes of North America in 1910" or "The Color of the Eyes of the Men of Timbuctoo," or anything else on earth except industrial accidents, employers' liability and Pittsburgh! But it is no use, I'll never be famous for anything else.

Wouldn't you think when Governor Hughes appointed me on a state commission with thirteen men, after I became an "Honorable"—a duly accredited officer of the state and traveled around from city to city holding public hearings with my fellow commissioners, that there might be a certain unusualness in that which would overshadow any Pittsburgh performance? Well, it didn't. For when Mr. Kellogg asked me to speak at this Conference, I offered these two titles of possible papers: (1) "The Trials of a Female Commissioner, or How I Became Smoke-Proof"; (2) "Serving the State, or the Sufferings of an Honorable Woman." But he turned both of these down and insisted on "Work Accidents and Employers' Liability, or What I Learned in Pittsburgh."

So here goes! But don't expect it to be as exciting as if he had chosen one of those other subjects I offered. We shall begin with Pittsburgh and end with the Workmen's Compensation Bills now pending at Albany. Please imagine yourselves asking me four very reasonable questions about our investigation of work accidents in Pittsburgh:

1. Why did we do it?
2. How did we do it?
3. What did we find out?
4. What can be done about it?

In these days there is among the "uplifters" almost a craze for investigation of social and industrial conditions. This sort of study, which involves going into peoples' homes and asking them questions about their personal affairs, is justified, it seems to me, only when there is a pretty strong conviction that a wrong exists big enough to warrant the interference of society, and of such a nature that society can right it. Investigation just for the sake of investigation does not appeal to me. Social investigators should know what they are driving at. They should have not only evidence that there is an evil but a rough plan for remedying it in mind before they begin an investigation.

There had been for some years a growing conviction in America that our laws do not furnish just and proper compensation to workmen injured at their work, nor to the widows and children of workmen killed. This conviction was based on a vast number of unconnected incidents, individual experiences, newspaper stories, and magazine articles, etc.

Such was our evidence that a wrong existed. Had we any reason to believe that it was a wrong which legislation could remedy? We knew well enough that no law could really comfort the mother for the death of her son, nor compensate the stricken widow and children for a workman killed, nor make up to a man for the loss of his strong right arm. But we did believe that some law could be devised which would take from the injured wage earner and his family part of the economic burden of the accident, some law by which society should make up to them at least a share of their income loss, and thus keep them from destitution. We were the more sure of this because of the fact that such laws had already been adopted in nearly every European country.

It was to get a reliable collection of facts to substantiate our conviction and give weight to our demand for legislation, that the study of industrial accidents in Pittsburgh was undertaken. That was the reason why.

Now, as to method. How did we do it? We soon found that there is no complete public record of industrial accidents, and at that time, as I have since learned, there was none in any state of the Union. There was, however, at the coroner's office, a record of every fatal accident in the county. After some wire-pulling we got permission to use these files, and spent over a month in making a record of every industrial fatality reported to the coroner during twelve months—from July, 1906, to July, 1907,—taking down on a separate card for each case, the name and address of the man killed, his age, occupation and conjugal condition, the name of his employer, the circumstances of the accident, the names of important witnesses and the verdict. Armed with these records we set out to find the family and complete each story.

The plan was to learn from the evidence in the coroner's record how each accident happened, and to learn from visiting the family what happened after the accident, i. e., how great a financial loss was suffered by the family of the workman killed, how much of this was made up by compensation received from the employer, and how the family was affected in its economic life by the accident. When we had done this with the fatalities we followed the same course with the records of three months' industrial injuries which we secured from the hospitals in Pittsburgh.

To an audience like this I need not explain that this was not a dull and dreadful way to spend a year. You know that the life of a social investigator is one of absorbing interest, full of experiences which give him a broader understanding of human life—deeper sympathies, and which ought to make him wise. But such experience cannot be written down on record cards, nor such wisdom tabulated and offered up to legislatures in proof that new laws are needed. The business of the investigator is to get accurate statistical information. From this point of view, then, what did we find out by our study of work accidents in Pittsburgh? First, that in one year 526 men were killed by accidents of employment in Allegheny county—195 steel workers, 125 railroaders, 71 miners, and 135 miscellaneous workers, including housesmiths, carpenters, electric linemen, elevator men, teamsters, quarrymen, etc. Of these men nearly half were American born, 70 per cent were workmen of skill and training, and 80 per cent were under forty years of age.

An analysis of these fatal accidents, according to personal responsibility, based largely on evidence given at the inquest, showed roughly this result: for 30 per cent of the accidents no one was responsible; for 30 per cent the workmen killed or his fellow workmen were responsible; for 30 per cent the employer, or some one representing him in a position of authority was responsible, and for 10 per cent both employer and workmen were responsible. If there were time for a further analysis of these groups of accidents, it would reveal much. I could show you that while sometimes the workmen's carelessness is exasperating heedlessness, oftener it is ignorance, or inattention due to the long hours and intensity of work; or recklessness inevitably developed by a trade which requires daring; I could show you that while sometimes the employer's carelessness is deliberate disregard for safety in the construction of his plant, often it is the human frailty of his agents, the hasty mistaken orders of foremen, or the putting off of necessary repairs from day to day so as not to delay the game, an ordinary outcome of competition. In short, one must conclude that these accidents seldom can be laid to the direct personal fault of any one. They happen more or less inevitably in the course of industry. If it were carried on slowly and carefully with safety as the first concern of all, there would be few accidents, but carried on as it is today in America, there are many accidents.

With this conclusion in mind concerning the nature and cause of work accidents, let us turn to the other side of the story—what happens after the accident. The first thing to notice is that the person injured or killed is always a worker, an income producer. No helpless children, no feeble old men, no idle women perish in these disasters. A moment's thought will show you that, therefore, nearly every work accident leaves a problem of poverty behind. We found that of the 526 men killed in the year's accidents, 258 or almost one-half were married men regularly supporting their families, (more than 470 children under 16 were left fatherless by the fatalities of the year); of the single men and boys killed, only 38 per cent were quite without dependents.

Speaking in terms of economics then, the most serious feature of the usual work fatality is the permanent income loss which it means to the family affected. Perhaps it is only the dollar or two over and above his board which a minor son contributes every pay day; perhaps it is the father's regular $12 or $15 a week upon which the typical young family is wholly dependent; according to our figures 63 per cent of work fatalities mean the sudden cutting off of the sole or chief support of a family. Permanent injury to a worker may mean a bigger economic loss to the family than his death, and lesser injuries, while they mean but a temporary loss, may have serious economic consequences in the life of a family.

No investigation was necessary to prove that work accidents mean, in the first instance, income loss to the workers' families. Under American laws and customs, is any considerable share of this loss shifted to the industry in the course of which the worker suffered his injury? That was the central question of the Pittsburgh accident study. Here is the answer: Among the families of married men killed, one-half suffered the entire loss, i. e., they got from the employer either no compensation whatever, or else merely funeral expenses. And only one-fourth of these families got more than $500. Among the families of single men (with dependents) 65 per cent stood the whole loss, and only 17 per cent got more than $500.

In injury cases we found roughly the same proportions, 56 per cent of married men, 66 per cent of single men with dependents, and 69 per cent of single men without dependents—stood the whole income loss resulting from their injuries.

The share of the burden born by employers as a whole can be better understood from these figures: For 139 cases of married men killed where we learned both the yearly wages and the compensation, the total compensation was $74,305, the total yearly wages $109,262. Thus the total compensation paid to the dependent widows and children amounted to less than three-fourths of their first year's income loss.

It hardly seems necessary to prove by statistics that these innumerable income losses, resulting from work accidents, born as we have seen wholly or almost wholly by the workers and their families, result in hardship and privation. Yet to determine this by actual investigation was part of our task. The following figures give some idea of what a work fatality means in the home. Among 132 families where a husband and father had been killed, 53 of the widows went to work, 22 children were taken out of school and put to work, and 19 families moved to poorer quarters—all this within a year after the accident.

These three items upon which we have definite figures merely suggest the problem of poverty which those families had to face. One-half of the work accident victims were earning less than $15 a week—obviously not enough to carry adequate life insurance at the high rates necessitated by their occupations. The economic struggles of a family suddenly deprived of that small income can be left to the imagination.

Have we any reason to think this situation is peculiar to the Pittsburgh district or to the state of Pennsylvania? Can we of other States comfort ourselves with the thought that our laws are fairer, that our employers are more above self-interest, that more injured workmen are compensated? I think not. During the past year the New York State Employers' Liability Commission carried on an investigation of the subject similar to the Pittsburgh study. Here are a few of the figures resulting:

Two hundred and thirty-six fatal cases—to more than half of the dependent families no compensation above funeral expenses paid.

Ten hundred and forty temporary disability cases—44 per cent did not receive even medical expenses from the employer.

The Wisconsin Industrial Insurance Commission found that out of 306 injury cases less than a third received anything more than medical expenses, while in 51 death cases only a third of the families were paid more than $500.

As to actual results in the families, the New York commission found as follows:

Among 186 families of married men killed:—93 widows went to work; 9 children under 16 went to work; 37 families reduced rent; 33 families had received aid; 10 families were destitute.

It seems to me that there is little need for further investigation. The facts of the situation are fairly well established for every state which has the same general laws in regard to an employers' liability for injury to his employees. We are forced to conclude, with the New York commission in its final report, "that only a small proportion of the workmen injured by accidents of employment and the dependents of those killled get substantial damages; that comparatively few of the workmen in occupations which involve special hazard are earning enough to enable them to provide adequate insurance against it; that, therefore, through accidents of employment thousands of workingmen's families are brought to extreme poverty and privation, the state suffers through the lowered standard of living of a vast number of its citizens and the public is directly burdened with the maintenance of many who become destitute."

The law which governs this whole situation and which in its main features is the same in almost all the states, is the law of employers' liability. It is a law based on fault. The injured workman can recover only when he can prove that the accident resulted from negligence in his employer, and by no means always even then. For the law holds that the workmen assumes all the ordinary risks of the trade, all the risks due to the negligence of fellow servants, all the risks due to the negligence of his employer, such as defective machinery, absence of guards, etc., if he knew about them and kept on working just the same. Moreover, if the workman's own negligence contributed in any degree to the accident, he cannot recover no matter how gross the employer's negligence was. Now it is clear that under this law the workmen's chances of recovery are very slim. Practically his chances are still further reduced by the fact that his case loses and the employer's case gains by the inevitable delay in the courts, that the witnesses are almost always in the employ of the defendant, and that the defendant is usually a big corporation which can fight forever, and the plaintiff, an injured workman or a widow and children in immediate need of funds.

The outcome of this law as we have seen is that the bulk of the accident loss rests on the workman injured and his dependents, bringing hardship, sometimes extreme poverty and even destitution upon them.

This is the most serious indictment of the law, but many other things can be said against it. Most people have a vague notion of the evils connected with "employers' liability"—"ambulance chasers" pursuing the injured workman to his home to stir up litigation, or extracting enormous contingent fees from the distracted widow, claim-agents in league with hospital authorities, securing valid releases from men too sick to know their legal rights, or bribing witnesses to disappear, liability insurance for which the employer pays thousands of dollars every year and from which his injured employees reap no benefit; law suits bitterly fought—lasting often several years—to determine fine points of legal negligence, while the children of the workman killed are starving or dependent on charity; these are some of the mental images suggested to us by the phrase "employers' liability". And there is too much truth in them for comfort. To quote again from the New York report: "Because of the uncertain and arbitrary chances of recovery under our system (of employers' liability), the state is put to the cost of much fruitless litigation and employers pay out enormous sums to protect themselves against liability on account of industrial accidents, from all of which the victims of those accidents reap little benefit; the system is slow in operation, is an encouragment to corrupt practices on both sides, and is a great source of antagonism between employers and employees."

The last question was: What can be done about it? Is there a remedy? Accidents of employment as I have suggested are not for the most part due to the direct personal fault of any person. They occur in the course of industry. Danger is inherent in modern methods of production, construction, transportation—accidents are to a certain extent inevitable—men are bound to be killed and injured.

Our law, nevertheless, disregards all this; it is based on fault just as it was in the days when one man's carelessly hitting another with his hoe was the typical work accident. Moreover, it has been very narrowly interpreted against the interests of the workmen. The way to cure such a situation is to fit the law to the actual conditions of modern industry—to abandon the law based on fault and put in its place a law based on the principle that every industrial enterprise should regularly share the loss resulting to the workmen injured in its accidents.

Such is the law in almost every civilized country except the United States. In England, for instance, since 1897, employers have been required to compensate all their employees injured, and the families of those killed according to certain limited uniform rates. By adopting some such law, I believe we might hope to accomplish three things: (a). Save almost all of the tremendous waste of money and honesty and good will involved in the present system, by doing away with litigation over questions of negligence in such cases. (b). Provide an important incentive for the prevention of accidents by making each serious accident a direct, sure and considerable expense to employers. (c). Shift a share of the economic loss of each accident from the family affected, by way of the employer, to the whole body of consumers, by making accidents a regular cost of industry.

How to get such a law in America is another story.

There have been at least nine state commissions appointed within the last few years to inquire into this subject of employers' liability for industrial accidents and devise a remedy for the situation which has just been set forth. The Connecticut, Massachusetts and Illinois commissions have reported but without results in legislation. In the two latter states new commissions have recently been appointed. The commissions of Wisconsin and Minnesota are expected to report soon. Those of Ohio and New Jersey are just commencing their labors. In New York state alone there is a probability of legislation during 1910 which will change fundamentally the system of employers' liability. The New York commission appointed in June, 1909, submitted its first report to the legislature March 19, 1910, recommending two measures. One of these provides several important amendments to the Employers' Liability Act; it greatly modifies the assumption of risk rule, places upon the employer the burden of proving contributory negligence and makes employers liable for negligence of employees "entrusted with any superintendence" or "entrusted with authority to direct, control, or command any employee in the performance of the duty of such employee." After having thus increased the liability of the employer, the bill introduces an elective compensation plan by declaring that "when and if any employer in this state and any of his employees shall consent to the compensation plan" therein described by filing such consent with the county clerk, then in case injury thereafter results to such employee, compensation shall be paid regardless of negligence, according to a uniform schedule, four years wages for death and half wages for disability up to eight years. This bill has passed both senate and assembly and will almost surely be signed by the governor. But the Employers' liability amendments included in it find precedent in the laws of other states, and the compensation scheme presented, since it is purely voluntary cannot be said to be a radical step toward the substitution of a compensation for a liability system.

The other bill, known as the "Compulsory Compensation Act for Dangerous Employments," however, will, if it becomes a law, be the first of its kind in this country, and warrants the attention of all who are interestsd in this reform. This bill, which has already passed the senate, applies only to the following specified employments in which of necessity the trade hazard is great:

1. The erection or demolition of any bridge or building in which there is, or in which the plans and specifications require iron or steel framework.

2. The operation of elevators, elevating machines, or derricks, or hoisting apparatus used within or on the outside of any such bridge or building for the hoisting of materials for such erection or demolition.

3. Work on scaffolds of any kind elevated twenty feet or more above the ground, water, or floor beneath in the erection, construction, painting, alteration or repair of buildings, bridges or structures.

4. The construction of tunnels or subways.

5. All work carried on under compressed air.

6. Construction, operation, alteration or repair of wires, cables, switchboards or apparatus charged with electric currents.

7. All work necessitating dangerous proximity to gunpowder, blasting powder, dynamite or any other explosives, where the same are used as instrumentalities of the industry.

8. The operation on steam railroads of locomotives, engines, trains, motors, or cars propelled by gravity or steam, electricity or other mechanical power, or the construction or repair of steam railroad tracks and roadbeds over which such locomotives, engines, trains, motors or cars are operated.

The bill provides for the compensation by employers of all workmen injured in these employments by any accidents due in whole or in part to the fault of the employer, or any of his officers, agents or employees, and also by any accident due in whole or in part to "a necessary risk or danger of the employment or one inherent in the nature thereof."

The schedule of compensation provided is, in case of death, four years' wages, not to exceed three thousand dollars; and in case of total or partial disability fifty per cent of the earnings of the injured person payable weekly, but not more than ten dollars per week, during the continuance of the disability, not to exceed a period of eight years.

This bill does not take away any of the rights of action now existing either at common law or under any statute, but provides that the persons suing must elect at the time of bringing his action whether he will pursue his rights under the compensation act or under the existing liability laws, and such election is final.

This measure has received much adverse criticism, particularly at the hands of those who are eager to see workmen's compensation established in America. The members of the commission have been challenged to explain, first, why we limited the operation of the compensation principle to a few dangerous trades, and, second, why we provided for compensation in case of accidents due to negligence or to a risk of the trade instead of to all accidents in the course of employment. I am glad of this opportunity to answer those questions.

In the first place a very little experience in law-making is enough to teach one that doing a thing is a very different matter from telling how to do it. Especially is this true in regard to labor legislation in the United States. There are two chief reasons why in this country we cannot as a rule go ahead and pass a labor law when we see that it is good. In the first place, there is our interstate competition; we have legislative lines between the states, but no commercial barriers. This gives the manufacturer a substantial reason back of his protest against laws which will increase his cost of production. He can in fairness argue that if laws are passed in his state requiring compensation for all injured employees, while his competitors in neighboring states go on as before, he cannot "stay in the game." Whether we sympathize with his plight or not we must recognize the effectiveness of his argument before our state legislatures.

In the second place, we have written constitutions, state and national. Certain provisions in these documents, doubtless originally intended to safeguard the rights of the people, serve often, so it seems to us reformers of today, to deny the rights of the people. But here again it seems wise to understand thoroughly and reckon with this difficulty rather than to pretend it is not there.

In drawing up a workmen's compensation bill, the New York commission had to face both of these difficulties, and the bill we recommended was our way of getting around them. It may have been good or bad judgment but it was an honest and painstaking effort, and deserves your thoughtful consideration.

To begin with, we purposely left out so far as possible, the manufacturers, in the belief that we could get the new principle—limited compensation for industrial injuries based not on negligence but on trade risks—established more easily in connection with industries not directly involved in interstate competition such as railroading and building, than in connection with manufacture, where additional cost to employers would be an almost insurmountable argument against it; and when once enacted into law and "tried out," as it were, we believed that the principle of workmen's compensation would soon become generally accepted as just and reasonable; that the new system would be found to entail advantages to the employer which would offset its additional cost, and that therefore, it could be rapidly extended to cover all employments in which accidents commonly occur.

Second, as to the constitutionality of the proposed measure. Without going into the "reasons why," which are hard to explain, let me say that all but two of the lawyers whom we consulted told us that a general compensation act, covering every accident in the course of employment, would violate both the state and national constitutions. Instead of going ahead and pretending we could not see this obstacle, we tried to find a way around it. Further study and consultation resulted in the conclusion that a compensation law limited to obviously dangerous employments and based upon the risk inherent in the employment would be upheld, the theory being that since the state can, if it likes, prohibit a dangerous enterprise, it can a fortiori exact certain conditions from those undertaking it, for instance, that they shall insure their employees against the risk involved. "The risk involved," however, cannot be made to include every accident possible in the course of that employment, but only those resulting from its inherent danger. Upon this theory our bill was drawn. I believe it will be found to cover practically all serious accidents in the employments to which it applies. It is difficult to think of a bad injury or a fatality in railroading or construction work, for instance, which would not be due in "whole or in part" either to a failure of the employer or some of his "officers, agents or employees,' or "to a necessary risk or danger of the employment or to one inherent in the nature thereof."

To sum up this defense, we drew the bill so that it should apply largely to employers not directly competing with employers in other states, because we believed that by thus taking away the one solid economic argument of the opposition, we could get the bill passed; and because we believed that to get in the entering wedge containing the new principle was the important thing for us to do,—the rest would take care of itself. And, again, we limited the compensation principle to obviously dangerous trades, and to accidents due to the inherent risks of those trades, in order to have a sound argument for the constitutionality of the measure.

As might be expected, I am an enthusiastic advocate of this compensation bill recommended by the New York commission. The more I think about it the surer I am that it is right. For, as I see it, the fundamentally important step in this reform is to establish the principle that the risks of trade born through all these years by the workmen alone, should in all wisdom and justice be shared by the employer; and our bill, limited as it is, if enacted and upheld by the courts, must go a long way toward fixing that principle in American law.

CHILDREN'S INSTITUTIONS AND THE ACCIDENT PROBLEM

BY MISS FLORENCE LATTIMORE, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR CHILD HELPING DEPARTMENT OF THE RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

Last winter in New York, a well-to-do owner of a factory in which accidents were frequent, said to me, "I do not think the wives of our men who are killed feel the need of greater compensation. The people of the town are very kind and there are societies that take the children. This gives the wife a chance to rest up, to work, to regain the freedom of her youth, and it gives the children better training than they would have at home."

This story reflects the attitude of a large group of sympathetic and charitably inclined people. We have not yet seriously considered the fact that the children's institutions, especially those of our industrial districts, are being used as a form of compensation for industrial accidents.

The institutions are so used as compensation whenever they care for the child of a bread-winner killed or incapacitated by trade causes, without receiving the cost of maintenance from the child's family, or from the employers of labor.

No one knows the number of children dependent as the result of trade accidents and trade diseases. The institutions cannot tell us which community dangers are proving the greatest menace to the younger generation of our times. Here and there certain among them are looking over the heads of their institutional population to see what forces are sending in the children, but in the main they have not identified themselves with the wave of social research at present spreading over our country.

In the absence of special inquiry by those who receive applications for institutional care of children, we find that the records do not reveal the facts necessary for even a partial discussion as to the relation of the institution to the accident problem.

It is interesting to surmise what the effect would be upon our institutional managers and our charitable public if they realized that the public and private funds in the charge of children's agencies, were being used for those dependent, because a deserved pension was not given, or because compensation was seriously inadequate, or because compensation which might have been adequate, was wasted for lack of a strong friendly hand at time of need.

Consider the challenge in such groups of facts as these culled from the Pittsburg district. In the year 1907, five hundred and twenty-six men were recorded by the Pittsburg Survey as having been killed by work accidents in the district, and the local hospitals received over two thousand men, injured to such an extent as to require bed care. The number killed or incapacitated as the result of trade diseases, has not even been estimated.

Now for the second group: In this same year a constant stream of three thousand supposedly normal children of wage earners in the Pittsburg district, flowed into the local institutions for children; they found three thousand more already under the institution roofs. These figures do not include the wage earner's children who were cared for by the institutions for the blind, deaf, crippled, feeble-minded or delinquent—those for whom reasons other than broken homes, may have made institutional care necessary.

What is the relation between these two groups of facts? What constructive program should the children's agencies adopt in regard to them?

As a partial answer to this question, we may refer to a limited case study of the dependency of institutional children in the Pittsburg District, undertaken by the Russell Sage Foundation in 1908.

The inquiry was not primarily for the purpose of tracing child dependency which was due to work causes. It was a general investigation of the families of five hundred and thirty children cared for by five representative institutions of the district. Four of these were Protestants and one was Catholic, one restricted its work to boys, one to girls, three were co-educational.

Notwithstanding the fact that these institutions were in the heart of an industrial district, in which disasters from trade accidents, typhoid fever and tuberculosis were every day affairs, and that the managers were constantly turning away applicants because of lack of room, no records were kept that told the percentage of normal boys and girls who were made dependent from one or other of these causes. The usual entries were to the effect that the father was dead, that the mother was dead, that both parents were dead, or ill, or *just poor*, Desertion was frequently mentioned as explanatory of the children's presence in the institutions. The five hundred and thirty cases investigated, were selected indiscriminately without reference to the reasons for dependency given by the institutional authorities. They involved two hundred and fifty families, in sixty-seven of which histories of trade accidents or trade diseases were discovered.

The occupations in which the accidents occurred were representative of the industries of the district, and may be summed up in eight groups: bakeries, building trades, miscellaneous factories, mills and machine shops, coal mines, railways, telephone and telegraph companies and miscellaneous trades.

The results of the injuries were as follows:

1. Accident or trade diseases resulting in death	24
2. Permanent injuries not resulting in death but	
(a) Wholly incapacitating.	2
(b) Resulting in some permanent inconvenience but not wholly incapacitating.	8
(c) Permanent injuries to hand, not incapacitating	7
3. Temporary injuries.	24
4. Unobtainable.	1
Total	66

An indication that these families did not naturally belong to the dependent classes is shown by the fact that most of the fathers (83 per cent) were American born, and in the prime of life at the time their children became dependent. The institutions co-operating in this study were not restricted to any one nationality, but the presence of a large Polish institution in the community may be somewhat responsible for the small per centage of the foreign born in our group.

We now come to the question as to how large a factor these accidents and diseases were in the dependency of the one hundred and sixty-five children. In attempting to settle this question, one comes, of necessity, against certain border line cases, in which so many destructive factors have entered, that one cannot tell just what part in the downfall the trade histories played. In 22 per cent of the sixty-seven families with records of trade accidents and trade diseases it does not appear that the accidents or diseases had any connection with the forces that precipitated the children into the institutions. In 33 per cent accidents and diseases are found to be factors in the child dependency, but family troubles, lack of thrift and other human waywardness so complicated the situation, that one is not justified in stating they were due to trade causes. In 45 per cent, however, the dependency appears to have been due chiefly, if not wholly, to trade causes. This 45 per cent includes seventy-five children. We find, therefore, that out of the total five hundred and thirty children covered by our little investigation, the dependency of 14 per cent may be definitely traced to trade accidents and trade diseases.

It is fair to suppose that some of these families might have failed to hold their own without the complication of trade causes. Twenty-four per cent of the fathers had an earning capacity of $15 or under. According to the Pittsburg Survey this amount was enough to float a family only so long as no emergencies were encountered. We may, therefore, look upon these cases as being on the danger line. It is significant, however, that in 54 per cent the earning capacity of the bread winner was from $15 to $35 per week. In 23 per cent the earning capacity could not be learned, but there are no indications that it was unduly low.

It was sometimes impossible to gain information regarding benefits, compensation and relief received by the family. We learned that 62 per cent of the fathers had at some time during their lives been connected with protective societies; that 32 per cent had not been protected, and in 6 per cent data were not obtainable. So far as we were able to discover, only eight of the twenty-four families whose bread winners were killed, received any compensation whatever from the employer.

At the time these cases applied to the institutions, there was no association of charities in Pittsburg. We made every effort to learn the full extent of aid given by the relief societies and the churches, but such help appears to have been practically negligible in quantity and inadequate to support a strong program for the family in need.

The sudden loss of the wage earner produced such confusion among the survivors, that they could not always recall definitely what had occurred during the first days of shock. Some of these mothers seemed like rudderless ships, floating on a sea of chance, and the particular cases under discussion, show, above all else, a need for such friendship and direction as the resourceful Association of Charities is prepared to give. In the absence of this, institutions were looked upon as harbors of safety—for the children at least.

The seventy-five children, in whose dependency industrial accidents were leading features, spent an aggregate number of two hundred and eight years in the institutions—something over two centuries—at an approximate cost of $24,500, paid from the institution funds. In other words, we actually found that an average of $818 were spent upon each of these families, in the form of institutional life for their little children, without the expenditure of one penny towards preserving the family home. Was such expenditure justified by the result?

Suppose we take up a few cases to illustrate what actually happened to some of our family groups when institutional care was given for children dependent as a direct result of trade accidents or trade diseases.

For instance, here are four children who have been given eight years of institutional care, recorded as "deserted by father." A study of the case shows that this father, Robert A., bright and industrious, began to work at the age of twelve. He became a steam hammerman in a Pittsburg mill, and thriftily supported his wife and four children until he had a trade accident, in which he lost one eye and was otherwise generally injured. The company sent him to a hospital, where an effort was made to save the other eye. He was out of the shop about four months after this accident, and when he went back his wages were reduced from $2.50 to $2.00 per day, because of his infirmity. He was given no recognition on an accident claim. The men in his shop were very sympathetic and took up a collection for him. As time went on he seemed to lose courage and, although advised to sue the company, he did not do so because he was pessimistic about winning his case. This accident occurred in 1901, and Mrs. A. said he was never the same man afterwards. His mind became affected, he began to drink heavily and was irritable at home. Then he began to work irregularly, and his wife had to take in washing to help support the family. He finally left Pittsburg for West Virginia, and after a time his wife put the children in an institution and followed him. He soon had another accident in which he nearly lost his hand, and was again laid up. After this he went to another city where an arm was broken while he was working in a machine shop, and he was laid up for three months. The company gave him no help, but the men chipped in every pay day and gave his wife all the money that she had. Mrs. A. said this would not have tided them over, if she had not saved $35 out of money her husband had given her with which to buy wood, and instead of buying it she had gathered it along railroad tracks without her husband's knowledge.

The next accident occurred in another tool shop, where Mr. A.'s right leg was broken in two places by some metal that fell on him from a nearby pile, and practically buried him. His injuries were so serious as to keep him out of work for five months. His wife supported the family by keeping fourteen boarders. His fellow workers made up one collection at this time, but the company did nothing. Mrs. A. said she became so discouraged with all these disasters and her husband's increasingly bad temper, that she told him to leave and she would take care of the four children. Mr. A. then went to Oklahoma, where he is hammer driver and blacksmith, earning good wages, but he does not send any money home.

Mrs. A. then gave up the boarders and went out by the day, working for a glass company. Here the end of one index finger was taken off on a press. Being a very plucky woman she missed only a few days' work, but her hand troubled her for about a year as the bone had been seriously injured. She was then given work at a machine which could be operated with one hand, was paid by the piece, but was able to make only $1.00 a day with the one hand, while she had previously made $1.80 with two. Soon after this some new machinery was introduced which made it impossible for her to earn even a dollar a day and she had to stop. While operating the one hand machine, Mrs. A. was obliged to stand with her weight on one foot, and one side became so strained that she had to put the children in an institution and go to her mother's home to rest. Here the institution could have saved the day, but it failed to see its opportunity. The mother afterwards went to work again in a pickle factory for $1.25 a day, but, out of this she had to buy her own caps and uniforms, and pay for a locker in which to keep her clothes. This did not leave her enough to live upon, and she was obliged to give up her position. She then worked for an electric company, which soon failed, and she was unable to collect her wages.

After another discouraging period she took a position as waitress, but her health interfered with her keeping this position. In despair at the situation, she used a little money saved while working in restaurants to open a rooming house, in an undesirable portion of the city, and from being an industrious and brave woman, a happy housewife and faithful mother, she has become—at the age of thirty—a woman of doubtful reputation, to whom the institutional authorities feel her children should not be returned. This case had cost the institution $1,000. Was the expenditure justified?

Should an institution be given as a solution for a case like the following: Here are four children being cared for by an institution free of charge. The father, a man of irreproachable character, devoted to his children, operated a punch press machine at an average wage of $15.00 per week. In 1906 his wife died, and he employed a housekeeper in order to preserve the family group. While operating the machine, soon after he established his home on this basis, he crushed the end of his index finger on his right hand. The company's physician took off the finger at the first joint and dressed the wound. Blood poisoning set in, and the company sent another physician to take off the second joint. This second physician states that the instruments used by the first physician had caused the poisoning. Still another amputation was necessary to save the hand, and Mr. H. was laid off for two and a half months, because of the accident, but received no compensation except the physician's services. This interruption threw him out of the regular ranks, and when he went back to the shop, he was only allowed to do spare work at nights for a wage of $8 per week. This amount did not pay his expenses, and so, after a brave struggle, he broke up his home and put the children in an institution.

When asked if he thought he was to blame for the accident, he said he thought he must have made some wrong move in operating the machine. It was a foot press machine, making a series of fifty-four punches before beginning over again. Mr. H. believes he lost count of the punches, and thought he had made fifty-four, when he had only made fifty-three. Feeling himself to blame for the accident, he had not taken steps to secure compensation from the company. Both he and the children are waiting for the time when he can afford to have them at home again. The institution has spent $900 in caring for these children.

The institutions involved in these cases and in others like them, felt that they were discharging their responsibilities by merely assuming care of the children. In the cases cited, however, the real needs of the parents and of the children were not recognized, and money which might have been spent in forms of constructive work, was absorbed in institutional food, clothing and shelter.

Here is another suggestive case: A case of trade disease treated by a relief agency first and by a children's institution afterwards:

Mr. Y., a strong, willing young workman and a good father to his two sons, was a shearman earning about $3.00 per day in a steel plant. Work became scarce and he was obliged to take a job that paid but $1.00 a day. In a desperate effort to increase his income, he took a position as galvanizer at a daily wage of $3.50. In two years he was suffering from acid poisoning, and Mrs. Y. tried to persuade him to give up this work and find something else to do. He told her, however, that the manager of the plant said that when a workman there was once poisoned with acid, there was no hope of recovery, and that he might as well go on in the plant until he died. He did die one year later, after extreme suffering. The pickler in the acid department was buried on the day of Mr. Y.'s death, and the foreman died two months later, both of the same trouble. Towards the end of Mr. Y.'s life his work was irregular and his average earning amounted to only about $10.50 a week. His insurance in the Prudential paid the burial expenses, but there was no other money for his wife to fall back upon. She kept the children with her for a few months after their father's death, and received a weekly allowance of two loaves of bread, one pound of sugar, one-quarter pound of tea, one quart of beans and a cake of soap from a relief society. However, this was not enough to save the home and the children were put in the institution. The mother then went out by the day sewing. She could not earn more than $6.00 a week and was unable to pay more than a few dollars towards the support of her children in the institution. It would have been no more expensive to charity to have provided adequate relief in the home, and so have preserved the family circle.

The need for friendly help to prevent dependency by the families to whom compensation is made by the employer, is sharply brought out by the story of Mrs. D. She and her husband, both people of excellent reputation, lived together in comparative comfort, until her husband was killed in 1904. He had formerly been a structural iron worker, earning $18.00 a week. He entered a steel mill and for a time worked as an electrician and machinist. He had been with the company about four months, when he was asked to repair an electric crane. After he had climbed up and crept under the crane to do the work, a boy, not knowing he was there, started the machinery, and Mr. D. was injured in such a way that he died within two hours. It was said at the plant that it could not be learned whether or not he had told anyone he was going under the crane, as he was unable to speak after the injury. Through the efforts of friends, Mrs. D. was paid $500 in cash by the company, and $25 a month for three years by the Carnegie Relief Fund, a total of $1,400. Mr. D. had been insured in the Metropolitan for $1,000, and this was paid to his wife.

With the little capital thus afforded her, Mrs. D. tried to conduct a small store, but said that in this experience she only learned how quickly it is possible to lose one's money. She was then obliged to place her eldest daughter with an aunt as domestic, her three other children in institutions, and she herself went out as housekeeper. Mrs. D. was very much discouraged about her children and herself. There are no relatives who are able to relieve her of any of her burdens. She has recently taken a clerkship in a department store whre she is paid $6.00 a week, and she has taken her sons out of the institution so she can made a home for them. One of them is earning a wage of $3.00 a week as office boy. Unfortunately she is not regularly employed, and her health has been much impaired by the strain under which she has lived. In an attempt to find a house within her means, she has had to take one in an undesirable neighborhood, facing the railroad tracks, and the trains thunder past almost at her doorstep. Here she is trying to make a home to which the little girl can come.

Another type of case with which the children's institutions are dealing is that in which disability is not technically due to trade accident, but in which the bread winner breaks down under trade conditions, and the children become unnecessarily dependent. This type may be briefly illustrated by the L. family.

Mr. L. worked in a pottery in Pittsburg. He and his wife were thrifty, somewhat quarrelsome Germans, who got along very well with their seven children. Mr. L.'s work in the pottery consisted in lifting plumbago pots, weighing about thirty-five pounds, from the machine in which they were made to a rack. In the language of the shop, he "racked pots from the jiggerhead." He also had to carry pots on wooden trays, which he balanced on his hip, and hand them down to the men working at the kiln. After nine years of this, he complained of "rheumatism," gave up his work and was sent to the poorhouse. Four of his children were put in institutions and his wife struggled along with her little old cow, some chickens and help from the older sons. The L. children had already spent an aggregate of some twenty-one years in this institution when our investigation was made. Mr. L. was seen—a man of forty-six years—he was on crutches, in constant pain, and profoundly depressed as the result of his nine years of idleness in the poorhouse. He had never had a thorough physical examination and at a cost of $2.00 and two hours, we discovered that the real source of his disability was a dislocated hip, caused by his work in the pottery. Had this matter been attended to by those to whom the application was made at the institution, it is highly probable that the family would not have fallen below the poverty line, and that their home would have been preserved. The failure to study this case at the start has cost the institution some $2,400 to date, wasted the best part of the man's life and broken the family circle. Under constant treatment, he has been so improved that he has discarded his crutches, and is soon to be helped to learn a new trade. The chances are that, under careful supervision, this family will be entirely restored to independence—after nine years' delay.

There is not time this morning to take up a full discussion of these cases. The mere fact of their complexity is useful in showing that an institution or agency which offers child care only to these families cannot even begin to do justice to their needs.

As these cases indicate, the relation between children's institutions and the accident problem calls for thorough discussion. The constructive social movement, such as the one we are considering here to-day, should recognize the fact that children's agencies are gold mines of timely and essential data; that these data are needed quite as much by our industrial communities as by the institutions themselves. Every children's agency is a laboratory for social research.

Some few of the children's agencies are beginning to see that the child is, first of all, to be studied as an organic part of the family group; also that those in charge of these agencies must establish closest co-operation with other social forces, which are in position to make a clear diagnosis of each case before institutional care is offered as a panacea.

In conclusion, if the dependent child is to be considered as an organic part of the family group, the children's agencies must be considered as an organic part of our growing families of social movements; they should not continue to be in the same predicament as the traditional orphan—that is a unit without family ties.

DISCUSSION.

DR. J. H. STOLPER.—As Oklahoma is the youngest State in the Union, her people have tried to learn all they can from her older sisters. But the State has not only learned from the experience of others,we have fortunately had the opportunity of putting what we have learned into practice. We have studied the effect of the child labor law in cutting off the support of widowed mothers and have provided that in such cases instead of making poverty exemptions, the widowed mother, on the certificate of the superintendent of schools, receives a sum from the county equal to what the child would earn and the child goes to school. Our employers' liability law requires that contributory negligence, if alleged, must be proved. In regard to the assumption of risks in hazardous employments, our Supreme Court has held that no such assumption can be presumed, there is no waiver unless it is done in specific terms. Again, when a statutory condition of safety is not complied with, such non-compliance is held to be prima facie evidence of the employer's liability for accidents.

The Oklahoma delegates appreciate Miss Lattimore's reference to their State as the place of hope for the downtrodden. Of course we wish to have the best type of immigrants, but if they desire to reform and become honest citizens Oklahoma does not turn her face away even from the worst.

COMPENSATION IN CASE OF SICKNESS, ACCIDENT AND DEATH FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF WHAT A RELIEF SOCIETY WOULD CONSIDER ADEQUATE

BY S. C. KINGSLEY, SUPERINTENDENT UNITED CHARITIES OF CHICAGO

On Saturday afternoon, November 13, 1909, a torch, carelessly exposed, and a bale of hay started a fire which caused one of the most dramatic mine disasters in industrial history, and cost the lives of Andrew Dovin and 257 fellow workmen. Thrilling rescues by a heroic band of men who finally perished in an act of supreme sacrifice and heroism; sealing the shaft in the presence of an ineffably pathetic group of women and children; the recovery of revolting human shapes; the rescue of 21 men buried alive for eight days—all this, kept the press of a great city, indeed of the nation, thrilling for weeks with stories of intensest human interest. The pulpit took it up, so did teachers in the colleges. The imagination and sympathy of the public were profoundly stirred. More was written and said, thought and felt about Andrew Dovin and his comrades, their wives and children than perhaps about any equal number of people who ever suffered a disaster while pursuing industrial duty. This publicity acted with compelling and persuasive unction upon the employing company, the giving public, councils and the state legislature. In this conspicuous respect, the wives and children of Andrew Dovin and his fellow victims were most fortunate. These men died a congregate death in a disaster that was dramatic, thrilling, spectacular.

On Saturday, November 14, 1908, one year before this disaster, an ambulance backed up to No. 17 Bond street, the home of Abe Miller. Abe was in the ambulance. He was a worker in a steel mill. Together with other men, he was injured in handling hot metal. An accident occurred in which he was burned, receiving injuries which resulted in his death. The only newspaper mention in Abe's case was a three line statement in a list of accidents, giving his name, address and the nature of the case. The company settled for $500, and promised permanent employment. Abe's wife went to work, and her inadequate earnings were supplemented by charitable relief. The circumstances of Abe's misfortune are fairly typical of fifty other fatal accidents of which information was obtained through charitable organizations in ten of the largest cities of the country.

I want to consider with you for a little while this information about these fifty accidents which occurred one at a time in common place obscurity and to contrast the circumstances of the wives and children of these men with what happened in the way of compensation and relief for the wives and children of Andrew Dovin and forty-nine other victims of the Cherry catastrophe. My object in making this comparison, as I have indicated before, is that the circumstances of the Cherry victims were studied for weeks by the Red Cross, the miners' unions, city councils, the state legislature, associations of business men, magazine writers, charity workers—indeed the whole public. What should be done for the families of these men was deliberated perhaps more fully than the circumstances of any other equal number of accident cases happening in years.

The schedules sent to the ten societies called for the following information:

> 1. Income conditions in the families before the accident. The man's age, occupation and wages.
> 2. Nature of the accident. How he was killed. Insurance, if any. Gift by employer and damages recovered.
> 3. Conditions in the family after the accident. The vacant chair. Shrinkage in income. Kind of employment secured by wife and children. The new adjustment.

While returns were made in 100 cases, I shall have more to say about the 50 which were fatal. The families of these 50 men, having obscure, one-at-a-time accidents, received in compensation $8,749—$187 apiece. The 50 Cherry families received from the company $90,000—$1,800 apiece. In the case of Cherry, on account of the publicity and activity of the Red Cross, the press, business associations, the 50 families received in contributions, from the legislature, miners' unions, etc., $87,000, making a total of $177,000; in the other, the families received $8,749 plus an uncertain and indefinite amount in relief and pensions from charity societies and a still more indeterminable amount from institutions—nurseries, hospitals, etc. The following charts represent it graphically—definite in the case of Cherry, because the sums are definite. In the case of the 50 other victims, we have tried to indicate some of the sources of help which were added to the $8,749.

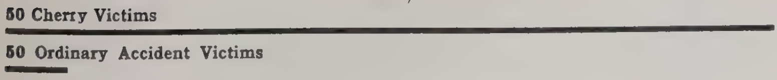
FATAL INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS

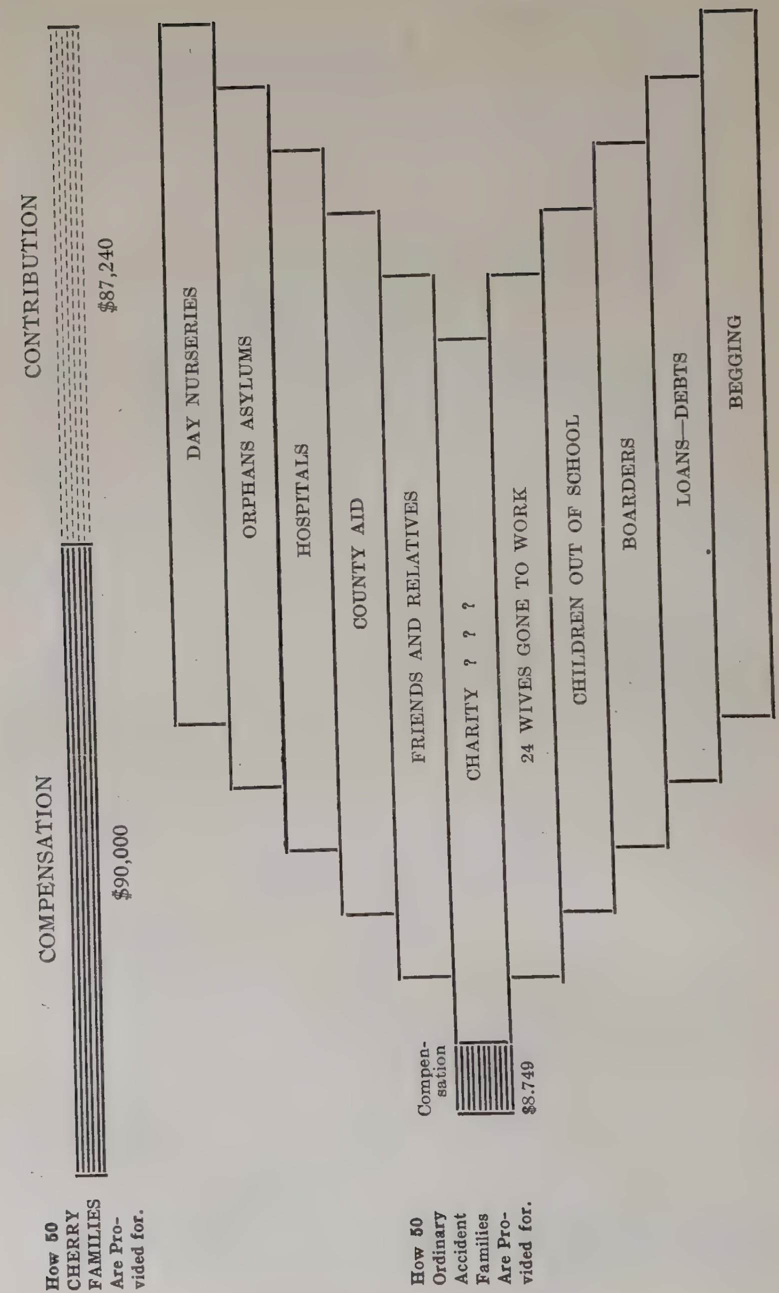
COMPENSATIONS

50 Cherry Families received $90.000—$1.800 each.

50 Ordinary Accidents Families Received $8.749

$3.000—1 Case
1,150—1 "
800—1 "
750—1 "
500—2 Cases
400—1 Case
300—1 "
270—1 "
200—2 Cases
125—1 Case
100—3 Cases
85—1 Case
69—1 "
35—1 "
25—1 "
20—2 Cases
0-15 "
Funeral Only ....—2 "
Suits Pending........-12 "




How 50 CHERRY FAMILIES Are Provided for.
COMPENSATION
$90,000
CONTRIBUTION
$87,240
How 50 Ordinary Accident Families Are Provided for.
Compensation
$8,749
DAY NURSERIES
ORPHANS ASYLUMS
HOSPITALS
COUNTY AID
FRIENDS AND RELATIVES
CHARITY ? ? ?
24 WIVES GONE TO WORK
CHILDREN OUT OF SCHOOL
BOARDERS
LOANS—DEBTS
BEGGING

I should like now to call your attention more in detail to the information gathered from these schedules, to consider the income in the families before the accident, the size of the family, ages of the children and the way they made their new adjustment. The average income in the 50 fatal cases before the accident was $668.47. There were twenty-four occupations represented. I am inclined to think that the average income is a little high and that the societies arrived at the annual income by multiplying the weekly wage by the number of weeks in a year, consequently not allowing for sickness, shut-downs or holidays. The present average income, after an average period of a little more than a year since the accident—the wife and children going to work, taking on boarders, renting rooms, etc.—was $238.80, a decrease of 64.3%. The average number in the family was five—wife and four children. The average age of the children was 8 years and 2 months. The average age of the 50 men killed was 34½ years. In the 50 other accidents where the man was wholly or partially permanently disabled, the recovery was $8,566—an average of $178.45 per man. The average income in these families before the accident was $700; after the accident, $255—a decrease of 64.7%.

The societies were asked these additional questions:

> First. To state the amount of relief given or obtained by them for the families.
>
> Second. Since relief societies are seldom able to give adequate relief, they were asked what they would consider adequate relief.

I have already indicated that we could not get a definite measure of what the societies actually gave in relief, but we got a more definite reply to the second question, namely what would be considered adequate relief in these families. The average estimate was $5.80 per week for each family, which amounts to $301.60 per year. This added to the $238 earned by the wife and children, taking boarders, etc., would make an income of $10.49 per week or $539.60 a year. Understand that this was simply an estimate of what would be adequate relief and not what the family got.

At Cherry, the question was discussed as to what shrinkage in income might legitimately be allowed for counting out the man's expenses. If we accept $5.80 as an adequate allowance to supplement each of these families, increasing what they could earn to $539.60 and deduct this from the $644 which was the average income in the 50 families before the accident, it would make an allowance of $104 a year for the man, or only about a sixth of the income, on his account. In the discussions of the Cherry cases, it was thought that rather more than one-fourth should be allowed for the man. This would, if that is the right allowance to make for the man, leave the family better off than before his death.

Chapin, in his very valuable study, set $800 as the lowest amount that a family could live on in New York City. However, the average income of the working man is much less than $800. The average income at Cherry was $600, and as we have seen, it was set at $644 in the 50 families we are studying, and this I am inclined to think is rather high.

The societies, in making their returns, did not indicate during how many years this $5.80 per week should run. The average period over which the money contributed to the Cherry victims will run is about seven years. If we should accept the Cherry standard of distribution and should run the 50 casual families for seven years, it would amount to $2,111.20; whereas, the Cherry families received a total average of $2,700 of relief contributed, not counting what they received from the company.

I doubt if a family of man and wife and three children can live in any city, take care of their health, their teeth, properly house and maintain the right standard throughout for less than $800. It seems to me that what might be considered compensation would be a sum not less than five times the annual salary of the bread winner. This I think should be paid not in a lump sum but in installments, similar to the arrangements made by certain life insurance companies, which now have policies payable in such installments to the beneficiaries.

There are certain observations to be made from a consideration of the facts that we have in hand. The compensation to the 50 victims of fatal accidents ranged from nothing to $3,000. In two of the cases, awards of $7,000 each had been made, but they went from court to court, were finally thrown out and the families got nothing. This uncertainty and the delay of the law has a most damaging effect. The families are in suspense and fluctuate between periods when they base their expenditures on an expected large payment and periods when they expect nothing.

Here are seven actual cases with a comparison of what would occur in other countries:

A Hungarian steel worker in South Chicago left a wife and five children, who would receive under Hungarian law $2,350 in pensions. Actually the family received from the employer $500.

A Cherry family of a widow and three children, 9, 6 and 5 years, would receive in Austria $2,595 in pensions. In Illinois, the family received from the employer $1,800.

A steel worker's family consisting of widow and three children, 12, 9 and 16 years, would receive in France $2,106 in pensions. The same family in America received from the employer $285.

The widow and four children, 12, 10, 8, and 3, of a teamster who lost his life in Germany would receive $4,165.80 in pensions. Actually, the family received from the employer $200.

An Italian railroad laborer, run over on the tracks, left a widow and six children. If the Italian law were in operation in Illinois, the family would receive $4,500, which would be used to purchase annuities for the wife and children. The family was paid by the railroad company $3,000, the largest sum paid in compensation in these fifty accidents.

A Norwegian teamster in Minneapolis left a wife and two children, 2 years old and 1 week old. If the Norwegian law were in operation in Minnesota, his widow and children would receive in pensions $4,190. The family actually was paid by the employer $270.

A painter left a wife and five children, 14, 11, 9, 6 and 2. If Russian law were in force in Illinois, his family would receive $3,254.06 in pensions. The family actually received from the employer $400.

In all the above countries, the State guarantees the payments. In all cases of fatal accident in these countries, except Austria, the payments are made from funds contributed entirely by the employer. In Austria, the employee contributes one-tenth to the permanent pension fund and the employer, nine-tenths.

See Bulletin of Bureau of Labor No. 74.

Growing out of the study of these cases, there are certain observations to be made. The compensation to the victims of 50 fatal accidents ranged from $3,000 to nothing. In two cases, $7,000 each was awarded, but they were appealed from court to court and the victims finally got nothing. In one of the permanent disability cases, a lower court awarded $22,500. After the same exhausting routine of going from court to court, the case was thrown out and this family got nothing.

The uncertainty and delay had a most demoralizing effect both morally and physically. Demoralization and general deterioration were returned as among the social consequences in many of these cases. These people were in suspense, setting their expectations on sums of money that would make them independent, huge fortunes in their eyes, and after living in this anticipation, sometimes adopting a scale of living accordingly as far as they could, they were finally disappointed and got nothing.

Some of these excessive awards were an injustice to the employer, but when they were reversed and nothing was received, it certainly was an injustice to the employee, and all the time this sort of thing engenders bad feeling between employer and employee.

Another thing which should be considered in this connection is the present wasteful expenditure in our method of handling these matters. Mr. George M. Gillette of Minnesota, in an address in February of this year before the Commercial Association of Chicago, stated that the manufacturing and business concerns of this country have in the last five years paid to casualty companies in premiums $95,000,000. Less than $45,000,000 has gone in settlement of damages, and again, less than half of this $45,000,000 has reached injured persons, going in lawyers fees, court costs, etc., making not more than 20% or 30% of the whole sum, the fellow servant and contributory negligence doctrines being in large measure responsible for adverse judgments.

This enormous expense has, of course, been added to the cost of the manufactured product, the same as other expenses incident to the manufacture of commodities. The community has not only paid this

$95,000,000, but it has in large measure taken care of the people who were injured and of their dependent families, thus paying the bill twice. If this matter could be taken from the war basis on which it rests, and could be so adjusted that injured people would receive compensation that was just and fair for their injuries and this were paid on a pension basis promptly when the family was in greatest need, and if, as would happen, accidents were prevented in greater degree than they are at present, because insurance rates would be affected by reduction in the number of accidents, it seems altogether likely that the money which employing concerns are already expending would go a long way to meet the needs of a just, fair and adequate compensation, taking the burden from charity and giving the benefit to the injured persons in a form that would be infinitely more satisfactory.

INDUSTRIAL DISEASES AND OCCUPATIONAL STANDARDS

JOHN B. ANDREWS, PH. D., SECRETARY, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR LABOR LEGISLATION.

When the island of Manhattan became too small for New York City, and when the Brooklyn Bridge challenged the admiration of the world as evidence of man's superiority as a civilized being, our attention was again drawn to the fact that the progress of science had given us another disease. Men who dig deep into river beds to build the support for great bridges, do their work in closed iron cylinders, or caissons, into which compressed air is forced in sufficient volume to prevent water from running in at the bottom, as dirt and gravel are shoveled up and carried out at the top. This means an increase of the ordinary atmospheric pressure from fifteen pounds to the square inch to three, four and even five times that amount. But we all do better work under great pressure, and the men working in caissons are not exceptions. They perspire freely, and down at the bottom of a closed tube, one hundred feet below the surface of the river, and with air pumped in upon them at the rate of forty-five plus the normal fifteen pounds to the square inch, they work with more than usual energy. The trouble comes when they pass too quickly from this caisson into normal atmosphere above.

When the men upon going to work pass into the area of compression, the blood absorbs the gases of the air until the tension of the gases in the blood becomes equal to that in the compressed air. If the workman is taken suddenly from this high pressure the gas is liberated in the blood and tissues in the form of nitrogen bubbles.

This frothing of the blood when the workmen pass from the caisson into the outer air, sometimes causes them to fall unconscious. Blood sometimes runs from their eyes, ears and noses. The victims feel, in their muscles and joints, severe pains which they call "bends." Often these pains are excruciating, and cause the strongest men to writhe in agony. Sometimes the lower limbs are paralyzed, and now and then a sufferer dies. This trouble is called caisson disease or compressed air illness. It is due to the peculiarities of the employment. It is an occupational or industrial disease.

When the Brooklyn Bridge was building, one Dr. Smith announced that within four months' time he had treated 110 cases of compressed air illness. At least three of these cases were fatal. When the Eads bridge was built across the Mississippi river, at St. Louis, 600 men were employed in sinking the foundations. Of these 600 men, 119, or nearly twenty per cent. suffered from caisson disease, and fourteen died. Since that time New York, St. Louis and other cities have built many great bridges. The names of Roebling and Eads are justly famous for scientific achievement. And we have gone farther than this. Annoyed by the delays incident to crossing bridges, we have tunneled beneath the rivers and today in one city many thousands of men, women and children have gone to their work and will return home tonight through tubes underneath the rivers. This facilitates transportation and adds to comfort and convenience, but it has also vastly increased the number of those who work under abnormal conditions in compressed air. We have, as a result, an occupational disease, of increasing extent—unless we study it intelligently and establish means of prevention.

Several of the more progressive countries have investigated this industrial disease, and certain definite conclusions have been reached. Experiments show that when workmen are obliged to go into and come out of caissons through an intermediary chamber called an "air-lock," by means of which the pressure level of the confined air is slowly raised or lowered, in much the same manner as boats pass through the locks of a ship canal, the danger of disease is greatly diminished. If the time limit for "locking" men through this air chamber is carefully regulated, much suffering is prevented.

Scientists know that it requires one pound of air pressure to displace 2 feet, 4 inches of water. In other words, for every 33 feet in depth of the water in a river, an additional air pressure of 15 pounds is required to prevent water from running in at the bottom of a caisson. Experiments show that when men who are working under additional air pressure of thirty pounds, are released to the normal atmosphere in less than thirty minutes, they are in danger of caisson disease. When they are gradually released during a decompression period of thirty minutes or more, they escape the worst effects.

In a similar way tests have been made of the effect of shifts of ½ hour, 1 hour, 4 hours and so forth, upon the health of men working in compressed air chambers. It is found that men who can work two hours without apparent injury in air of a given density, suffer severely if required to work four hours under the same external conditions. This knowledge led two scientific men, Hill and Macleod, to draw up a schedule for the regulation of work in compressed air. In tabular form their recommendations are as follows:*

Atmosphere	Number of Pounds Pressure.	Length of Shift	Decompression Period.
+2	30	4 hours	30 min. to 1 hr.
+3 to 4	45 to 60	4 hours	1 hr. to 2 hrs.
+5	75	1 hour	1 hr. to 2 hrs.
+6 to 7	90 to 105	½ hr. to 1 hr.	2 hours.

This means that men who have worked four hours under an air pressure of from 45 to 60 pounds above the normal, should be required to spend from one hour to two hours in the "air-lock" on their way home to dinner. With thirty pounds pressure for four hours, according to these scientists, a minimum decompression period of half-an-hour should be rigidly enforced. Progress has thus been made toward fixing a standard of health for this occupation.

The Association for Labor Legislation has stimulated investigation of this subject, particularly in Europe, and copies of the adopted standards have been widely distributed in this country.† Several European countries have adopted definite standards for the regulation of labor in compressed air, and in this country, in New York State, we now have a labor law for the careful regulation and prevention of caisson disease.‡ With scientific standards established for ventilation, atmospheric pressure, length of shift, and rate of release from compression, the enforcement of these protective regulations is more simple. For this employment we have fixed an occupational standard. In an intelligent, scientific way, we are attempting to minimize or prevent this occupational disease.

I am asked to discuss the relation of industrial diseases to the standardization of occupations, and to describe in particular the work of the Association for Labor Legislation with respect to this important subject. The study of the effect of industries upon health is regarded as the most important scientific problem before us, because the standardization of occupations is considered the most important next step toward intelligent labor legislation and efficient administration.

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*From Thomas Oliver's "Diseases of Occupation," p. 107.

†The Quarterly BULLETIN of the International Labor Office, published and distributed by the Association for Labor Legislation, contains the official regulations of all countries with reference to industrial diseases.

‡Irene Osgood, Review of Labor Legislation of 1909, pp. 22-23.

Diseases which come upon us owing to peculiar conditions of employment, may be grouped roughly into several principal classes. Dr. Thomas Oliver* treats the subject under the following general heads: (1) Diseases due to gases, vapors, and high temperatures; (2) diseases due to increased or decreased atmospheric pressure; (3) diseases due to metallic poisons, dusts and fumes; (4) diseases due to organic or inorganic dust and heated atmospheres; and (5) diseases due to fatigue.

Briefly, however, it may be said that we have a long list of diseases occasioned by the breathing of impure air; a second group due mainly to extremes or rapid variations in temperature; a third class due to humidity; and a fourth due to over fatigue. We have likewise, in a general way, four distinct problems to consider in our efforts to standardize conditions of labor in any given occupation. We are concerned with degrees of temperature, of humidity, and of purity of the air, and with strain due both to speeding and to length of the periods of labor.

In the development of our civilization from the individualism of savagery to the modern complexity of industrial society, we have created many perplexing social problems. When individuals worked singly and in a very real sense "minded their own business," it was usually possible for the individual to adjust himself or his surroundings to personally agreeable conditions of temperature, moisture, fresh air, and nervous or physical strain. But when factories were built and large numbers of people came to work under artificial conditions over which they themselves had little or no direct control, there was created a very different problem. Conditions of temperature and humidity and purity of air and labor strain, are often prescribed by the most convenient, the most rapid, and the cheapest process of manufacture from the standpoint of selfish or thoughtless employers. The protection of the health of the factory laborer is not a question alone for the individual worker. It is a social question demanding social regulation through legislation. The recognition of this fact has given us a century of labor legislation, but it is only within comparatively recent years that we have begun to approach the problem in a scientific way.

Miners in the coal fields of Westphalia are restrained by legislation from working more than six hours a day in temperature in excess of 84 degrees. In a few instances there is legislation designed to protect weavers from the evil effects of excessive moisture. In several countries and states a minimum standard of purity is established for the air in certain departments of different trades. This

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‡"Diseases of Occupation," London, 1908.

is a complicated and difficult problem for in many trades there are processes which fill the air with poisonous fumes, and the mere rebreathing of the air in crowded, poorly-ventilated workrooms is fraught with dangers not yet commonly appreciated. The problem of over-fatigue, however, is the most complicated of all. To those who are seriously concerning themselves with the standardization of occupations, it presents a field for study as fascinating as it is difficult. It is so frequently involved with some or all of the other social problems, that a moment's reflection will be sufficient to convince anyone at all familiar with factory conditions, that no really scientific study can be made of this branch of the subject without requiring for its basis a general study of industrial diseases and factory hygiene. The study of fatigue is a tremendously interesting and important question for the Association for Labor Legislation. No doubt great progress will be made during the next few years in investigating the effects upon health of extreme periods of strain. But I notice by the program that Dr. Favill, Chairman of the Industrial Hygiene department of our Association is to discuss this question here Monday evening.

Mention has been made of several classes of diseases due to the peculiarities of employments. I wish now, in particular, to call attention to a group of occupational diseases caused by the use of industrial poisons. This will illustrate very well, too, the attitude of the Association for Labor Legislation toward the whole subject of industrial hygiene. Immediately after its formation, in 1900, the International Association for Labor Legislation recognized as one of its most important tasks "the laying of the scientific groundwork for guiding practical international legislation for the protection of workers endangered through industrial poisons." The various national sections were called upon to make reports, and these, with an introduction by the International Secretary, Dr. Bauer, were published in 1903, in a volume called "Industries Dangerous to Health."

As a result of these studies the Association asked the Swiss Federal Council to take the initiative in calling an International Conference to forbid, by means of an international agreement, the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches. This memorial, with a similar one concerning night work for women, was sent to the proper government officials of 41 countries. Fourteen of these countries have now signed the international treaty prohibiting the night work of women, and nine countries have signed the treaty prohibiting the use of poisonous phosphorus in the manufacture of matches. These treaties at once disclosed the extraordinary importance of the agitation and the practical effectiveness of the International Association, and brightened the prospects for scientific labor legislation.

Special attention was at once directed to the study of lead poisoning, and this work was accompanied by the preparation of a comprehensive tabulation or "List of Industrial Poisons." This list was compiled by three noted scientific men, including Dr. Thomas Oliver, the leading authority of the world on diseases of occupation, and now president of the British Association for Labor Legislation.*

In this country our Association was not formally organized as a national section until February, 1906. But from the beginning efforts have been made to create an interest in the subject of industrial hygiene. In 1908, on the basis of plans definitely formulated for a national investigation, a Commission on Industrial Hygiene was organized within our Association and Dr. Henry Baird Favill of Chicago was elected Chairman. The most ambitious plans were necessarily postponed at that time on account of the lack of funds, and after several unsuccessful efforts to interest the Russell Sage Foundation, some of the material was sold to the United States Bureau of Labor. Since that time the federal Bureau of Labor has co-operated with our Association in the investigation of phosphorus poisoning in the match industry, and the report has been published in Bulletin No. 86. Our Association is now urging national legislation on this subject before the present session of Congress.

The investigation of phosphorus poisoning was planned as an "opening-wedge" to a systematic investigation of other industrial diseases. It was a particularly fortunate selection, since it serves to illustrate in a remarkably clear way the advantage of greater uniformity in international and inter-state labor legislation. It has been known for seventy years that people who work in match factories where poisonous phosphorus is used (and it is used in all American factories) sometimes contract a loathsome disease scientifically known as **phosphorus necrosis**, but popularly called "phossy jaw." The phosphorus fumes and particles attack the bones of the workers, but more especially their teeth. The bones become brittle; the teeth drop out; the jaw bones decay.

Our recent investigation shows that the disease has existed in this country in a serious form since as early as 1854, and that in spite of the additional modern precautions in some of the best factories, the workers still suffer and die from "phossy jaw." In one of the best factories in this country I discovered within two days the records of forty cases of phosphorus poisoning. Of this number 15 resulted in the loss of one or both jaws, and several cases resulted in death. One such death occurred at this factory in June, 1908. In one small factory I secured the records of 21 cases, six of which were in the year 1909. In this investigation dentists and physicians were interviewed, factories and hospitals were visited, and official records of surgical operations and deaths were copied or photographed.

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*A translation of this list has been printed this month by the U. S. Bureau of Labor in Bulletin No. 86.

Visits to the homes of some of the victims of this occupational disease completed the picture of human suffering, and also emphasized the social problem involved. Take for example the brief history of one case among many.

> Eight years ago, at twenty-one years of age, Mary Wilson,* tall, strong and full of the joy of life, married Henry Welsh. She had worked for several years as a "packer" in the match factory, and continued to work there after marriage. But two months later she commenced to have trouble with her teeth. Dr. A. first treated her beginning with the first operation November 15, 1901. He performed a second operation August 11, 1903, removing several large splinters of bone from her jaw. She grew no better and through dentist B. she secured daily treatments at her home. Finally, as the trouble continued, she went to Drs. C. and D. for further medical aid, and is receiving medical treatment from them at the present time. Three years ago an abcess opened through her right jaw, and one year ago another opened on the left. Both require constant bandaging. When I saw her in December, 1909, she was scarcely able to open her lips enough to speak and could not separate her upper from her six remaining lower teeth. All of her lower teeth except the middle six have come out and several inches of the jaw bone is bare, with pus oozing from the sockets.
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> The physicians in an effort to preserve the contour of her face and to avoid leaving an unsightly scar, attempted to operate on the inside. In this case the dead bone does not form a sequestrum or separated portion which might easily be removed from the living bone beneath. It simply continues to die and to dispose of itself in the most nauseating and dangerous manner. As the pus flows from the dead and decaying bone it naturally mixes with the saliva and with food, thus poisoning the entire system.
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> The poison first manifested itself eight years ago, shortly after her marriage. She has a boy six years old, a little girl of four, and a baby but two years old. She told me that the two older children were well and strong, but that "the baby seems to have trouble in its blood."
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> "The odor is awful, but I can't help it," she mumbled. "The doctors say perhaps they could cure me by cutting out my jaw, but I am young yet, and how would it look? I would rather be dead, I think!"
>
> The odor from the suppurating bone is more awful than anything that can be imagined. One who has experienced the nauseating stench can readily understand why dentists and physicians alike shun patients who are afflicted with "phossy jaw." And one wonders how citizens otherwise humane can permit their work people to run the risk of this peril by unnecessarily continuing the use of poisonous phosphorus.

There is a harmless substitute for this poison. It was discovered by French experts a dozen years ago, and for years has been used successfully in several European countries to the entire exclusion of the poisonous phosphorus. Why, then, do American manufacturers fail to use this substitute? Many would gladly do so, but it costs just a little more to make the non-poisonous matches. Competition is so keen that a single manufacturer hesitates to place himself at a natural disadvantage with his rivals in business.

In the same way, although the leading countries of Europe already prohibit the manufacture, importation and sale of matches made from poisonous phosphorus, a few countries have resisted on account of their export trade. The United States, however, cannot offer this selfish excuse, since her export trade in matches is insignificant and practically negligible. The United States can well afford to join with the more progressive countries and abolish forever this occupational disease.

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*Fictitious names are here substituted.

Since the experience of all countries leads irresistibly to the conclusion that attempted "regulation" is a failure in this case, and that absolute prohibition of the poison is the only sensible and sure remedy, the standardization of this occupation with reference to the industrial poison is now remarkably simple. But the problem of fixing standards is much more difficult in those employments where no satisfactory substitutes for industrial poisons have been found. This is notably true with respect to workers in lead, although great progress has already been made in scientific investigation, and no less than fourteen special pamphlet and book reports on this one industrial poison have been published by the Association for Labor Legislation. In the year 1909, in spite of our inadequate registration of occupations in mortality statistics, 33 deaths were reported in New York alone as due to industrial lead poisoning. But the number of deaths reported is no sufficient criterion for judgment concerning the seriousness of an occupational disease. Chronic poisoning which lowers vitality and causes untold suffering is much more serious.

No less than 138 trades are menaced by lead poisoning. In twenty-seven trades where arsenic is used, there is continual danger of poisoning. There is still considerable suffering due to industrial mercurial poisoning, and I have a record of a recent death due to this disease contracted in the manufacture of felt hats in Brooklyn. Our Association is co-operating in several investigations of industrial diseases at the present time. We look with especially high hopes upon the Illinois Occupational Diseases Commission, and expect to use our influence in helping to secure the appointment of similar bodies in other states.

The officers of our Association feel, however, that there is great need for this national, non-political body, which, while keeping in close touch with the progress of investigation and labor legislation in other countries, will serve to open and prepare the way for progressive scientific work in our own. If these investigations are to be of the greatest immediate practical value, they must be directed by those who appreciate the importance and the urgent necessity for occupational standards.

On the 10th of June the Association for Labor Legislation will open in Chicago the first national conference on industrial diseases. At that time definite plans for future investigations will be submitted for discussion. It is hoped that the results of that meeting will justify an earlier prediction made by the writer in a leaflet on "Industrial Hygiene," issued in March, 1909:

> "During the past eight years the International Association for Labor Legislation has taken the initiative in quietly urging the need of a scientific investigation of industrial hygiene. Guided by the experience

> of other countries and impressed by conditions in our own, the American Association has reached the conclusion that the next step in our advancement should be a conservation of the health, vitality, energy and industrial efficiency, of those whose usefulness to society is now impaired by what may be called occupational disease.
>
> Other organizations—national, state, local, public and private—have adopted this conclusion. The present year will mark the beginning of extensive study of this problem in America."

At a time when the health of the nation receives thoughtful attention, and economists and physicians vie with each other in pressing upon Congress the need of legislation, the effects of industries upon health call for thoughtful study. At a time when compensation for injuries received in employments is the most pressing problem for labor legislation, the question of occupational diseases demands consideration. No intelligent person can go far in the study of compensation for industrial accidents without realizing that a logical consideration of the facts must lead likewise to compensation for industrial diseases. England, in 14 years' experience with her Compensation Act, has recognized this principle.* In several other European countries the same principle is established. A workman is entitled to compensation if he is incapacitated by disease contracted in his trade and due to his employment exactly in the same way as if he had been disabled by an accident.

When you get down to business in the attempt to standardize occupations you begin to realize how much of the modern labor problem is a health problem. You know perfectly well that a woman may work eight or ten hours a day year after year in some employments without apparent serious injury. At the same time, six hours a day on a busy telephone exchange may within a few years spell loss of motherhood.

When we finally standardize occupations with reference to hours of labor for women, it will not come as a result of arbitrary guesswork on the part of those seeking legislation, nor will court decisions be written in such vague terms. Gradually, and surely, but almost without realizing it, we have passed within the last twelve years into a new period of American Labor History. The courts are beginning to get a new perspective on life. Century-old precedents based on individualism are trembling in the balance of the enlightened opinion of a new industrial order. Here and there a judge shows clearly that he has been studying economics as well as law. Recent court decisions clearly indicate that protective labor legislation will be sustained as a legitimate exercise of the police power when it is made apparent that conditions justify such interference on the grounds of health. At a meeting of the Association for Labor Legislation, in April 1909, Prof. Ernst Freund declared that in his opinion a systematic study of industrial hygiene would revolutionize the attitude of the courts toward labor legislation. Dr.

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*Beginning with the inclusion of six industrial diseases, England has more recently increased the list to 27, for which the injured are compensated.

Richard T. Ely, the first president of the Association, considered the study of industrial hygiene the most important question before the organization.

Further labor legislation and court decisions which mark the path of social progress, will be based upon scientific study of industrial hygiene. Only through careful study can we secure accurate information which will finally enable us to establish scientific standards. The establishment of such standards is a prerequisite to intelligent legislation, to enlightened court opinions, and to efficient administration of the law.

PRESENT WAGES IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT INQUIRIES INTO THE COST OF LIVING.

ROBERT C. CHAPIN, PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS, BELOIT COLLEGE, WISCONSIN

Recent advances in the cost of living have given emphasis to the problem of making both ends meet. Into the acute difficulties of the present situation I do not propose to enter, but rather to raise the question how far these difficulties are chronic, how far, in ordinary times, wages suffice to provide the workers with what they must have to live as men. How near are we to the state of affairs in England in 1889, when Charles Booth estimated that 30 per cent. of the people of East London were living in poverty? Is it true for certain industries, if not for the country as a whole, that the prevailing wage is insufficient to maintain even the physical efficiency of the wage-earner and his family?

I submit that it is time that this question was seriously studied, and that the way to study it is to look at wage statistics in the light of family budgets and to make this comparison for each industry in its own locality. We have abundant data as to wages arranged by industries and localities. Unfortunately our information as to family budgets is much less complete, and much that we have is combined in averages without regard to differences of occupation and location. There is needed an intensive study of family living, so as to bring out, first the elements of the standard for the given occupation and place; second, the cost of these elements; third, the effect upon men, women and children of working and living under the conditions imposed by the occupational standard. As indicating what could be learned by such a study, I will submit a few examples based upon the best data accessible, and I shall be satisfied if these surface indications can be so presented as to impress the desirability of a more thorough investigation.

COAL MINERS OF ILLINOIS.

Next to Pennsylvania in the production of bituminous coal stands Illinois. In 1902 she produced 10.9 per cent. of the total output of the country. In her coal mines were employed, in 1907, 45,498 miners. The average annual earnings of these miners in the same year amounted to $549.37. (Coal Report of Illinois Labor Bureau for 1907, P. 96.) This amount is obtained by multiplying the average daily earnings by the average number of days worked, so that earnings are not exaggerated through failure to allow for idle time. We are now prepared to ask how far $550 will go in support of the miner and his family in the little mining town on the prairie that gives him a local habitation.

As a starting point, let us apply to a wage of $550 the percentages according to which are apportioned the expenditures of certain foreign-born families in the North Central states as given in the Eighteenth Annual Report of the United States Bureau of Labor. Taking the group of 190 foreign-born families having three children, with an average total expenditure of $622.44 (P. 575), and applying to our average miner's wage of $549.37 the percentages given for these families, we obtain the following results:

	Per Cent.	Amount.
Rent	15.20	$ 83.50
Fuel and light	6.53	35.21
Clothing	13.05	71.69
Food	47.38	260.30
Sundries	17.84	98.67
	100.00	$549.37

Now this is a very rough guess at the apportionment of a miner's income, but let us see what it means in comforts and luxuries. Eighty-three dollars a year for rent ($7.00 a month) means, according to the testimony of one familiar with local conditions, a frame cottage of three or four rooms, perhaps painted, perhaps with a little garden plot. For $10.00 a month our miner is more likely to have four rooms and to be sure of paint and garden plot than for seven. Thirty-five dollars is probably fifteen or twenty dollars too much to allow for fuel and light, for he gets his coal from the company for from $2.25 to $2.50 a ton. For $72.00 a year the miner can provide overalls for himself, calico dresses for his wife and daughters, and shoes for the family. It is difficult to figure out that he can go very far beyond this in the matter of clothing. To provide food he will have need to add to the allowance of $260 the fifteen dollars that he saves on fuel and to raise all the onions and beans that he can in his garden patch if he is to keep up with the advance of food prices. The original $260.30

figures out about 20 cents per man per day for a normal family of five persons, a sum below Prof. Atwater's estimate of 23-25 cents for food in New York in 1897 (United States Department of Agriculture, Bulletin of Experiment Station No. 116, P. 74, 75). Food prices are lower in Illinois than in New York, but it is safe to assume that the difference is offset by the increase everywhere in food prices in 1907, as compared with 1897, an increase amounting, according to the index numbers of the United States Bureau of Labor, to 25 per cent. (Bulletin No. 77, P. 185.) The item of $98.79 for sundries seems large until we remember that out of this sum must be provided insurance, expenditures due to sickness and death, contributions to church and labor union, payments for furniture, amusements, education and personal indulgences such as liquors and tobacco. A compilation of actual budgets is needed to verify the results of our provisional estimates, and final judgment may well be suspended until we have such an investigation, but it is hard to see how by any apportionment of a sum no larger than $550 an Illinois coal miner can provide for his family the essentials of civilized existence.

THE MEAT PACKING INDUSTRY.

The United States Census Bureau in 1905 found 26,683 wage earners employed in slaughtering and meat packing in Illinois, 22,391 of them being in Chicago; 19,857 of the 22,391 in Chicago were men over sixteen years of age. (Bulletin No. 52, P. 44.) The Census Bulletin gives us information as to two essential points, wages and employment. Of the males over sixteen, 40 per cent. were receiving under $10 a week, 62.8 per cent. were receiving under $12 a week. The showing is no better as to the regularity of employment. The average number employed (males over 16), ranges from 28,104 in December, to 14,825 in July, and 15,137 in August—that is, nearly every other employe is laid off for two months of the 12. A $10 weekly wage, on this basis, disregarding unemployment due to other causes, is as likely to bring in $440 a year as $520, a $12 wage may mean $528 instead of $624. It is safe to say that 40 per cent. of the men over 16 earn less than $500 a year. Now, unless this 40 per cent. are unmarried lads, a large part of the families dependent upon the packing house industry are living on an assured wage of less than $500 a year. Can working efficiency be maintained in Chicago on any such sum? For lack of better data, which investigations now in progress will one day, we hope, furnish us, I fall back on the average of 380 families, each with three children, and with incomes between $500 and $600 a year, reported in the Eighteenth Annual Report of United States Bureau of Labor (P. 584). Applying to an income of $500 the percentages therein given, we have the following:

	Per Cent.	Amount.
Rent	17.93	$ 89.65
Fuel and light	6.10	30.50
Clothing	12.27	61.35
Food	47.95	239.75
Sundries	15.75	78.75
	100.00	$500.00

A moment's inspection will show that $7.50 a month for rent will not suffice in Chicago; $10 a month, or $120 a year, is the least that can be thought of. But where is the other $30 coming from? Not, assuredly from the $30 allowed for fuel and light, nor from the $60 assigned to clothing. The food expenditure amounts to but 18.8 cents per man per day as it is. To bring the food allowance up to 22 cents (the minimum calculated for New York in 1907), would require $40 more. For all other purposes—the care of the sick, the burial of the dead, the renewal of household equipment, dues to church or union—the sum of $78.75 would suffice only in an exceptionally fortunate year. The 40 per cent. of packing house men who receive less than $500 a year cannot, then, expect to support a family on their earnings. Nor is it easy to see how those who receive from $10 to $12 a week can hope to succeed much better. Another $100 a year might assure comfortable housing, or adequate nutrition, or decent clothing, or prudent provision for the future, but it could scarcely be expected to cover the deficiencies of a $500 budget in respect to all four of these items. But over 60 per cent of the male employes of the packing houses are paid less than $600 a year, that is, less than enough for the support of a family of average size. And surely not all nor even half of the 60 per cent. are unmarried men.

THE FLOURING MILLS OF MINNESOTA.

As suggesting more cheering conclusions from the application of the same method, let us look at the Census Bureau's hints in regard to the employes of the milling industry in Minnesota. Three thousand two hundred and twenty-five of the 3,240 employes in the representative establishments enumerated in the Census Bulletin (No. 93, P. 148), are males over 16 years of age. The average wage of these was $12.37 per week, as compared with $11 for the men in the Illinois packing houses. By wage groups the difference is still more striking. Only 23.1 per cent. of the flouring mill operatives earned less than $10 a week; over one-half (52.4 per cent.) received more than $12, and one-quarter (24.5 per cent) received between $10 and $12. The number employed in the month of May, the "slack" month, is four-fifths of the number employed in December, the busiest month. (Bulletin No. 54, P. 76.)

On the supposition that rent and provisions are at least as low in Minneapolis as in Chicago, the proportion of flouring mill operatives who are demonstrably compelled to live at a low standard is much smaller than in the case of the packing industry. But what about the 23 per cent. who are paid less than $500 a year? Are they unmarried men? Or must they let their wives take in boarders or go to the factory to bring up the arrears of family income?

THE MANUFACTURE OF BOOTS AND SHOES.

Let us turn now to an industry where we have definite data as to actual standards for a small number of families, the boot and shoe industry of Massachusetts. Here we may see how families actually face a subnormal wage. The Massachusetts Bureau of Labor in its Annual Report for 1901 published the budgets of nineteen families supported by this industry. I have analyzed the figures for the five families where the father received between $600 and $700 a year—an income greater than that earned by half the men over 21 in this industry in 1905. (Massachusetts Labor Report, 1906, P. 286.) The annual income of the man in each of these five cases was less than fifty-two times his weekly rate of pay. In one instance the rate was $15 a week, but sixty days were lost on account of slack work, so that instead of $780 the man earned but $615. Another of the five lost sixty days, two thirty-six days, one only twelve. Further, in only two of these five families did the father's wage equal the sum total of the family expenditures. In one case an expenditure of $50 on account of illness, and the demands of seven children ran the expenditures $150 above the income. In two other cases both ends were made to meet by taking boarders or lodgers. The two families that kept expenditures within the amount of the father's earnings consisted of but four persons each, and spent nothing on account of sickness, nothing for insurance, and only $77 and $59, respectively, for clothing. Indeed, of the whole nineteen families only five did not eke out the man's wages by taking lodgers or sending children out to work.*

But the five men into whose account books we have looked represented the highest-paid class of boot and shoe workers. Of the 48,516 men over 21 employed in the Massachusetts factories (Massachusetts Labor Report, 1906, P. 286), 21,196 were receiving

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* The average expenditures of the five families mentioned are as follows:

	Per Cent.	Amount
Rent	19.0	$139.20
Fuel and Light	6.4	46.90
Food	50.5	370.21
Clothing	11.5	84.30
Health and Insurance	1.9	14.32
Societies, education, etc.	4.3	31.55
Sundries	6.4	45.60
	100.0	$732.08

less than $12 a week; 10,707 from $12 to $15. That is, 65 per cent. received a nominal wage under $15 a week—or less than our random cases found sufficient, allowing for loss from unemployment, for a decent living in 1901—a year when prices for food were 15 per cent. lower than in 1906. One swallow does not make a summer; these five cases may not be representative; but if they are, the majority of adult men in the Massachusetts shoe factories are not paid a living wage.

THE TEAMSTERS OF NEW YORK.

Let us take another illustration, the teamsters of New York City. New York is a commercial city; trucks laden with merchandise of every sort crowd the streets in all parts of the island and make the pedestrian's pathway difficult, not to say dangerous, along the water front and in the wholesale districts. Teaming is a typical New York occupation. Something in regard to occupational standards may be learned from the budgets of thirty teamsters' families gathered by the writer in 1907 for the New York State Conference Committee on the Standard of Living. Fourteen of the thirty teamsters earned from $600 to $700 a year. The prevailing rate of pay was from $12 to $14 a week, with little loss from unemployment.

The fourteen families were composed of from four to six persons each. Seven families were supported by the father's earnings alone, seven received additional income, in amount varying from $100 to $700, from the earnings of other members of the family and from lodgers. Of the seven families entirely dependent on the father's earnings, three reported a deficit of over $25 at the end of the year; one a surplus of over $25. Where the father's earnings were supplemented from other sources only one family fell behind as much as $25; three reported a surplus of more than that sum.

It is possible in the case of these New York teamsters to apply the somewhat arbitrary standards of food, clothing and housing that were worked out in connection with the whole series of budgets collected at the same time. Four of the families where the father was the sole bread winner were underfed (were living on an allowance of less than 22 cents per man per day), four were underclad (spending less than $100 a year for clothing), three were overcrowded (having more than 1½ persons to the room), and three were below standard in all three particulars. Of the families with supplementary income one was underfed, two were overcrowded, all but one were underclad.

The number of teamsters' budgets is small, but the difficulties met by these families in living on a current wage of $12 to $14 a week appear in the returns of seventy-two families of men engaged in various occupations, but living on the same income in the same city. It seems safe to say that a teamster in New York City does not receive, at current wages, enough to give a decent support to a family of ordinary size.*

IRON AND STEEL WORKERS.

Three-fourths of the men employed in the iron and steel mills of the country are in Pennsylvania. Two-thirds of these steel workers receive a wage not greater than $12 a week; only one-fifth receive more than $15. (Bulletin 93, Bureau of the Census.) Neglecting the factor of unemployment, let us see what a wage of $12 will do in the Pittsburg region where the steel industry is centered. Fortunately we are able here to draw upon Miss Byington's careful study of the budgets of ninety Homestead families, now announced in book form by the publishers. Thirty-two of these families had less than $12 a week. Their average weekly expenditures were but $9.18, or at the rate of $477.36 a year. A glance at the accounts is enough to disclose the inadequacy of this provision. The average rent was under $2 a week, but half of them had to live crowded more than two to a room, dependent on the yard hydrant for water supply and on the yard sink for toilet accommodations. Four dollars was allowed for food, but this meant that almost half of the families were cut down to less than 22 cents a day per man—that is, less than the minimum calculated for New York, where food is at least as cheap as in Pittsburg. It allows less than $50 a year for clothing.

But these thirty-two families average so much less than $12 a week that it is not fair to judge our 25,000 men by them. How do the families fare who spend from $12 to $15 a week? Miss Byington gives us the items for sixteen families in this wage group, with an average total expenditure of $13.32, or a scant $700 a year. These families pay about $10 a month rent, but ten of them live with more than two persons to a room, and only five have city water in the house. They pay on the average 24 cents per man per day for food, but four of the sixteen spend less than 22 cents. Clothing they buy at the rate of $81.64 a year. Fifty cents

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* The average expenditures of nine teamsters' families having incomes between $600 and $700 a year are as follows. Besides the seven mentioned above two families are included whose income from all sources fell within the same limits:

	Per Cent	Amount
Rent	25.9	$166.66
Fuel and Light	5.7	36.89
Clothing	12.3	79.42
Food	40.3	260.51
Health and Insurance	6.6	42.45
Societies, Education, etc	2.8	18.07
Sundries	6.4	40.92
	100.0	$644.92

a week for insurance provides only for burial, should death occur. The only item that looks hopeful is the margin of $2.83 for all other expenditures. But the families in this group were not self indulgent; 20 cents paid the weekly bill for liquor and tobacco, 47 cents went for medical service, 42 cents for furnishings and minor household expenses, leaving only $1.23 for carfare, papers, recreation, education and miscellaneous expenditures. It is no wonder that some of these sixteen families reported but three cents a week for recreation. It would have taxed the ingenuity of the late Edward Atkinson, I believe, to finance a family of five on $13 a week in Homestead. But, granting that he could do it, granting that the wife of every $13 wage earner is as thrifty a manager as the inventor of the Aladdin oven, the fact confronts us that two-thirds of the employes in the Pittsburg region do not get as much as $13 a week—not even as much as $12. It follows then either that the mass of the unskilled laborers do not have a family to support, or that they do not support it. And the Pittsburg Survey has abundantly verified this deduction. On the one hand, there are multitudes of unmarried men, crowding in upon the family dwellings as lodgers and boarders; on the other hand, many families are adequately supported only because the father's earnings are supplemented by these very lodgers or by the earnings of the mother at the wash tub, or the boys in the mill, while too many families give evidence of inadequate support in the high rate of infant mortality, the spread of preventable disease, the premature breaking down of father and mother.*

The medium wage for the employes of all the factory industries of the country is stated by the Census Bureau to have been, in 1905, between $10 and $12. If the budgets that we have been considering are in any way representative, it is difficult to believe that in cities like New York, Pittsburg and Chicago this is a living wage, save for a single man. We need the light of further investigation of the question, by industries and localities, but where we find such tokens of a low standard of living as the crowding of homes with lodgers, dependence upon the earnings of mother and children, recurring debt and destitution, the presumption raised by our study of the budgets is strengthened. Where congested housing is all that can be had for one-fourth of the family income, where dependence on charity is the only refuge in case of illness and acci-

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* The following table, from Miss Byington's data, shows the average expenditures of sixteen Homestead families with incomes of from twelve to fifteen dollars a week, carried out for fifty-two weeks for the sake of comparison with the figures already given:

	Per Cent	Amount
Rent	17.2	$119.08
Fuel and Light	5.8	40.04
Clothing	11.9	81.64
Food	44.0	304.72
Sundries	21.1	147.16
	100.0	$692.64

dent, we have further corroboration of our tentative conclusions.

That new-comers from Europe can be had with fresh strength for sale at low prices does not prevent the deterioration of their children. Mr. John Daniels, in his Buffalo Survey, finds evidence among the Poles of the same depressing effect of a low standard, even when accompanied by the actual saving of part of the meager income. It is important for us to find out whether we are heedlessly exhausting the working power of our people at the same time that we are wantonly wasting our natural resources, and if it be true that we are thus allowing our industries to eat into our human capital, it behooves us to apply corrective measures before it is too late.

A MINIMUM WAGE AND MINIMUM WAGE BOARDS.

With Especial Reference to Immigrant Labor and Woman Labor

BY JOHN A. RYAN D. D., PROFESSOR OF ETHICS AND ECONOMICS, ST. PAUL SEMINARY

All intelligent students and workers who are interested in the problems and methods of relief will give a warm welcome to the new department of Occupational Standards in the National Conference. If prevention is better than cure, and if the most far reaching prevention is that which deals with social causes of dependency, the task and the opportunity before the recently created Committee are sufficiently large and sufficiently stimulating. To strive for the determination and establishment of occupational standards that will ensure to the wage earners health, safety while at work, insurance against all untoward experiences, and adequate remuneration, implies a program of prevention that ought to satisfy the most ardent advocate of progressive methods. At the present session we deal with the wage content of occupational standards. Dr. Chapin has discussed the normal standard of living in connection with current wages. In the present paper your attention will be directed to the normal standard with reference to immigrant labor, and to a comprehensive method of moving toward the establishment of a normal standard.

In his report to the New York State Conference of Charities and Correction, November, 1906, as chairman of the Committee on Standards of Living, Mr. Frank Tucker declared that the costs of maintaining a normal standard could be determined in such a way as to make society believe that the estimates are well founded. This assertion has received satisfactory confirmation in the volume which was published as a result of that committee's work, and in the paper which has just been read by the editor of that volume ("The Standard of Living Among Workingmen's Families in New York City," by Robert Coit Chapin, Ph. D.,) We can know the cost of decent living with sufficient accuracy for all practical purposes, whether of relief or prevention. And this is as true, substantially, of immigrants as of natives.

In the volume to which reference has just been made, Dr. Chapin records three conclusions which are of peculiar interest in our search for the immigrant's standard of living. The first is that $800 is not sufficient to permit the maintenance of a normal standard of living in New York City; the second, that an income of between $800 and $900 is doubtfully sufficient; the third, that $900 or over is probably sufficient. I do not see how these estimates can be questioned, particularly since they are supported by all the other attempts that have been made to describe the content and the cost of a normal standard of living. Assuming their correctness, we may further assume that all the important differences between the immigrant and the native standards can be learned through a comparison of expenditures by immigrant families and non-immigrant families with incomes between $700 and $1000.

Eight nationalities are represented in Dr. Chapin's tables, namely United States, Teutonic, Irish, Colored, Bohemian, Russian, Austrian, and Italian. Since the great majority of the immigrants of recent years have belonged to the last three, their expenditures may be taken as typifying the standard of living of the immigrants. In the following table the average outlay of the Russian, Austrian, and Italian families for all purposes and for each of the principal objects, are compared with the expenditures of families born in the United States:

Nationality	Income	Total Expenditures	Rent	Food	Clothing	Car Fare	Fuel and Light	Insurance	Health	Sundries
Native .	$752.75	$763.13	$157.31	$348.44	$112.95	$12.98	$43.10	$26.73	$10.26	$51.36
Im.	743.08	704.93	161.42	319.57	86.62	9.36	31.70	8.73	17.36	70.17
		—58.20	+4.11	—28.87	—26.33	—3.62	—11.40	—18.00	+7.10	+18.81
Native .	856.82	867.89	167.54	409.88	127.06	13.76	42.61	24.86	8.53	73.65
Im.	843.73	779.70	165.50	350.72	96.37	13.34	39.31	11,11	29.61	73.60
		—88.19	—2.04	—59.16	—30.69	—.42	—3.30	—23.75	+21.08	—.05
Native .	944.56	949.23	172.50	425.75	143.26	16.49	40.10	38.24	23.98	88.91
Im.	939.58	869.25	182.17	401.19	112.82	10.74	45.45	7.10	25.73	85.39
		—79.98	+9.67	—24.56	—30.44	—5.75	+5.35	—31.14	+1.75	—3.52
Average of differences in the three groups. .		—75.46	+3.91	—37.53	—29.15	—3.26	—3.12	—24.30	+9.98	+5.08

The average difference between the total expenditures of the immigrant and the native families (75.46) describes the saving in the actual cost of living effected by the former. Does it also indicate the amount that they are able to save in maintaining a normal standard of living? In other words, can the immigrant families support a normal standard of living for seventy five dollars less than the native families? We admit, although the admission probably concedes too much, that the saving which they effect in clothing, car fare, and fuel and light, is genuine, and not at the cost of health or efficiency; but we cannot say the same of their expenditures for food and insurance. Owing to different dietary habits, the immigrant families can probably maintain health on a smaller outlay for food than the natives, but it is certain that they can not save much in this matter and maintain equal industrial efficiency. As a rule, the immigrant has to change his food habits and raise his food expenditure in order to compete effectually with the native worker. Again, the normal and proper outlay for insurance will obviously cost the immigrant as much as the non-immigrant. If the immigrant pays out less for this purpose it means only one thing, that he is insufficiently insured. Now the saving made in the two items of food and insurance by the immigrant families amounts to $61.83. Even if we should divide this by two, and assume that the quotient represented a genuine and healthy saving, we see that the total healthy saving effected by the immigrant families as compared with the native families, is only about forty five dollars. Consequently, if we take nine hundred dollars as the minimum that will maintain a normal standard of living among native families in New York city, we must conclude that at least eight hundred and fifty will be required by the families of immigrants.

Returning now to the actual standard, or plane, or cost, of living among immigrants, we are confronted by the disagreeable fact that their families can subsist upon an outlay of seventy five dollars less than native families having about the same income. Hence the head of the immigrant family can underbid the native worker by this much in the sale of his labor power during a year. In the case of the unmarried the difference is probably greater, inasmuch as the family standard of living would seem to be less elastic than the individual standard. For example, it is probable that the unmarried man can reduce his expenditure for clothing and sundries further below the normal than the head of a family.

To what extent does this lower standard of living maintained by the immigrant affect wages and standards of living generally? The answer to this question can only be general and approximate. If three conditions be fulfilled immigration need have no depressing effect. First, the standard of living of the immigrant must be equal or about equal to that of the natives; second, immigration must not be too rapid relatively to industrial resources, and, third, it must be properly distributed territorially and industrially. As we have just seen, the first of these conditions is not realized. The second was probably realized fairly well up to ten years ago. Whether it is still verified is very much open to doubt. Our natural resources available for development are now less abundant and less profitable than they were in the days when a good farm could be had for a normal sum; yet the influx of immigrants is greater relatively to the population. During the ten years which began with 1900, the number of immigrants arriving in this country was 8,423,311, or an average of 842,311 annually. The third condition of healthy immigration was never thoroughly realized, while today it is farther from fulfillment than at any previous time. Considerably more than half the new arrivals during recent years have been unskilled workers, and have crowded into industries in which wages were already insufficient. Only a very small proportion of them has gone into the higher occupations, or even into agriculture. Moreover, a large proportion has entered into a few industries, and become congested in a few cities. As examples of such trades we may cite coal mining and the clothing manufacture; as examples of such cities, New York and Pittsburg. Still another phase of the mal-distribution of immigration relates to time. Since the number of immigrants always increases rapidly during a period of business prosperity, the results are a check in the natural tendency to a raise in wages, an increase in speculative industrial expansion, accelerated and intensified overproduction, and the inevitable industrial depression. Finally, the great differences in race, religion, education, and language among our recent immigrants makes their competition more intense and more unfriendly, and renders labor organization among them less effective and frequently impossible.

The greatly increased proportion of immigrant workers, their bad distribution as to industries, place, and time, their peculiarly destructive competition, and their inability to organize, make their lower cost of living a grave menace to the normal standard, and consequently to the health, efficiency and character of a very large section of the American people.

Another group that is causing a great injury to normal standards of welfare is to be found among the women workers. Many of these are, indeed, included among the immigrants, but even without the latter, women in industry create peculiar problems, and make a special contribution to the forces that are dragging down the American standard of living. The wage earning women now number more than five million, and they are increasing much faster than the male workers. Owing to their comparative lack of industrial ambition, their comparative inability to change work or location, their lower cost of subsistence, their partial dependence upon other members of the family, their lack of training and skill, and their enforced competition with the large number of their own sex who are ready to become wage earners as soon as a favorable opportunity offers, women receive lower wages than men for similar work. As a consequence the rates of wages in many industries are reduced, and the family standards of living likewise.

Whatever may be the precise influence of immigrant workers and women workers in depressing wages and standards of living, the total number of adult males, and, therefore, of actual or potential heads of families, whose remuneration falls below decent and normal standards, is appallingly large. Assuming that $900 is the minimum cost of maintaining such a standard in New York city, we are certainly justified in saying that $800 is necessary for this purpose in the other large cities of the country, and $700 in the smaller cities and towns. Yet all the statistics available point to the conclusion that considerably more than one half, and probably two thirds of the adult male wage earners in the country are getting less than the last named amount. According to Mr. John R. Howard, the investigations made by the New York Conference Committee on the Standard of Living made one point clear beyond question, namely, "that the average wage of unskilled labor in the cities of New York and Buffalo is far below the income necessary to provide what any one of us could call a minimum standard of living" (Chapin, op. city, p. 317). Similar investigations would probably show the same condition, though slightly less in degree, in the other cities of the country.

This situation is at once a grave reproach to our Christian civilization, and a grave menace to the national welfare. It is a grave reproach to Christian civilization because every one of those persons who is forced to live below the normal standard, is a human being possessed of intrinsic worth and sacredness, having an absolute and imperishable value, all of which, as the German political writer Gierke tells us, was, in opposition to the theory of antiquity, revealed by Christianity. The most insignificant child, the most degraded and exploited worker, is equal in moral importance and in the eyes of God to the greatest statesman or the most efficient captain of industry. Because of his personality the worker has an equal right with the capitalist to at least the elementary requisites of reasonable life and reasonable development of personality. When, through no fault of his own, the wage of the worker is inadequate to this end, his personal dignity is outraged and his indestructible rights violated. For he has an indestructible right, either against his employer or against society, to the minimum conditions of a decent livelihood. To deny this is to assume that men are not equal as persons, and that some human beings may lawfully be used as mere instruments to the welfare of others; or that God did not intend the resources and opportunities of the earth to be available in a reasonable degree for all His children. Against this assumption the principles of natural morality and of democracy, no less than the teaching of Christianity, utter an emphatic protest. Any attempt to evade the force of this protest by appealing to considerations of industrial prosperity or social utility, will lack logical and moral validity; for the exploitation of one section of the community for a so called social end, means in the concrete the subordination of one group of persons to another, albeit larger, group of persons. It means that men are to be treated as essentially unequal. If it is to be defended at all the defense must be based frankly upon force, physical and intellectual, and not upon moral grounds.

This is the individual and the moral side of the problem, and it would seem to be logically and fundamentally more important than the social side. While society is something more than the sum of its individual members, apart from these it is a mere abstraction; while it is in a very real sense an organism, unlike the physical organism it exists for the sake of its constituent elements; while its immediate and formal end is the common good, its ultimate and concrete object is the good of all its component individuals. Nevertheless the welfare of society can and ought to be considered in itself, as something immediately and formally different from the welfare of its members, or any particular group of them. In the long run, however, social and individual welfare are interdependent, fostered by the same means and hindered by the same obstacles. The injury done to social welfare by insufficient wages and subnormal planes of living is quite as certain, though not always quite as obvious, as their evil effects upon the individuals immediately concerned.

The social injury has been strikingly presented by Mr. and Mrs. Webb through the illustration of parasitism. Those industries which do not pay wages sufficient for the physical efficiency and the reproduction of their workers, are called parasitic trades because they draw a part of their productive energy from the general stock of the nation, instead of from within themselves. We may distinguish two forms of industrial parasitism, the mild and the extreme. In the former the workers, or some of them, are partly supported by their husbands, brothers, fathers, or other relatives, and thus are enabled to live at or near the normal standard. These are for the most part women workers and child workers. From the viewpoint of national welfare this mild parasitism is an evil only indirectly, inasmuch as it gives to the industries in which it exists an unfair advantage over competing industries which pay living wages, and thus continually attracts capital and labor from the latter to the former. The subsidizing of the workers, has, therefore, a very important influence in extending the area of parasitism, both mild and extreme. In the extreme form of parasitism the underpaid workers do not receive from other sources sufficient assistance to maintain health, industrial efficiency, and the conditions of family life. The chief consequences of this situation are: the young workers who might have become more productive through training are deprived of the opportunity; women workers are in great numbers rendered unfit for the burdens of motherhood; the children who are born into the families of these exploited classes are denied the conditions of healthy moral and physical development, and grow up even less efficient than their parents; forced to live below the normal level, the workers are unable to turn out a normal amount of product during the time they are actually at work; their total working time is shortened by an abnormal amount of sickness and premature death. These facts represent the industrial loss to the community. In addition, there is a direct financial loss, owing to the large outlay for private and public relief to these workers in times of sickness, unemployment, and old age, and a considerable increase in the expenditure on account of crime that can be directly traced to the subnormal conditions in which these people are compelled to live.

Manifestly it is impossible to give anything like a statistical presentation, or even an approximate description, of these losses as they exist in the United States. Some idea of their possible proportions may, however, be obtained from a glance at Great Britain, where the evil of exploitation is much older and much greater, both extensively and intensively. One of the conclusions forced upon Mr. Rowntree during his investigation of conditions in York was that one half of the deplorably large amount of primary poverty in that city could be traced to low wages. In an editorial on the rapid deterioration of the race throughout the world on account of bad industrial conditions, "The Medical Record" (New York, Feb. 19,) declared that, "Great Britain is today confronted by a class, not only numerically great but steadily increasing, of physical, mental, and moral defectives of her own producing, who have in turn created problems of sociology, criminology, and public health which threaten her very national existence. It is stated that the average British recruit for the Crimean War, when England contained a large class of well fed, sturdy yeomanry, was nearly three inches taller, and nearly thirty pounds heavier than the average recruit for the Boer War, two generations later, when an undernourished, degenerate population, four out of five of whom lived in cities, was found to have developed. . . . . If it cannot be justly claimed that a large part of the American population is as yet suffering from chronic mal-nutrition—as is the case with the British masses—still it can be safely asserted that our poorer classes are already practically on its verge." To be sure, a considerable part of this degeneration may be the inevitable result of town life, independently of planes of living, but a very great part of it can undoubtedly be attributed to insufficient food, clothing and housing.

Evidently the national losses that we are considering are not offset by the supposed fact that the exploited workers turn out cheaper goods. We have heard a great deal lately about the conservation of natural resources, and the wasteful exploitation of the soil. We easily realize that the cost of restoring our agricultural land to its normal productivity will be much greater than would have been the cost of preventing its deterioration, and that the average level of prices of agricultural products will in the long run be considerably higher than it would have been had the farmers adopted the method of prevention. The early saving in prices will not compensate for the later loss arising from deterioration of the soil. Neither will the assumed saving in the prices of the goods produced by the exploited workers equal the loss due to lower industrial efficiency, sickness, poverty, and crime. If the underpaid workers were able to produce a normal amount of product annually during their shorter working lives, and if they were then so considerate as to disappear suddenly, leaving no burden of sickness or funeral expenses to the community, the process of exploitation might be socially profitable and expedient. "Might be," for the result is by no means certain. But the workers do not turn out a normal amount of product during their working years, and they do create abnormal burdens for the community. By expediency as well as by morality the parasitic industry stands condemned. There may be exceptional industries that are deserving of a temporary subsidy, but this should come from the State in the form of a direct bonus, and not in the form of human exploitation. As a general rule, an industry that is not self supporting, that can not pay living wages to all its employees, has no valid reason for existing. If its products are not in sufficient demand to command prices adequate to this end, they ought not to be produced.

How, then, are the millions of American workers who are unable to support a normal standard of living to be brought up to that standard? Not by the automatic operation of blind economic forces; for bitter experience has compelled us to reject the complacent assumptions of the theory of "economic harmonies." We have learned that competition, if left to itself, invariably forces wages downward instead of upward. Even the late Francis A. Walker wrote some thirty five years ago: "There is therefore no virtue at all, no tendency even, in strictly industrial forces or relations to make good that great loss" ("The Wages Question," p. 83). This was written in reply to Professor Perry's contention that competition among capitalists would inevitably and soon enable an oppressed group of laborers to recover the ground that they had lost. About fifteen years later Walker applied the same thought to the laboring classes generally: "Nothing, economically speaking, can save industrial society from progressive degradation except the spirit and the power in the working classes to resist being crowded down" ("Elements of Political Economy," p. 266.) In the case of the great majority of the underpaid, however, both the spirit and the power of adequate resistance are wanting. The low-skilled workman "cannot organize because he is so poor, so ignorant, so weak. Because he is not organized he continues to be poor, ignorant, weak. Here is the great dilemma, of which whoever shall have found the key will have done much to solve the problems of poverty" (Hobson, "Problems of Poverty," p. 227). The instances in which organization has succeeded in improving the condition of those below the normal level are exceptional. Nor can relief be expected from the employer. The majority of those who are able to pay living wages will not do so voluntarily because they believe that it would not be profitable. The majority of those who realize that higher wages would be followed by a more than proportionate increase in the efficiency of the workers and the size of their product, are either unable or afraid to make the large initial outlay that would be required to inaugurate the new system. Finally, industrial education, which would enable a large proportion of the children of the underpaid to rise into higher occupations, and a considerable restriction of immigration, which would likewise check the increase in the number of the unskilled, might in time prove an adequate remedy; but they are both far in the future, and their full effects are still remote.

There seems to be but one measure that gives any promise of anything like general efficacy, namely, the establishment by law of minimum rates of wages that will equal or approximate the normal standards of living for the different groups of workers. And the most effective method of introducing such legislation seems to be the minimum wage board. This is a board or committee composed in equal numbers of the employers and employees in a trade, together with one or more disinterested persons. No employer would be prevented from paying more than the rates fixed by the board, but every employer would be forbidden under legal penalties to pay less. It would seem that this device of minimum wage boards is not merely the only one that offers general relief, but would naturally fit in with and strengthen all partial measures, such as organization, good will and enlightened selfishness among the employers, restriction of immigration, and industrial education. In fact, a great part of its efficacy would be derived from the cooperation of these partial remedies. On the other hand, the latter can never become active, vital, or effective until they are preceded by the establishment of minimum wage boards.

The objections to this proposal are numerous, but not nearly so formidable as they appear to the average person. In the first place, legal regulation of wages probably strikes most Americans as exceedingly novel, if not revolutionary. Our national constitution was drawn up, our political institutions organized, and our theories of the sphere of legislation formed and developed under the influence of a philosophy which regarded men as equal not only juridically and politically, but as approximately equal physically and intellectually. The founders of our government believed that if all class privileges and all economic favoritism were abolished, if the legal restraints upon industry which had by that time become antiquated, were repealed, and if complete freedom of contract and of competition were substituted, every member of the community would be able to protect himself in the struggle with his equals, and all would be able to pursue and attain an ample degree of welfare. In a word, our economic life and its relations to the State were from the beginning of our national existence dominated by the theory of laissez faire, the theory that social and individual welfare would be best promoted by a policy under which the State should not interfere in the affairs of industry, except to prevent fraud, violence or theft. Before long however, the people found that the complacent expectations built upon this theory were not realized; that the forces of supply and demand did not automatically promote either equality or humanity; that in the industrial world men were unequal not only physically, as in the case of women and children against men, but economically, as in the case of the individual laborer against the individual employer, and the consumer against the monopolist. They realized that large sections of the population would continue to suffer grave hardship and injustice unless protection were obtained through legislation. Hence the enactment of laws regulating safety and sanitation in factories, laws fixing a minimum age for working children and a minimum working day for both women and children, laws in restraint of monopoly, and laws regulating the services and charges of public utility corporations.

Why should we hesitate to prevent by legislation the hardship, injustice, and social waste due to freedom of contract in the matter of wages? Instead of opposing, historical precedent favors the method. Down to the latter part of the eighteenth century, wages in commercial and industrial employments had been in most cases fixed either by formal statutes and edicts, by the ordinances of quasi-legal corporations such as the medieval gilds, or by custom, which was as effective as law, and as little subject to the influence of free contract. Speaking generally, we may say that it is the present system, and not the method of regulating wages by law, that is an innovation. Nor does the legal determination of wages differ in principle from the other industrial legislation that we have already enacted. Every argument for the latter can be urged with at least equal force in favor of the former. In both instances the law is designed to protect one section of the community against exploitation by another section. A wage that will enable the worker to live decently is as important and as necessary as protection to life, limb, and vitality in the factory, or the safeguarding of his income from the extortionate prices of monopoly. All legislation is ultimately for the benefit of concrete human beings, and every law is justified which, without doing injustice to any class, brings a wider measure of justice to some class or classes of the community.

The second objection to be considered is that drawn from the National Constitution. Any attempt to regulate wages by law would seem to conflict with those constitutional provisions against the taking of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, against any abridgement of the right of free contract, and against the granting of privileges or immunities to any class of citizens. Probably if these provisions were interpreted in their widest and most general comprehension, as the tendency was formerly, they would be an effective bar to all legislation regulating age, hours, and wages, and even sanitation and safety, in so far as these measures were designed for the benefit of the workers alone. For all such legislation interferes with freedom of contract, and is in favor of a special class. Hence Professor Adams observes that the labor laws that have been sustained by the American courts are "easiest explained and understood as a collection of exceptions to these general rules" ("Labor Problems," p. 464). The fundamental and far reaching principle upon which the courts have permitted most of these exceptions to and contraventions of the constitutional provisions above mentioned, is the right and duty of the State to exercise its police power in the interest of the public health, especially of the weaker classes. Two observations by the U. S. Supreme Court are worth citing here, as indicating a departure from the earlier tendency, and a more enlightened and encouraging attitude. In its decision upholding the Utah eight-hour law for adult males in mines (the case of Holden vs. Hardy) the Court declared that in dangerous or unhealthful employments, employer and employee "do not stand upon an equality," that the laborers "are practically constrained to obey the rules laid down by the proprietors," and that in such cases, "the legislature may properly interpose its authority" in the interest of the workers. This is a frank recognition of the fact that unlimited freedom of contract is not the unmixed good that it is assumed to be by the Constitution and by our earlier political philosophy. Neither the public health nor the welfare of women or children was involved in this case, but the welfare and health of a class of male adults; yet the court decided that this species of class legislation, and this restriction of the right of free contract, were constitutional. In its opinion sustaining the ten-hour law for women in laundries ((Muller vs. Oregon) the same court declared that "woman is properly placed in a class by herself, and legislation designed for her protection may be sustained, even when like legislation is not necessary for men and could not be sustained." Here is an implicit acceptance of an elementary, but far reaching, principle of reason and common sense: while legislation should treat all individuals and classes equally in so far as they are equal, it ought just as surely to treat them unequally in those respects in which they are unequal. Nevertheless this elementary principle of proportional justice is at least verbally contradicted by the provision about class legislation in the National Constitution. Under the influence of public opinion and a larger judicial outlook, this principle, and the principles noticed above in the Utah case, could very well be made to sustain minimum wage legislation. For the latter is as certainly, though not as obviously, required to secure genuine freedom of contract, and to protect the health and vitality of a class that is otherwise unable to protect itself, as an eight-hour law for men in mines and a ten-hour law for women in laundries. At any rate, the amendment of the Constitution is not a physical impossibility, and is apparently inevitable if we are to obtain all the legislation demanded by our changed social and industrial conditions.

It is asserted, in the third place, that minimum wage laws could not be enforced. Undoubtedly they could not be enforced perfectly, but there is no sufficient reason to think that they would not be obeyed as fully as the great majority of legal enactments. On the contrary, the proportion of the population desiring the enforcement of such legislation would be perhaps larger than in the case of most laws that are fairly well observed. The appeal to the failure of the old wage legislation in the eighteenth century is not valid; for, as Professor Adams points out, those regulations were established by an autocratic minority against the interests of the great majority, for the maintenance of maximum instead of minimum rates of wages; and yet many of them were consistently enforced for centuries, until the landed gentry began to lose control of the government ("Labor Problems," p. 499). Today minimum wage legislation would be in favor of the majority, inaugurated and supported by the majority, and enforced by a sympathetic administration.

Finally, we come to the most important objection, the one drawn from economic considerations. Those who urge this objection do not, as a rule, deny that the natural and technical resources of the country are sufficient to provide decent wages for the vast majority, and considerably more than this for the remainder of the population. All they contend is that the economic processes of production, exchange, distribution, and consumption could not be so modified by the proposed legislation as to bring about this happy result. Specifically and in brief their argument is this: An increase in the wages of the underpaid in any given industry would cause an increase in the cost of production; increased cost of production would necessitate a rise in the price of the product; the latter would be followed by a lessened demand, at least on the part of those consumers who were not also producers of the goods in question; and the diminished demand would either be balanced by an increased demand on the part of the laborers whose wages had been increased, or it would not thus be balanced. In the former hypothesis, the workers would lose as consumers all that they had gained as producers; in the latter contingency, some of them would be thrown out of employment.

The objection looks formidable, but only because of its bold and easy assumptions, and its evasion of the task of specific analysis. It is no more valid against a legal minimum wage than it is against any other measure that aims to benefit labor at the immediate and apparent expense of the employer. Every successful effort of a labor union to obtain more wages, shorter hours, or any other improvement in working conditions, and every legal regulation of factory conditions, of the length of the working day, or of the age of the working child, puts a new burden on the employer, and tends to increase the cost of production and the price of the product. Consequently, if the objection were sound the whole policy of trade unionism, and all the achievements of labor legislation would have been futile, and without benefit to the working classes. As a matter of fact, this argument has always been used against any interference with the freedom of contract between master and man, whether by legal or by trade union action. It was for many years effectively urged both by the manufacturers and economists against the first proposals to limit the hours of labor and age of child employes in the English factories, something less than a century ago. If it had prevailed English women would still be laboring as beasts of burden harnessed to carts in the depths of mines, children from five years upward would be toiling in the English factories sixteen and even eighteen hours a day under the lash of an overseer, English laborers of all classes would still be forbidden by law to organize for self protection, the era of English Wage Slavery would have been prolonged in ever increasing harshness to the present hour, and the degeneration of the city populations of England would have been infinitely greater than it has actually become (Cf. Gibbins, "Industry in England," pp. 391, sq.).

Experience has shown that the injurious results predicted by the opponents of labor legislation and labor organizations have not taken place. There has been no general increase in prices, nor any increase in any case that equalled the increase in wages or the expected increase in other items of the cost of production. In the majority of instances the greater part of the cost has been met by an increased efficiency in the productive process, that is, in labor, in machinery, and in the combination of these two factors. Another part has come out of the profits of those concerns that were obtaining more than the usual amount of interest on their investment. Precisely the same forces would operate in those industries in which wages would be raised by law to a decent level. It is not, indeed, true that every increase in wages will be followed by an equivalent increase in productive efficiency, so that all the added cost of production will be provided by the workers themselves, or by the workers in conjunction with better technical processes. This will happen in some cases, but no general rule can be formulated to indicate when it will happen (Cf. Hobson, "The Evolution of Modern Capitalism," ch. xiv, new ed.). It seems quite probable, however, that where the increase in wages is merely sufficient to raise the worker from a condition of sub-normal to one of normal physical efficiency, the greater part of the additional wages will be available in the form of a larger product. In other words, the underfed, underclothed, and underhoused laborer, when brought up to the level of a normal standard of living, is able to create most of the difference between starvation wages and the remuneration necessary to maintain the normal standard. The greater part of the remaining cost of the higher wages would probably come through the substitution of machinery for hand labor, and of better machinery for antiquated processes; through the elimination of the less efficient directors of industry, and the better organization of the productive forces; and through a reduction of the returns on monopolistic capital, and on capital that would suffer such a reduction rather than take flight into other industries. Nevertheless it is overwhelmingly probable that some of the additional wage cost would in some of the industries, be transferred to the product in the form of higher prices.

How large this increase in prices would be, cannot be determined even approximately. Obviously it would differ in different industries. The one general statement that seems to be fairly safe is that the total increase in prices in all the industries affected would be less than half the total increase in wages. Consequently, even if the laborers themselves were the sole consumers of their products, they would gain in wages much more than they would lose on account of the higher prices that they would be obliged to pay as consumers. In most industries, however, the workers would consume only a small fraction of the goods of which they are the producers. By far the greater part would be, as now, consumed by persons not connected with the industry. Now it is morally certain that the latter would not buy as much as they formerly did of the goods upon which the price was raised. On the other hand, it is no less certain that they would not reduce their demand in exact proportion to the rise in the price. In other words, they would as a body pay out a larger sum total for the purchase of these goods than they had paid formerly. Some of them, indeed, would take just as much of the goods as before; others would take somewhat less, but would still expend a larger sum total; while others would reduce their purchases by an amount fully equivalent to the increased price. The net result, therefore, is twofold; first, a part of the increased wage cost would be defrayed by consumers not engaged in the industry, but whose remuneration was not affected by the operation of the minimum wage law; and, second, there would be some falling off in the combined demand for goods by these two classes of consumers. Consequently, it would seem that this decrease in demand must lead to a smaller amount of employment in some of the industries affected by the minimum wage legislation.

This inference, however, is fallacious, inasmuch as it leaves out of account the increased purchasing power of the workers whose wages would be raised. The latter would create a new demand for the products of the affected industries in two ways; directly, because the benefitted workers would expend part of their increased remuneration for these products, and directly, since their increased demand for the products of other industries would increase the purchasing power of those employed in the latter, part of which would be exchanged for the products of the workers in the industries affected by the minimum wage regulation. So many factors and so many elements of prophecy are involved in the problem, that the net result as to employment cannot be foretold with any degree of confidence. Nevertheless, experience, analogy, and all the available indications would seem to justify the assertion that the sum total of employment both within and without the affected industries would not necessarily be diminished, and would not improbably be increased.

Even if some of the workers should be thrown out of employment the general social effect would be good. The number of workers who would be able to fit their children for and to rise themselves into higher occupations would be increased, while the social cost of lessened vitality and of various forms of dependence among those actually employed would be greatly diminished. Most important of all, an increase in unemployment arising out of a legal regulation of wages would force the State to face squarely and in a comprehensive way the whole problem of the unemployed and the unemployable. To this we shall have to come sooner or later, and the sooner the better. We need public labor exchanges for an adequate adjustment of supply to demand in place and time, labor colonies for those who can but will not work effectively, and employment in public enterprises for those who cannot be taken care of by the other two methods. If all these measures combined should fall short of complete effectiveness, both individual and social welfare would suggest that the State should support some of the laboring class in idleness rather than permit anyone of average efficiency to work for less than living wages.

In this, as in all other cases where there is question of the solution of a social problem, an ounce of fact is worth a pound of theory. Unfortunately we have as yet no sufficient amount of facts, in the sense of experience, to afford us much guidance. What we have, however, is distinctly favorable. The compulsory arbitration laws of New Zealand and of some of the Australian states embody the principle of a legal minimum wage, inasmuch as the rates fixed by the arbitration courts are the lowest that any employer is permitted to pay throughout the trade involved in the dispute and the award. Despite their limitations, these laws have been successful, not only in securing industrial peace, but in maintaining decent wages in all the trades affected. This is the verdict of all impartial observers. Victoria, Australia, has had minimum wage boards since 1896. They consist of two groups numerically equal chosen from among the employers and the employees in an industry, together with a chairman elected by both these groups or appointed by the Governor. At the beginning there were only six boards, but the number has increased steadily, until it has reached thirty-eight or more. Eleven of these have been established at the request of employers. Since 1904 the boards are forbidden to fix higher rates than those paid by the reputable employers in a trade. Workers who fall below the average in speed or efficiency can obtain permits to work for less than the legal minimum, but the number of these must never be greater than one in five in any establishment. There is a court of appeals to which the decisions of the boards may be taken for revision.

This Victorian scheme was inaugurated during a period of business depression, and has since been tested by good times and moderately good times. Through an oversight of the legislature in 1902 the boards were deprived of legal authority, but so great was the dissatisfaction ensuing that the law was quickly re-enacted. Among the beneficial effects of the boards enumerated by Mr. Macrosty, an impartial witness, are: a better organization of industrial factors and processes, no rise of prices to the consumer, and an increase of both wages and employment in dull times, as compared with the trades in which no wage boards existed. ("Trade Unions and Labor Problems," pp. 213-216). Another competent and fair observer, Dr. Victor S. Clark declares that, "the wages of all female workers and of all adult male workers are higher in the trades affected by the boards; but the wages of boys and youths are higher in occupations free from government control" ("The Labor

Movement in Australia,' p. 148). Boys get higher pay in the unregulated trades because they do men's work there, while in the regulated trades the employment of juvenile labor is discouraged. The obvious and urgent remedy for this condition is to extend the operation of the boards to all trades, compel employers to pay boys and women men's wages for men's work, and provide some comprehensive plan of industrial training and apprenticeship. If, as is probable, the minimum wage legislation forces the State to take up the latter problem sooner than it would otherwise have acted, the legislation will have still another achievement to its credit. Dr. Clark's general conclusion is that no final judgment as to the value of the boards is now possible, that while the law has not eradicated the evils it was designed to meet, "nevertheless it appears to have mitigated them," and that "the workers themselves, who ought to be the best judges, commend the effect of the act." Indeed, the minimum wage legislation is, according to the Report of the Select Committee on Home Work appointed by the British Parliament, "very largely and generally, if not universally approved by the people of Australia." The tendency seems to be toward extending the law to all trades, and this is well; for its best effects cannot be obtained until it is applied universally, and systematic provision is made for the unemployed and unemployable. Dr. Clark declares that State responsibility for a living wage, which is implied in the Victorian legislation, "logically leads to the responsibility of the State for employment at that wage." So much is not necessarily included in the theory. On its face a law of this kind merely lays down the principle that all workers of average efficiency who are employed must be paid sufficient to maintain them in conditions of decent living, although this principle undoubtedly suggests that the State has an equivalent duty toward those of its citizens who cannot find employmnt. It is not, indeed, obliged to provide a livelihood for all its members directly, but it fails in one of its primary functions if it does not assure to them the conditions in which they can obtain a decent livelihood. If some of the population cannot obtain such conditions in private industry, they ought to be provided with public employment. For the right to live decently by one's labor is as important as the right to life and more important than the general right of property.

The Report of the Select Committee referred to above, recommended the establishment of minimum wage boards for the protection of the home workers in Great Britain. In accordance with this recommendation Parliament passed an act which went into effect at the beginning of the present year. The constitution of the British boards is substantially the same as that of the boards in Victoria. Inasmuch as they are to apply only to home workers, who are the most helpless and the poorest paid of English laborers, the new experiment will have a distinct value. If it proves successful in even a moderate degree it will, in conjunction with the experience of Victoria, create an exceedingly strong presumption in favor of the universal value of minimum wage legislation.

Some who admit that minimum wage boards would effect considerable improvement in the conditions of the underpaid, deny that they would prove an adequate remedy. Since the radical cause of insufficient wages is an excessive supply of unskilled labor, no measure will afford permanent relief that does not reduce this over supply. Not even State employment of all who could not find work otherwise, would be effective, for the latter would be unskilled laborers, and their product must, therefore, be thrown upon a market that is already overstocked with that class of goods. Hence the only adequate remedies are limitation of offspring among the families of the unskilled, restriction of immigration, and universal industrial elucation. There is considerable force in these observations. Undoubtedly the fundamental evil is an excessive supply of unskilled labor. Nevertheless, deliberate limitation of the size of families is delusive, immoral, and socially demoralizing. Some restriction of immigration would no doubt be helpful and wise, and a comprehensive scheme of industrial education, which will not only increase the efficiency of the unskilled but reduce their numbers by a levelling-up process, is a crying necessity. No advocate of minimum wage legislation contends that it would be all-sufficient. It must be supplemented by the measures advocated, by far reaching provision for the unemployed and the unemployable, and by legislation that will prevent the exploitation of the consumer, and the limitation of opportunity, through monopoly and special privilege. Moreover, the adoption of most of these supplementary measures would be considerably hastened by the establishment and operation of minimum wage boards. The number and the grievances of the underpaid would be forced upon public attention, and the problem of devising adequate remedies would become a vital and urgent public question.

It is not maintained that the proposed legislation could be universally enacted in a year, nor perhaps in ten years. The wage boards would probably have to be introduced gradually, in one trade after another. Hence the National Consumers' League, which, in accordance with the recently adopted policy of the International association, has taken up the advocacy of this legislation, aims for the present at its introduction into industries employing women and children. This is a very prudent move; for both public opinion and Constitutional restrictions are less opposed to the measure in the case of these classes of workers than in that of men. And the former need it quite as badly as the latter.

With these limitations, the minimum wage boards would, the writer firmly believes, prove a fundamental, thoroughgoing, and adequate remedy for the evil of underpaid labor. This much it promises, and this much is not even promised by any other measure that has been or can be suggested. All other methods of meeting the problem are partial, or require so much time to produce their full effects that no lover of his country or his kind can contemplate with equanimity the individual misery and the social losses that will ensue before that far off day arrives. The writer rejects the alternative of Socialism because he regards it as ineffective, or, at any rate, as possibly effective only after all other methods have been tried and found wanting.

In conclusion, the writer ventures to express the hope that his hearers and readers will be led to study sympathetically the question whether minimum wage boards do not appear to provide an effective method of attacking one of the great causes, undoubtedly the greatest social cause, of dependency and delinquency.

Remedial Loans

W. N. FINLEY, MANAGER CHATTEL LOAN ASSOCIATION, BALTIMORE, CHAIRMAN

PHILANTHROPIC SOCIETIES LOANING ON EARNING CAPACITY

BY J. T. EXNICIOS, OF THE SOCIETY FOR SAVINGS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Of the fourteen Loan Companies now constituting the National Federation of Remedial Loan Associations, eight are doing the Chattel Mortgage Business, three the Pawn Business, two are doing both and only one, the Society for Savings of Washington, which I represent, does the business of loaning upon the borrower's earning capacity and also the chattel business.

Here is our experience in this field: My attention was first called to the work about 1892, when a number of clerks in the Government service in Washington, formed a co-operative association for the purpose of helping each other by means of short time loans. At the time there was no place where a clerk could borrow money to meet an unexpected emergency, unless he called upon some "money brokers" as they were called, or upon an obliging fellow clerk in his own or another department. The rate of interest charged by the fellow clerk on small loans of $5 to $20 varied, with the urgency of the case, from 10% to 20% for two weeks, i. e. until the next semi-monthly pay day. This latter practice we are glad to say has been nearly stamped out.

The condition described led to what is today the Society for Savings. It was incorporated in January, 1905, under the laws of the District of Columbia, with an authorized capital of $50,000, (since increased to $100,000) and a paid in capital of $7,500 of which sum $5,000 was borrowed by some of its officers on their personal credit. The primary object of the Association was to combat the loan shark evil, which had grown to vast proportions. It proposed to compete with the sharks by offering to their victims the benefits of true business philanthropy; that is, better service at a reasonable price.

The Society has been sorely handicapped from the start by lack of capital. Well to do citizens naturally are slow to invest in a business which, though it has been productive of untold good, is as yet non-legal. We are not justified by law in charging more than 6% per annum, the legal rate of interest in the District.

Since our organization, we have constantly kept in mind the necessity for legislation which would protect the borrower and also give a legitimate standing to the business. We have tried to place ourselves on a level with other remedial agencies which attempt to improve the conditions of that vast body of our people, the wage earners.

In regard to legislation our work has been largely educational. It was necessary to instruct the press and the public as to the needs of the remedial legislation. We had to show the possible benefits to the money borrower that might ensue if the law recognized his necessities; to make clear how much he needed protection from those who seek to take from him not only his money and his goods, but his manhood, who crush him down with debts beyond his ability to repay until he eventually becomes, as an object of charity, a burden on the community.

A few weeks ago I was requested by the Secretary of the Section, Mr. Arthur H. Ham, to prepare a statement, based on the experience of the Society for Savings, in answer to the following questions.

> What is the effect upon the borrower, and the percentage of deserving borrowers on salaries, who have a legitimate need and go to the salary loan office, because they cannot secure a loan elsewhere? Does your experience lead you to believe that a large percentage of borrowers on this kind of security are deserving, or that most of them are improvident and vicious people, who desiring to borrow for some reprehensible purpose, without the consent of their wives, are attracted to salary loan offices by the apparent ease with which

loans may be secured, and the apparent secrecy with which the transaction is conducted?

It seems here just and fitting to express my profoundest appreciation of Mr. Ham's thorough, painstaking and successful labor in the field of remedial loan business. His scientific attainments, his broad view of the necessities and requirements, his indefatigable industry and deep sympathy have given us strength in hours of depression, and hope under apparent defeat. Nor can I leave unmentioned our Chairman, Mr. Finley, of Baltimore. Though he had himself a legislative fight on hand in Maryland, he was ever ready to come to Washington to assist us, and with his ready wit, his extensive experience as a man of affairs, his profound knowledge of men and their motives, his wonderful alertness and physical endurance, he proved to be a tower of strength to us.

There exists in Washington a condition peculiar to the City, and one which probably has no counterpart in the loan business prevailing elsewhere. This condition is due to the class of people resident here, and is made possible by their occupation and environment. The majority of them being connected with the General Government, have nothing in the form of assets, except their earning capacity and moral credit to offer as security for loans. They cannot secure that accommodation obtained at banks by merchants and tradesmen because of their very occupation. Our borrowing class might be divided into three groups:

First—Government employees:

(a) Those men and women, who not having families or homes, many of them being single, have nothing to offer as security for loans but their individual note, secured by the endorsement of their fellow clerks.

(b) Those again who do not care to ask endorsement by fellow clerks, because of the fear of being called upon to return the favor in kind, or because they prefer not to have their needs made known to their friends, and therefore use their jewelry or personal effects at the pawn brokers.

(c) That class who are home makers, and in many cases home buyers, who possess the necessary chattels.

Second—That very large class of people whose living depends on the city government, the office and the shop; this class use equally endorsed notes or chattels, and

Finally—The largest class of all, the laboring people, who without steady employment or regular source of income, offer their all, their household effects.

The most difficult problem to solve is that of the effects upon the borrowers. Its special difficulty lies in the fact that it is an individual problem not susceptible to general rules. Each case must be considered separately. In some cases the effect of being able to borrow, as it seems, with ease, is bad. Borrowing sometimes becomes a habit, even apparently creating an appetite or craving akin to those cravings produced by other indulgences which are not curbed. Such people fancy their needs to be greater than they really are. They patronize one loan office after another until the impossibility of keeping up the payments means practical ruin.

On the other hand I have found that the knowledge of being able to secure a loan when his need was urgent has been a source of comfort and strength to many a worthy man. The very fact that he had credit and could obtain money was a compelling factor in maintaining his independence and supporting his pride in discharging his obligations with scrupulous promptness.

My experience leads me to believe that the majority of borrowers doing business with us, have a legitimate need that could not have been met, had we not been at hand to assist them at the time. This statement is not based upon theory, but is shown by our office records which are complete and voluminous. An inspection of them, made during March of this year, showed that out of about four thousand loans made during the year 1909, fully 50% had been paid, and no renewals asked for, and a large number of loans were paid before maturity.

Of course there are many improvident borrowers, although not so many as might be supposed. We make careful investigations, but if one of the improvident class does succeed in getting on our books, the characteristic soon discloses itself during the life of the loan. Then we try to instill a sense of the necessity of self help into the borrower. Sometimes we succeed, although more often we fail. In the latter case, of course, we refuse further accommodation and make it plain why we do so.

As to the openly vicious borrower, we do not handle such loans under any circumstances, hence we have no experience to report.

As to the wife's knowledge and consent to the loan, this is largely a matter of judgment, based upon the report submitted by the local commercial agency which is a part of our investigating machinery. We also get information from stockholders or friends. The standing of all applicants for loans, whether on chattels or salary, is rigidly investigated, from one to two days being required for this. The investigation covers moral as well as financial character. We notice the home surroundings, size of family, salary, household expenses. We use our judgment, with all these things in mind, as to what amount the borrower can set aside each month to meet the obligations incurred to the Society. From this information we are often able to determine whether the wife is conversant with her husband's affairs and then decide upon the necessity of making her a party to the loan. Frequently after having granted our loans, something will arise to indicate that the wife has not been cognizant of the transaction. For example, a notice of payment due will be received and opened, during the absence of the husband, with the result of our getting a visit from the wife and a request that we refrain from granting future loans without her knowledge and consent. Such a request is at once noted on the man's record, and he is so informed, when a renewal of loan is applied for. In many other cases, although having reason to believe that the loan is to be used for the family's good, we still insist on having the wife's signature to the note, for when both are parties to the transaction, it is beneficial, not only from the standpoint of moral effect, but also as an incentive to thrift, saving, and domestic tranquillity.

Out of this method has grown our system of installment notes, our plan being, to have the borrower pay small monthly amounts so as to make his burden as light as possible consistent with strict business principles. If at any time during the life of an installment note the borrower wishes, for good reasons, to extend a payment, while as a rule we do not refuse the extension, we do not grant more than two weeks, and in explanation of this course, we try to show him the wisdom of making his payment at that time, and thereby avoid having to pay two monthly installments on one and the same day. If we find it manifestly impossible for him to pay sooner, we carry the payments over from month to month, until he is able to catch up with his back payments, or, if that is not possible, until the final installment becomes due. Then we arrange for him to give us a new note, making the payments within his ability and means. We cannot extend a final payment, as that would endanger, or at least affect, the validity of the note.

Experience has made us firm believers in the installment note for our salaried customers. We have found that it has a tendency to make the borrower try to be regular and prompt in his payments and accustom himself to the idea of saving something out of his earnings. In some cases, the habit has proven permanent, for we have now some small stock holders who started out with us as borrowers, and who are now earnestly trying to become savers.

As to secrecy in connection with the loan business, we can not condemn this practise too strongly. It is one of the most vicious lures the loan shark holds out to his victim. Its effect is to blast a man's self respect and self confidence, degrade all that is honorable in him, and blind him to his own importance and standing in the community as a good citizen and father. Furthermore, if he is a man of family, it encourages him to do the very thing we are trying to prevent him from doing, that is, to secure a loan to be used to gratify his own immediate desires, to his own injury and that of those dependent on him, and who rightfully look to him for a good example. For these reasons we have stoutly maintained in all our arguments for legislation, the absolute necessity for recognition of remedial loan agencies, and of placing them on the same footing as a bank, even though they be only a bank for small borrowers.

I do not think it would be wise to prohibit borrowing upon earning capacity, and to depend upon remedial chattel and collateral societies to satisfy the need, certainly not in Washington, for the reasons before mentioned, especially those relative to the peculiar conditions of society existing here, and probably not found elsewhere. Again, to do so here, would work a hardship on that large class of our population, whom I have grouped under sub-division (a) of Government employees. To do away with our present method of loans would cause to spring into life again that most dreaded evil, which at one time was flourishing here, the Departmental loan shark, who is now almost a thing of the past.

I believe that the ideal remedial loan company would be the one with sufficient capital to combine the business of chattel loans, pawn or pledge loans, and endorsed note loans, under one general management and control. There should be a separate office for the pawning business which I think should be kept distinct (although we have one loan shark in Washington who carries on all these branches of money lending under one roof).

The chattel and endorsed note features of the business are more closely allied, hence should be done at the same office. In the one case it would be better for the borrower, for the reason that if he had a chattel loan and necessity compelled him to seek another loan for a temporary emergency, he could be granted this accommodation on an endorsed note, in preference to having him go elsewhere. In the case of the lender, being familiar with conditions surrounding the borrower, his need could be determined and action taken to his advantage, by making the loan in the amount actually needed, and arranging his payments to fit his case and income, rather than driving him elsewhere to incur obligations, larger perhaps than his needs might warrant, with the consequent result of two payments, being together, in many cases, greater than he could handle.

Finally, we do not have here what might be termed strictly salary loans, for the payment of which the future salary is hypothecated, for I do not know of any business being done in our city on salary or wage assignments, as it exists in other cities throughout the country. Our class of borrowers make loans on chattels, pledges or endorsed notes only.

We have noticed several cases, in which a borrower after having made a loan for an emergency, seeks and obtains extra work to free himself of debt. A salary assignment acts like a halter around the borrower's neck. It cripples his self respect, blunts his spirit of free manhood, and lays him open to the suspicion of his superiors or employers, and tempts the unscrupulous lender to take permanent possession of this cowardly weapon, forever holding it over the head of his unfortunate victim, keeping him in miserable and unmanly subjection.

Our energies have been devoted not only to advancing our remedial loan business, but also to securing remedial legislation, along lines which our experience leads us to believe will produce the best effects.

This proposed legislation was drafted in the form of a bill by our Society, and forwarded to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, (our Board of Governors) two years ago, and again last year, slightly amended, and after due consideration by them, was transmitted to Congress with their unanimous recommendation that it be made a law. Since then, the press, prominent citizens, religious, civic and philanthropic organizations, have vigorously taken up the question and materially assisted us in keeping it before the public, and bringing it forcibly to the attention of members of both houses of Congress, resulting, I am pleased to be able to say, on April 7th last, in the passage by the Senate of S. Bill 4503, embodying substantially the following provisions:—

Making it mandatory, that all persons, firms or corporations, who engage in this business shall procure a license from the authorities of the District of Columbia, who shall only grant such license to bona fide residents thereof. That all licensees shall pay an annual tax, and give bond in the sum of at least $5,000. That a register be kept showing, in English the amount of money loaned, the date when loaned, and when due, the person to whom loaned, the property or thing named as security for the loan, where the same is located and in whose possession, together with the amount of interest, or fee, or commission charged for the loan; that this register be open to the inspection of the Commissioners, or their officers or agents, at any and all times. This register will then show, as no other method would, whether the law is being complied with, and the borrower given that which he pays for, and to which he is entitled. Further:—

To submit to the Commissioners, (the governing body of the District of Columbia) in January of each year, an annual statement in the form of a trial balance of its books, as shown on December 31st, of each year, showing liabilities and assets, and to publish the same in the newspapers, and furnish such other information as may be called for by said Commissioners, this with a view to giving the Commissioners sufficient knowledge to determine, whether the rate allowed by law is either too high or otherwise, so that they might recommend either its increase or decrease.

The bill limits the rate of interest to not exceeding two per cent per month of the actual amount of the loan, this charge to cover all expenses, demands and services of every character, including notarial and recording fees, except upon the foreclosure of the security. Our experience, and I believe that of every other member of the Federation, has shown this rate to be just and ample. This matter of rate is the vital point, on which hinges the future of remedial loan companies, for if the law makes it too high, you commercialize absolutely that which you call remedial, and remove competition, which it is so necessary to preserve to obtain lasting results, and, if it does not allow a rate based on the cost of the transaction, the cost of the capital, and a reasonable surplus, (to quote again the statement of Mr. Frank Tucker, made at our last annual meeting) it defeats its own purpose, for you can't secure capital unless you can secure it against loss, and assure it of a reasonable return on its investment.

We all know, that remedial legislation requires remedial corporations to make it effective and that remedial corporations are not possible, unless based on good business principles. To make the law practical, and have its regulations enforced, power is given to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to hear all complaints, and when it is shown to their satisfaction, that any licensee is guilty of any violation of the law, they have the right to revoke the license and cause the corporation counsel (who is the legal officer of the city government) to institute criminal proceedings, which provides for a fine of from $25 to $200, and imprisonment of from five to thirty days, or both in the discretion of the court. This relieves the aggrieved borrowers from the expense and publicity of prosecuting the lender who has injured him. Furthermore, the Commissioners are given full power, to make all rules and regulations necessary in their judgment for the conduct of the business and enforcement of the law. Under this clause they have authority to create a board of control or supervision, to be composed of reputable and public-spirited citizens whose duty it would be to see that inspections and investigations of the books were made periodically, to enquire as to the methods of carrying on the business by all persons and companies engaged therein, and report the results to them. This Board would go a long way towards correcting any attempted evasions or violations of the law that might be practised by the money lender.

When this bill was before the United States Senate on April 7th of this year, Hon. W. P. Dillingham, Senator from Vermont, Chairman of the Committee in charge of the bill, stated that the Committee had agreed to adopt and advocate its passage because of the results of the experience of the "Society for Savings" along this line, and to encourage people, who have money and want to invest it in this way, to enter the business, and so enable the large army of poor borrowers to be freed from the operations of the sharks who up to this time have had the entire control of the business.

Senator Paynter, of Kentucky, another member of this Committee, during the debate on the floor of the Senate before its passage, strongly urged that it would be wise to adopt an amendment forbidding any Company doing business under this law with less than $250,000 or $500,000 capital, using the following language:—

> "If I had it in my power, I would not allow a company to organize to engage in the character of loan business under consideration, whose capital stock was less than $250,000 to $500,000. In that way it would be restricted to a few people, and the expense of conducting the business would be much less. Then we could reduce the rate of interest as the companies could accommodate those whose necessities compelled them to borrow small sums of money. Ordinarily I would not allow business to be conducted exclusively by people

> who have contributed large capital, but this is a special privilege granted to the borrower and to the lender, and Congress ought to regulate it in a way which would best serve the interest of the borrower, consequently the community. If we had one company, for instance, in the City of Washington, or two companies, with a capitalization of $500,000 each, the expense of those companies would be much less than it would be if there were one hundred engaged in the same business, and it would reduce the rate of interest to such an amount, that these companies could profitably conduct their business and afford the people whose necessities require them to appeal to them to borrow money at a lower rate of interest."

In this connection I may say that there are now engaged in this business in the City of Washington about forty-two companies, and probably as many more individuals, and it is a fair estimate, to say that of the companies none have less than $25,000 and many as much as $100,000 capital employed; a fair average would be $50,000 which would give a total of over $2,000,000. All of these companies, with the exception of the "Society for Savings" charge more than 2% per month. Investigation by ourselves, the Citizens' Committee of the Monday Evening Club, the Commissioners of the District and a number of charitably inclined citizens, shows that the rates are as high as 15% and in some instances 50% per month. This does not apply solely to chattel loans to the laboring class of borrowers, but to all classes. With our limited capital and in the absence of a protective law, which has prevented our securing all the money we could use, we are not even beginning to improve the opportunity which confronts us.

The "Society for Savings" is deeply appreciative of the aid of the National Federation, particularly of Mr. W. N. Finley and Mr. A. H. Ham, in our efforts to secure remedial legislation at the Capital of the Nation. Such legislation must necessarily favorably influence pending legislation elsewhere. We are especially indebted to the Citizens' Committee of the Monday Evening Club, particularly to the Chairman of its Legislative Committee, Mr. W. H. Baldwin, for their untiring and faithful efforts to convince members of both Houses of Congress of the urgent need of immediate legislation to place the business of loaning money on a more equitable basis.

The bill, embodying these features, passed the Senate without a dissenting vote, and is now being considered by the District Committee of the House of Representatives. While we are anxiously hoping that it will become a law during this Session of Congress, we needs must be mindful of the great responsibility that such legislation will place upon the "Society for Savings." We naturally pause at times, and ask ourselves, whether the people will appreciate our efforts, and whether they will come to our assistance financially, and thus make it possible for us to meet the great demands for loans which will inevitably come to us as a result of our being the prime instrumentality of this new law.

We are convinced that, under these new conditions, a remedial loan company in the National Capital should be capitalized to the amount of at least one-half million dollars, and we believe that our experience and record justify, and that fairness demands, that we should be entrusted with the duty to fulfill this mission.

A YEAR'S PROGRESS IN REMEDIAL LOAN WORK

BY ARTHUR H. HAM, AGENT, RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION,
NEW YORK

Until an adequate program is devised to bring about a logical relation between compensation and the cost of living, to teach the efficient use of income and to force wage earners to provide for themselves against accident, illness, unemployment or similar crises, there will be need for temporary financial relief in the contingencies inevitable under our present complex life in cities. Most states provide facilities for people who are able to make small savings, but there is a great need for agencies through which small loans may be obtained by the same class of people. Many foreign governments realizing the evils resulting from exploitation of this field by private enterprise have with varying degrees of success attempted to regulate the business by making it a governmental monopoly. But under our individualistic form of government such regulation has not been attempted.

When the emergency in the economy of the wage earner presents itself, his only recourse is to one of the following agencies: the pawn broker, the chattel loan company or the salary loan broker. The pawning transaction is a loan upon articles of luxury or of use which are deposited with the lender as security. The chattel loan is secured by a mortgage on household goods or other personal property which remains in the possession of the borrower. The salary loan is secured by a lien upon the earning capacity of the borrower.

Owing to the lack of acceptable security the pawning transaction is often closed as an avenue of assistance to the would-be borrower and he finds his choice restricted to the chattel and salary loan companies. These have arisen in response to a great need, but because of the oppressive methods practiced by these agencies, whose motive is not the promotion of the welfare of the community but financial gain, the effect has been much more harmful than beneficial. Under the present system the greatest evils are practiced against people least able to defend themselves and least able to bear this sort of oppression.

The unscrupulous methods of the professional money lenders in this country and their effect upon the community have recently been given much publicity, and the rapidly spreading desire among cities to regulate this business and furnish loan facilities for people who find themselves in financial distress has developed two methods of dealing with the problem: legislative and competitive. The success of legislation of the restrictive type in those states where it has been employed, has not been such as to indicate that much benefit may be derived from this source. Drastic measures forbidding a higher interest charge than six per cent per annum under severe penalties, will have little effect upon the business unless they are rigidly enforced, or until other agencies are supplied to meet the economic need of borrowers who are ignorant of their legal rights and who now aid the lenders in evading the law. The enforcement of a law which stands between a man who has money to lend and a man who is willing to pay the price asked, will always be a difficult matter. It is quite clear that it would be unwise to prohibit the business entirely. The best and most effective type of legislation therefore seems to be that which allows a reasonable interest charge, not exceeding two per cent per month, provides for efficient supervision and sufficient publicity of transaction to discourage borrowing except in cases of legitimate and pressing need. This type of legislation attracts capital to a legitimate enterprise, which furnishes sufficient profit to enable it to compete with other enterprises for such capital as is required to meet the demands of the borrowing public. But its main value lies in the fact that it opens the way for the establishment of philanthropic or semi-philanthropic agencies which, loaning money at less than legal rates, co-operate with the established machinery of supervision by furnishing the competition necessary to keep profits within reasonable limits. This is the solution of the problem; the establishment of remedial loan societies, closely supervised, with dividends limited to a reasonable percentage per annum and interest charges reduced as low as can consistently be done without making it too easy for people to borrow in time of fancied need. No other way of dealing with the subject has been successful.

A crusade begun two years ago by the Department of Public Safety in Philadelphia to stamp out the loan evil is still being carried on. Offices have been raided, books and papers seized and a mass of evidence accumulated; several managers of loan offices have been arrested and indicted, but so far none of these cases has come to trial. The newspapers have printed columns in an attempt to throw light on the subject, but the lenders still continue to do business at an extortionate rate of interest and even new companies have been started. Similar crusades by the press and other agencies have been undertaken in many cities, but the results have been of no great value, except where philanthropic agencies have been established to meet the conditions on which the usurer thrives.

Realizing the results that might be accomplished through organized effort, representatives of the fourteen remedial loan societies then in existence, met in Buffalo in June, 1909, at the suggestion of Mr. W. N. Finley, manager of the Chattel Loan Association of Baltimore. They formed themselves into a National Federation of Remedial Loan Associations for the purpose of aiding in the establishment of similar societies wherever needed, by giving advice and information concerning legislation, problems of administration and general information necessary for proper organization and management. An executive committee was elected consisting of Mr. W. N. Finley, Mr. Hugh Cavanaugh, of Cincinnati, and Mr. Frank Tucker, of New York. An agent was subsequently appointed by the Russell Sage Foundation to co-operate with this committee in promoting the work.

At the time the Federation was formed the last society to be established was The Provident Loan Society, of Detroit, which began business in July, 1906. In the past year four new societies have been started and at least five more are awaiting only the passage of enabling acts by their state legislatures; six other cities are on the point of making a start and in addition to these, ten cities are interested to the extent of appointing committees of charity organization societies, boards of trade and chambers of commerce to report on the advisability of establishing remedial loan societies. The four new societies are The Co-operative Loan and Investment Company, of Harrisburg, Pa., the Equitable Loan Association of Minneapolis, Minn., The People's Bank & Storage Company of Louisville, Ky., and The People's Bank of Rochester, N. Y. The formation of at least three of these societies is in a large measure due to the National Federation. The Provident Loan Society of Milwaukee has added a pawning department to its work and the First State Pawners Society of Chicago, is contemplating the establishment of a chattel loan branch, as an adjunct to its work in the collateral loan field.

Not the least important result of the year's work is the remedial legislation that has been enacted by the Federal and State Legislative bodies. One month of my time has been occupied in co-operating with the State Superintendent of Banks in New York in an effort to secure an efficient supervision of the chattel mortgage loan companies operating under the State law, which allows an interest charge of two per cent per month. As a result of this investigation three companies have been refused renewal of licenses and the Attorney-General has begun proceedings for the dissolution of three other companies and forfeiture of their bonds of $5,000 each.

It became evident that the existing law did not give the superintendent the necessary amount of discretionary power over these companies to allow him to keep them in check. At his request I drew a series of amendments to the existing law. These were incorporated in an amending bill which was introduced at Albany as banking legislation, passed by both the Senate and House and signed by the Governor on April 21.

This measure covers the following points:

1. The Counties of Monroe and Westchester are put on an equal footing with the other counties of the State.
2. The minimum capital stock is set at $10,000.
3. The Superintendent of Banks is given power to refuse to issue a license when he does not approve the character and general fitness of the persons applying, or if, in his judgment, the organization would not be a benefit to the community.
4. Companies are forbidden to discount interest from the principal of the loan when it is made.
5. The Superintendent is given power to suspend or revoke the license of any company for any good cause.
6. Companies are specifically forbidden making loans greater than $200 in amount to any one person. The present law is not perfectly clear in this respect and has been abused.

7. Corporations are required to provide their borrowers with copies of that section of the law which regulates fees and interest charges.

The rate of interest upon loans secured by chattel mortgage is limited to two per cent per month, with a fee for drawing papers and examining security not to exceed $2.

The bill drawn by the Society for Savings in Washington, D. C., to which we have given hearty support, was recently passed by the Senate and will probably pass the House of Representatives. The present law limits the rate of interest to six per cent per annum and makes no provision for the establishment of remedial loan societies which will do business at reasonable rates of interest. This bill legalizes the work of The Society for Savings and allows a flat rate of two per cent per month. It is the result of long experience in the money lending business and a thorough knowledge of what a law must contain if it would put this business on a respectable basis. For this reason the measure, combining as it does the best features of existing law in many states, will be in many respects a model law. Most states have been slow to recognize the need for remedial legislation of this type.

There have been many legislative attempts in various states to regulate the money lending business, but in most cases the laws drafted by men insufficiently informed on the subject have failed to accomplish the desired result. Some states prescribe a legal rate of interest but provide no penalty for usury. Others provide the penalty but have no means of enforcing the law or supervising the workings of the loan companies. Still others have laws so restrictive that the loan companies resort to skillful evasions and devices for covering up the nature of the contract, so that the laws have had no real effect in bettering conditions. The effect that this measure enacted by Congress will have upon state legislatures can hardly be overestimated.

The widespread interest in the remedial loan movement manifested by the press has also had its effect. The Washington, Baltimore and Philadelphia papers have devoted columns to the subject; articles have been published in the Survey, the Independent, Pearson's, The Review of Reviews, Collier's, Harper's, Munsey, the Circle, The Saturday Evening Post and several other magazines and periodicals. The minutes of the organization meeting of the Federation at Buffalo were published in pamphlet form and about six hundred copies of these and fifteen hundred copies of the Sage Foundation reports on the Salary and Chattel Loan business have been sent out to people interested. As a result I am now carrying on an active correspondencec with interested people in seventy-five cities of twenty-five different states. I have accepted invitations to speak at meetings held in ten different cities to discuss remedial loans. An active interest has been aroused in the subject as far west as Los Angeles and San Francisco and even from Manitoba have come letters asking for information concerning the work of the remedial loan societies. The conviction is rapidly spreading that in every large center of population, the professional money lender must be replaced by a social substitute, the object of which shall be to make loans to deserving people at low rates of interest and which shall exercise scrupulous fairness in dealing with its clients.

Several interesting developments have taken place in connection with the formation of one of the more recently established societies. In Louisville two corporations have been formed: (1.) The People's Storage Co. and (2.) The People's Bank. The first will do a general storage business at moderate charges and the second will loan money upon pledge or mortgage of personal property and upon warehouse receipts of The People's Storage Co. The bank will also receive savings deposits at interest. Almost all of the remedial chattel loan societies now operating have many demands made upon them for loans upon goods in storage. Because of the difficulties involved in making loans of this type, these demands cannot be satisfied and the People's Bank of Louisville has originated a plan which might be copied to good advantage in other cities. The bank has received the hearty support of the labor organizations of Louisville, and by selling its stock in small amounts to wage earners and by encouraging savings it is stepping over into the co-operative savings and loan field. Its development will be watched with much interest.

During the last few months I have visited the offices of all the societies making up the Federation with the exception of two. It was thought best by the Executive Committee to omit the name of one company from the list, the investigation showing that it was not being operated in an approved manner. Among the remaining societies some points of difference were noted in the office systems used and the methods practiced, but it was evident that all are treating their borrowers fairly and accomplishing a great deal of good in their respective communities.

As a standard of measure by which societies applying for membership in the Federation may be judged, it is important that a resolution be adopted by this body stating just what constitutes a remedial loan society. I hope this matter will be thoroughly discussed during these meetings and some action taken.

All that has been said up to this time refers only to loans upon chattel mortgage and pledge of personal property. Not one of the remedial loan societies now in operation makes what is known as a salary loan, secured by an assignment of wages. Yet in this field the harm resulting from the present methods of the money lenders is, if possible, even more alarming than in the other two fields. Lured by the apparent ease with which a loan may be secured and the apparent secrecy with which the transaction is conducted, men are led to borrow to spend foolishly and as a result are reduced from comparative independence to want and misery. No doubt a large percentage of borrowers upon assignment of wages are of this class and for this reason it is often said that the salary loan should be prohibited. Yet the relatively small percentage of men who have a real need and no security to offer for a loan except their earning capacity, justifies the opinion held by many, that some remedial action is required. Just what form this action should take is still an open question. It is not difficult to find evidences of increased efficiency among the employes of large corporations which have refused to recognize garnishments and have been industrious in organizing co-operative savings and loan associations among their workmen. Probably the best example of this sort of remedial action is to be found in the loan association of the Celluloid Company of Newark, N. J. This sort of competition, however, does not provide for the thousands of clerks and workmen, the conditions of whose employment will not permit of the establishment of co-operative associations. Should not the remedial loan association provide for this class of borrowers also, who have no collateral to pledge or personal property to mortgage? The experience of the Society for Savings of Washington indicates that, after proper investigation has been made, a loan can safely be made upon a note unsecured except by endorsement of a fellow employe.

While the progress that has been made during the past year has not not been as great as we may have hoped, it has been sufficient, I believe, to justify the formation of the Federation, and it is an indication of the success that may be looked for in a continuation of the work during the coming year. I feel that I am perfectly safe in prophesying that, when we assemble in 1911 for our next annual meeting, the membership of the Federation will have been more than doubled.

CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT

BY PIERRE JAY, VICE PRESIDENT, BANK OF THE MANHATTAN CO.,
NEW YORK

It is just sixty years since the idea of co-operative, as contrasted with capitalistic, credit first took definite form in the establishment of a Credit Association in the little town of Delitzsch in Germany. From this small beginning a system of cooperative credit associations, or "people's banks" as they are sometimes called, has spread with remarkably rapidity through all the countries of continental Europe, and even to Cyprus, Egypt and India. The movement reached Canada in 1901 and our own country in 1909, by the passage of a law in Massachusetts authorizing the establishment of such associations the first of which the Myrick Credit Union of Springfield, began business on the second day of the present month. Although complete statistics are not available, it has been estimated by reliable authorities that there are some forty thousand of these associations in operation, with over three million members and upwards of a billion dollars of resources. On account of their remarkable achievements, both financial and moral, the president of the National Federation of Remedial Loan Societies has asked me to tell you something about them, possibly in order that a comparison may be made between their methods and results and those of the associations which you represent, for both are reaching substantially the same class of people.

UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES

But first it will be necessary to give an outline of the principles underlying their operation. The nearest analogy among our institutions is the Building and Loan Association, organized on co-operative lines. Just as our Building and Loan Associations vary in details in the different states, so the co-operative credit associations vary in the different countries according to local traditions and needs; and in some countries, especially in Germany and Italy, there are banks organized to meet urban conditions and others designed for operation in agricultural districts; but all are based on the idea that the man of industry and integrity is worthy of some credit, no matter how small his actual possessions may be. In the European countries, as the savings banks, both government and private, generally do not consider it their province, and as the large banks organized for profit usually are neither anxious, nor able, to determine the credit to which the wage earners and the small producers and farmers are entitled, co-operative banks were evolved to ascertain and make effective the credit to which these great classes of the population are entitled. Personal credit, then, is the basis of their loans.

SAFEGUARDING THE LOANS

In order to make this personal credit safe the associations must be purely local, restricted in their operation to small communities or to small sub-divisions of large communities in which it is possible for the directors to ascertain the character of each applicant for membership, as none but the honest and industrious may be admitted.

Having then, as the first step in making the credit safe, restricted the possible applicants for it to a carefully selected body of citizens, the next step, when a member applies for a loan, is to require him to satisfy the Credit Committee that the money is needed for some object which promises to make him either a profit or a saving. In this way the loans are confined within legitimate bounds, and borrowing which is thriftless, or which promises to leave the borrower the worse for having had the loan, is rigidly excluded.

The third step in making the personal credit safe, the Credit Committee having become satisfied as to the legitimacy of the loan, is to exact adequate security for it. This does not necessarily imply the possession by the borrower of pledgeable goods exceeding in value the amount of the loan. If he has not a sufficient amount to cover the loan, either in shares of, or on deposit with, the Association, he will be asked to furnish the security of one or more other members.

With these three safeguards,—first, a selected membership, second, a legitimate need for the loan, and third, the combined credit of two or three individuals, these Associations, wherever they have remained strictly local in sphere of operation and co-operative in principle, have accumulated, or been able to command, vast sums of money which has been lent to their members in minute amounts, with losses which are incredibly small—probably smaller than those which your Associations (The Remedial Loan Societies) are accustomed to incur.

OUTLINE OF ORGANIZATION

The details of the organization, as a rule, are as follows: The par value of the shares is small, averaging about $5.00, and they are payable either at once, or in installments as low as a few cents a week, so as to be available to the very poorest. But no member has more than one vote at meetings no matter how many shares he owns. Women as well as men may become members. All questions rest ultimately upon the decision of the members at their general meeting, but for the daily management they elect three boards: (1) a Board of Directors which administers the affairs of the Association, selects its officers and passes on all applications for membership; (2) a Board of Credit which passes on all applications for loans; and (3) a Board of Supervision which checks all the accounts and transactions of the Association, and which may at any time suspend the directors, officers or Credit Committee until the reason for the suspension can be brought before the members for their decision. Constant checking and complete publicity are the watchwords of these Associations. Members who do not use the money borrowed in accordance with their representations to the Credit Committee, or whose connection or transactions with the Association are otherwise unsatisfactory, may be expelled.

Although in many of the foreign associations deposits are received from persons or corporations not members of the Association, in all of them the rule is invariably followed to lend to members only. Preference is given to the smallest loans and repayment may be made by installments.

At the end of the year, after setting aside a generous surplus fund, not only as a guarantee against losses, but with a view as well to reducing the rate charged for loans, a dividend is declared on the shares of the Association. As the co-operative principle on which the Associations are organized requires fair treatment for all, both borrowers and lenders, the rates of interest are kept low—averaging between five and seven per cent—and the rates of dividend are consequently low also, averaging from four to six per cent.

RELATION OF MEMBERS TO THEIR ASSOCIATION

One notable feature of these institutions is the relation which exists between the borrower and his Association. Instead of being obliged to go to some bank or other lender with whom he is not acquainted and on whom he has no claim, he goes to his own bank with confidence that his reception will be friendly, and the last thing he would do would be to permit his own bank to suffer loss on his account. This relationship doubtless plays an important part in the almost complete absence from losses in those Associations which adhere faithfully to the co-operative principle.

EFFECTIVENESS IN STIMULATING THRIFT

These Associations constitute a medium through which honest workers may join together to reap the advantage of their thrift and integrity, and thus to escape the extortions of those individual lenders in whose business the failure of *unworthy* bor rowers to meet their obligations has to be averaged at the expense of the *worthy* borrowers. Their policy is constructive; to enable borrowers to get onto a firm footing, which as you well understand is just the reverse of the destructive policy of the loan shark who aims at getting his victim deeper and deeper into the mire.

Although a considerable majority of the members of the European Associations are engaged in trade or agriculture on their own account, nevertheless Credit Associations in wage earning communities flourish equally with those in communities composed of farmers and small producers. It is just as important, economically, for the wage earner to make a *saving* as it is for the farmer or trader to make a *profit*, by being able to command cash at the proper moment.

But in enlarging upon their ability as loaners of money we should not lose sight of their effectiveness as savings banks in reaching out far beyond and below the clientele of the government and other savings banks and in gathering up savings in the humblest amounts, all of which remain in the community in which they originate and are available for its development.

MORAL RESULTS SUPERIOR TO MATERIAL

Yet, remarkable as are the material results of these cooperative Credit Associations, in the opinion of many observers the moral results are even more important. The three following paragraphs are selected from a large number in the latest book upon the subject:

Mr. Wolff, the author, says "We find a Prussian judge officially reporting that litigation, especially in respect of claims for debts, has very sensibly diminished in his district—thanks to the establishment of a co-operative bank. We hear a German priest confessing that the new Village Bank in his parish has done far more to raise the moral tone of his parishioners than all his ministrations. In Italy we have another parish priest—one among many—Don Rover, the paroco of Loreggia, writing only a brief time after the setting up of the co-operative bank in his parish:

> "People go less to taverns now, and work more and better. Since only respectable folk are admitted as members of the Association, we have seen habitual drunkards promise never to set foot again in a tavern—and keep their word. We have seen illiterate folk of

> fifty years and more, learn to write, in order that they may be able to sign their application for a loan. Poor people excluded as being in receipt of parish relief have vigorously exerted themselves to have their names erased from the pauper's list, and instead of living on alms we now see them living on their labor—thanks to the small capital lent to them by the Association. Poor fellows who could previously scarcely support themselves have been enabled to purchase a cow, out of the milk and cheese of which they pay the debt contracted, keeping the value of the calf as net gain."

Leon Say, the political economist, writes:

> "All these wonders which I have seen are the wonders of private initiative and decentralisation. It is private initiative, it is the decentralisation of credit, which is the dominating cause of all this progress in wealth."

Leon d'Andrimont, explaining the fruitful work which he accomplished in aid of the poorer classes in Belgium, says:

> "Through the People's Banks credit is democratized. Capital which was previously beyond the reach of workers has been brought close up to their doors."

THE CANADIAN ASSOCIATION

So much for the European Associations. How is it in Canada? There the movement began in 1901 with the establishment of one of them in Levis, a railroad town of 7,000 inhabitants, just opposite Quebec. Levis in 1901 appeared to be well supplied with banks. The Postal Savings Bank and a branch of a Quebec Savings Bank were there to encourage savings, branches of three important Discount Banks were there to encourage trade, and, for the thriftless, three "loan sharks" provided the necessary funds. Today the People's Bank, organized by M. Alphonse Desjardins, has accumulated over $80,000 from its 1,000 members, substantially all of which is lent to the members. In the nine years of its existence it has made over 3,000 loans, amounting to over $400,000, at an average interest charge of six and one-half per cent. without a single cent of loss. The business of the Postal and private Savings Bank and of the Discount Bank appears to be undisturbed, but the business of the "loan sharks" has vanished and they themselves have sought more favorable fields.

Since the Province of Quebec passed a law in 1906 authorizing the establishment of these Associations, the movement has spread rapidly throughout the length and breadth of the

Province. There are now thirty-five People's Banks in the Province none of which has, so far, incurred a single cent of loss; and M. Desjardins writes that in the Levis Bank, although some 3,000 loans have been made, only once has it been necessary to fall back upon the endorser of a note.

THE FIELD IN THE UNITED STATES

Have these Associations any bearing on conditions and needs in our country? Our Building and Loan Associations, with assets of well over seven hundred millions, flourishing everywhere, and in many states growing at a much faster rate than the savings banks, are evidence of our willingness and ability to cooperate in credit when the need and opportunity for co-operation is clear. The amazing growth of your Loan Associations is conclusive evidence that in the large cities, at least, there is a general and constant demand for loans on the part of a class of people whom the banks and trust companies do not reach. The existence of private and corporate loaners of various kinds in many of the smaller communities is evidence that there also the demand for loans is not completely met by the banks.

At the legislative hearings in Massachusetts, preceding the passage of the law referred to in the opening paragraph, it was stated that the employes of the Boston Daily Globe had for sixteen years maintained among themselves a sort of Savings and Loan Association, and that they had about $50,000 of deposits, substantially all of which they had lent to one another. It appeared also that the employes of other Boston papers were following the example of those of the Globe, and that the heads of several large manufacturing and mercantile establishments were encouraging their employes to form somewhat similar associations.

At these hearings the following fields were suggested as favorable for the formation of Co-operative Credit Associations:

Towns or agricultural communities.

Wards of cities in which the population is reasonably permanent and the neighborhood idea prevails.

Parishes or church organizations.

Labor or trade organizations.

Employes of a particular store or other business establishment.

Men and women of a particular foreign nationality, living in a certain city, town or district.

The Massachusetts law, copies of which you may obtain from your President if you are interested in looking it over, provides that the funds of the Association may be either lent to members or deposited in savings or other banks. It was anticipated that if the demand for loans within the Associations should not prove to be sufficient to absorb all their funds the balance would be put in the savings banks and that in this way they might become valuable feeders and collecting agencies for the savings banks.

While it would not be feasible to organize a single Co-operative Credit Association for the City of St. Louis, or for the City of New York, as you have organized loan associations for these and other cities, on the other hand Co-operative Credit Associations can be formed in small towns to which Remedial Loan Associations would be unlikely to penetrate. In Massachusetts the law is just beginning to be understood, and three associations have lately been chartered, after having passed the rigid scrutiny of the Banking Department as to the character of their incorporators and their prospects of success. They happen to illustrate three of the important fields for the practice of co-operative credit:

(1) The employes of a large publishing establishment in Springfield; (2) the members of a French Canadian Catholic Parish in Lynn; and (3) the Poles in the north end of Boston.

CRITICISMS

The two criticisms of these associations which are apt to be made in this country are, first: Is it good for the wage earners to have opportunities to borrow? and second: Can loans be safely made to them on personal credit? No persons in the country know as well as do the members of your Association how constant is the demand for loans by this great class of our citizens, nor, I suppose, how legitimate in many cases is their need. In the Co-operative Banks the first point considered is the legitimacy of the loan and, the opportunity for improvident borrowing having thus been minimized, no ground remains for criticism on the score of too easy an opportunity to borrow. With regard to the safety of such loans the best proof is the record of the Foreign Associations, and the evidence brought out at the Massachusetts Legislative hearings that in several somewhat similar organizations of employes, trade unionists and others, operating without any of the safeguards of the Foreign Co-operative Credit Associations, the losses had proved to be remarkably few.

CONCLUSION

In spite of the great undeveloped field which the United States offers for the practice of Co-operative Credit it is difficult to predict with certainty whether the idea will take firm hold here, and if so, in what direction it will develop. While the continent is honeycombed with Co-operative Credit Associations, in England the idea has hardly obtained a foothold; though in Ireland it is progressing rapidly with most beneficial results. The agricultural conditions of this country are so different from those of Continental Europe and our farmers are so well served by the existing banks that I am inclined to believe that with us the field for Co-operative Credit Associations will be found among the wage and salary earners of commercial and manufacturing communities, and perhaps among our foreign born citizens many of whom doubtless are already familiar with the idea.

In this field their object will be, like yours, to ameliorate conditions, and just as they have proved not to be competitors but allies of the banks, so I believe they will be found to supplement rather than to conflict with your work. But from the nature of their operations they cannot organize on the grand scale of the Remedial Loan Associations. Theirs will be humbler, more personal organizations, seeking to develop individual initiative, to study and assist individual needs, and by providing facilities for savings as well as for loans to stimulate thrift in both its branches.

Statistics

JOHN KOREN, SPECIAL EXPERT OF THE U. S. CENSUS BUREAU, CHAIRMAN

WHAT OUR OFFICIAL STATISTICS DO NOT TELL.

BY MRS. FLORENCE KELLEY, GENERAL SECRETARY, NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE.

The number and variety of facts relating to industry which we need and cannot get at present, is so great that it is hopeless to enumerate them even by title.

We notoriously spend more money than any other nation for printed pages alleged to relate to industry, and get less value received for our money. In large part, our official industrial publications are the laughing stock of scientific Europe. I shall, therefore, merely suggest certain characteristic remedial omissions which have come to my notice in the course of practical work.

In a rapidly growing number of states children must produce their birth certificates before they can begin to work. In New York City they must produce such certificates before they can enter the public schools, and again before they can go to work. The exceptional children admitted upon other evidence of age are put to such inconvenience in the process, that every exertion is made by parents to get birth certificates. Of twenty-eight thousand children, native born and foreign born alike, who get working papers each year in New York City, between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years, three-quarters have birth certificiates. The remaining quarter, who fail to get birth certificates are native American children and those who come from certain parts of Russia, or from the earthquake district of Italy. What earthquake and revolution do in Europe, official slovenliness accomplishes throughout the greater part of this nation, in depriving the children and the citizens of the most fundamental of all vital and industrial statistics, the record of births.

In New York City some years ago, Dr. Ernst Lederle, then Health Commissioner, introduced a simple device for forcing doctors to record births. Whenever a child's death certificate was filed, the birth records were searched for its birth certificate. If the child's birth had not been recorded the family was questioned as to the doctor, or midwife, and a warning sent to the offender that the next failure to record a birth would be followed by publicity and prosecution. Immediately the birthrate rose—not because more children were born, but because a simple workable device was installed for compelling registration.

Why was this device installed in New York City rather than in Globe, Arizona, or Nome, Alaska? Obviously because, by reason of enlightened laws, birth certificates were in demand by thousands of parents for their children as candidates for entering school or for going to work.

If, henceforth, New York should loom up among American communities, distinguished for its favorable birthrate this may, perhaps, be due only in part to the immigration from those countries in which large families are still the rule. Concurrent with this immigration is the administrative pressure of a statesman educator, the Superintendent of Schools, Dr. William H. Maxwell, who for years has insisted that the public school children shall all have their birth certificates;—and also the administrative pressure of a State Labor Department which prosecutes employers found to have children at work without working papers for which birth certificates are by law pre-requisite.

Not one State in the Union records the birth of all the children. The records are invariably too small. In a leading city in a leading western State, a perfectly reputable obstetrician told me that she had, during the previous three months, failed to report twenty-eight births because she had constantly forgotten to provide herself with the blanks which the city furnished gratis. Needless to say that children are not required, in that city, to produce birth certificates either upon entering school or before beginning to work.

This illustrates, I believe, the whole field of official statistics. What we insist upon having we get, and nothing more.

Whatever *we* amateur investigators show ourselves willing to attempt to furnish, we shall be left by our officials to fumble after for ourselves.

This particular field, the registration of births, will probably show marked improvement in the present decade for the idea has been lodged in the minds of numbers of intelligent women that Mr. Roosevelt's denunciations at home and abroad of his countrywomen rest, not upon the facts in the case, but upon bad administration in local departments of health which fail to get true records of births. And this discovery will doubtless be followed by nation-wide adoption of Dr. Lederle's method.

MINIMUM WAGE BOARDS

No body of facts is more direly needed by the American people today than those concerning the income and outgo of wage earning women. Of women in industry, how many live at home and are partly supported by their families? How many, on the contrary, are the main support of their families? In what industries are women employed, and at what wages, and what ages? How long is the trade life of women in the different industries, and how is this related to their wage and to the age at which they enter the field of labor? What is the relation of wages to tuberculosis, melancholia and vice?

To no one of these questions does any State afford even a partial reply. Yet for want of this body of facts legislation and charitable effort for safeguarding the most defenseless part of the working class are mere fumbling.

For want of this knowledge we may provide reformatories for girls when we should be building penitentaries for their employers. Some states already imprison the man who blights the life of one young girl. What should such states logically do to the employer who, by overwork and underpay, blights the lives of hundreds or even thousands of young girls? We may build sanatoria for tuberculous girls, the root of whose disease lurks concealed in a too meagre butchers' bill by reason of a less than living wage, surely an ill-judged and never ending undertaking possible only in a community content with the fragmentary results obtainable by amateur purveyors of industrial data.

Or we may build hospitals for the demented whose earliest and unrecognized symptom may have been a meek willingness to work for a telephone company every night in the year for six dollars a week.

By way of getting both light and healing, the National Consumers' League proposes the installation of a device as simple as, (and even more automatic in the case of working women than) Dr. Lederle's device for forcing physicians and widwives to register births.

It proposes the establishment by law of minimum wage boards composed of employers and employes who must meet, and confer, and agree upon rates of wages in trades employing women and children. These conferences must be public and the information, being furnished by the persons concerned, cannot fail to be trustworthy.

The practical working of these boards is being tested this year for the first time in England.

An enormous advantage of the minimum wage board is that, for all the workers represented, it obviates the necessity for the praying outsider. In relation to it, neither Uncle Sam nor any State or city official would come with schedules, but the persons concerned would, themselves, have every conceivable interest in making public all the facts in the case.

A world-famous example of the possible practical working of such minimum wage boards is afforded by the following experience with a philanthropic employer in New York.

In 1896, there was enacted in New York a meagre law providing a few protective measures for women and children in department stores, and creating salaries for fourteen inspectors to enforce it. The inspectors were appointed and, having been selected upon the recommendation of Mrs. Charles Russell Lowell, they were competent and efficient. They arrived at the store of the philanthropist and required that his basement have pure air and plumbing, that children working for him should be fourteen years old, and have working papers, that seats should be furnished and women allowed to use them when not actively engaged in their work. This annoyed the philanthropist. The law was popular and had recently been enacted at the close of a spectacular public investigation. He could not hope for its repeal. At that time no court had yet annulled any child labor law. He had no hope of annulment. He was a generous contributor to campaign funds. To ask for the position of Commissioner of Health was to receive the appointment. This put our philanthropic merchant in control of the fourteen mercantile inspectors. In a few weeks their salaries were stricken from the budget. and a like sum was allotted for pasteurized milk in the tenements of sick babies. Then the philanthropist merchant Commissioner of Health resigned.

Twelve years of effort, 1896 to 1908, for the reinstatement of the inspectors' salaries followed with only partial success; in the thirteenth year, the State of New York created in the State Department of Labor eight mercantile inspectors distributed over the three cities, Buffalo, Rochester and New York. In New York City along, the members of the Retail Dealers' Association, which includes none of the smaller employers, claims 66,000 employes. How insufficient eight inspectors must be for the three cities in so obvious as to need no comment.

Meanwhile this merchant (and fifty-seven of his competitors) agreed with the Consumers' League to pay to women clerks eighteen years old and older not less than six dollars a week after these clerks had had one full year's experience as such in the store of the merchant in question. Then followed a painful and interesting phenomenon. Instead of growing older with the lapse of time like the other people in the community, the clerks grew conspicuously and steadily younger. An ever increasing proportion of them were below the age of eighteen years and, therefore, below the agreed wage of six dollars a week and free to accept any wage down to the three dollars stipulated for beginners (cash girls.)

It has been shown by an investigation made by the National Consumers' League and about to be published, that a woman or girl in New York City cannot live upon less than eight dollars a week and keep well, if away from her family. She cannot for a smaller sum have the necessary food, clothing, shelter and recreation to enable her to endure the strain of work and living in that metropolis. But the clerks in this philanthropist merchant's establishment, in ever increasing proportion, were getting less than six dollars.

Meanwhile he was flooding the tenements with pasteurized milk and also flooding with it the columns of the newspapers of two continents.

If now we had had in force a minimum wage board law, all those girls would have had some effective word to say as to their wages. The light would have been turned on the curious conjunction between underpaid young clerks and floods of pasteurized milk. We might have known as much, all these years, about the wages as we have been urged to know about the milk. The clerks might even have decided that in view of the meagre fare possible to them under their meagre wage scales, less of the profit of the business should be available for giving in charity to the children in tenements and more should be made available for themselves by means of more generous wages. Who can tell?

Under any circumstances, if all these years we had had a minimum wage board law, our knowledge about that store would be first hand knowledge. It would come to us direct from employer and employe discussing in the full light of publicity the wages to be paid. We should not have to wait for the facts to come to use via Albany or Washington. They would be fresh, current, up to date.

It is now nearly three years since an enquiry was started by the United States Bureau of Labor, by authority of Congress, into the wages and conditions of labor of women and children. Not one word has been made public of the results of that enquiry. Times have changed, prices have risen, prosperity is upon us, the data are obsolete. And not one page has yet appeared; Why is this?

The reason is obvious. No one has ever acted, in any effective way upon the results of such an investigation. This is not the first one. It is more than twenty years since Commissioner Carroll D. Wright published a report in which he showed that the average wage of women employes (servants excluded) was in the neighborhood of five dollars. That was not a living wage then or since, as six dollars is not a living wage today. But no one did anything effective about it, and no sustained interest in such investigations has been felt.

The merit of the minimum wage boards law is that it would assure continuing publicity, and continuing interest, because under its terms every discussion must lead to action.

From the statistical point of view, the device is as simple and effective as Dr. Lederle's search of the birth records whenever a child's death is recorded. From the social and industrial point of view, it is of infinitely greater importance than even that useful measure.

SOME NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN SOCIAL STATISTICS

BY MISS KATE HOLLADAY CLAGHORN, REGISTRAR OF TENEMENT HOUSE DEPARTMENT, NEW YORK CITY

The present paper cannot pretend to give anything like a comprehensive survey of recent productions in social statistics, or even to sum up general tendencies in any adequate fashion. Its purpose is simply to follow up certain lines of interest to the writer already suggested in a paper presented to the National Conference of Charities of 1908, which attempted to indicate some drawbacks to the application of the statistical method to social work.

Chief among the lines of work then discussed was that of the "family budget." The most notable contribution to this branch of inquiry since that time is Dr. Chapin's "The Standard of Living in New York City," which was, indeed, then under way and was briefly commented on in its incomplete form as the preliminary report of the New York State Conference Committee on Standard of Living.

Attention was then called to the fact that the plan of the investigation met some of the criticisms to be urged against investigation of this kind, and it is pleasant to note that the finished work meets them even more completely.

To begin with, the families selected for investigation were chosen on such a basis as to do away, as far as possible with flinging together such unlike elements that averages based on them would be valueless. The inquiry was restricted to families of normal composition (i. e., father and mother and children under sixteen) of normal size (from four to six persons) and within the range of the ordinary working class income for the most part. The fathers were mainly engaged in the less skilled occupations, in which the wages were two or three dollars a day. On the other hand, these families of like size and economic status, were selected from different parts of the city, and from different nationality groups, so that differences in expenditure due to locality or to race habit could be distinguished.

The schedule drawn up for the inquiry is open to criticism for strictly statistical purposes, as being too voluminous, and containing many questions, the answers to which must be matters of opinion and not of definite statistical measurement. But it is to be noted that the final tabulations are made up entirely from the strictly statistical material secured, while the other material was found useful as a check upon the portions finally used.

The most significant and commendable feature of the present study, is its attempt to set a standard of normal living, other than the bare test of survival on a given income. Budget inquiries have been made from time to time for many purposes, but nowadays they seem to be wanted mainly to afford a standard of normal living conditions, with the purpose of applying some social remedy when the standard is not reached. In the present study one main item of expenditure after another is taken up, and some sort of a standard fixed, below which a family is considered to be insufficiently provided with the necessary in question.

The standard of food is the most definite and satisfactory. To secure this one hundred of the New York city schedules, representing the entire range of nationalities and incomes, were submitted to Dr. Frank P. Underhill, of Yale University, for analysis. For each schedule the amounts of food purchased were reduced to their appropriate units of food value, per person supplied, when it was possible to rate each as either above or below an accepted standard of nutrition. Comparison was then made with cost per day, per person, the results showing the numbers and proportions of underfed and not underfed at different costs per man per day, and for the different nationality and income groups. It was found that in general where less than 22 cents per man per day was expended for food the family was ill nourished, and when more was spent the family was well-nourished. No account was taken in this analysis of the actual amount of food consumed, or its preparation, or its frequency of purchase, so that the element of direction of expenditure and waste was left quite out of account.

Unfortunately the actual analysis of schedules stopped with the 100 just mentioned, and the amount of expenditure for food indicated as generally necessary, was accepted as the standard of ill or well-nourishment of the entire list of families, so that all families spending less than 22 cents per day were counted as ill-nourished, leaving out of account the number of families who might have been, according to actual analysis of food values, well-nourished.

Had it been possible to analyze all of the schedules and fix the standard of nourishment on the basis of actual food values throughout, not only would the result have been more accurate, but it would have been possible to determine to a certain extent at least how far household management or race-habit influenced the variations above and below a certain cost level for a given standard of nourishment.

In the present investigation these facts are entirely lost sight of. And yet from a practical point of view it is most important to know, for example, in cases where a family is found living below the standard of normal nourishment, whether the remedy required is instruction in household management or an addition to the income.

The standards for the remaining items are fixed in a more arbitrary manner. That for clothing is based on an estimated list of necessaries, checked up with actual schedules and reduced to an average expenditure of $100 a year. The standard for housing is absence of over-crowding; "overcrowding" consisting in the occupation by a family of less than four rooms and more than one and a half persons per room. The other items were variously standardized; but in all cases the nature of the standard adopted was a concrete one, and defined so clearly that the reader knows what is presented to him as "well" or "ill" provided, and is at liberty to reject the standard given and make one for himself out of the materials afforded.

More general criticisms of the investigation are kindly afforded by Dr. Chapin himself, who analyzes the elements of hindrance to accuracy so carefully and so frankly that it goes a long way toward meeting the difficulty by setting calculable bounds to it.

To begin with, the number of schedules received was too small to afford a solid basis for inference. The total number turned in for New York city was 642, of which 251 had to be rejected, leaving 391 in all. Of these, 73 were omitted from the detailed tabulation by nationalities as they were above or below the $600-$1,100 limit of income, which was regarded as the typical working-class range. The 318 families then remaining, to remove the disturbing influence of mingling of nationalities, were divided into eight race groups, with from 14 to 67 families in each group. These groups were then still further subdivided, each into five income groups, making the final groups very small.

Another and vital difficulty lay in the fact that the yearly income and expenditure given in the tabulations was not arrived at from accurate and complete records of the amount received and spent during that period. Both income and expenditure had to be arrived at by estimates based in part on the keeping of an account of certain expenditures for one week and multiplying to get the yearly expenditures; in part, by drawing up lists of recollected expenditures through the year for other items.

It is easily seen what room there is here for subjective bias, even aside from ordinary lapses of memory. Dr. Chapin noticed a tendency to exaggerate both earnings and expenditures. The total income was often misstated from omission of days of unemployment. Errors in expenditure were not mainly in kinds of things purchased, but in quantity and price, the very facts needed for the tabulations. Furthermore, the families being selected on the basis of intelligence enough to understand the purpose of the investigation and willingness to cooperate, they were, consequently of a class that would make a better than average showing in the use of income, and hence would not be strictly representative of the average workingman's family.

Care was taken to check these tendencies to errors as far as possible by discarding schedules which showed obvious discrepancies. Furthermore, the narrow limits of possible income afford a check on gross inaccuracy, since any wide variation from the facts on any one line of expenditure would be detected by a resulting, impossible deficiency in another line.

The further criticism must be made to this as to other budget inquiries, that as a practical guide to social work their usefulness is likely to be gone by the time they are published owing to the unforseen and unrelated variations in price so charactertistic of modern industrial conditions, in this country at least.

Meanwhile, however, the newspapers and other periodicals picked up the "22 cents a day" figure for nourishment and undoubtedly this, though intended as a merely relative statement, will pass along into various quarters as a more or less stereotyped formula for sufficient nourishment, even in the face of obvious changes in price.

It has occurred to the present writer that it might be a help to the usefulness of such inquiries to employ some standard index number of prices for such elements of expenditure as it would apply to. But even this would not meet the variations of retail prices, which change arbitrarily from even one city block to another, and which have to be met in practice, however illogical they are in theory.

The present inquiry gives an account of expenditures on the basis of New York city prices in the summer of 1907. It was not published until January, 1909, by which time prices had mounted considerably. And since that time prices have danced such a jig that it would dizzy any earnest budget seeker to keep pace with it.

The general conclusion about family budgets seems to be that in more settled economic conditions such inquiries, if made rapidly and yet carefully enough, might be useful as a guide to practice, but where this march of events is so much more swift than the march of the investigator, he is likely to have only his trouble for his pains.

Another line of statistical activity that is not strictly "social" statistics, but nearly related both by subject-matter and method, is that of organized private oversight of public administrative activities by means of the statistical method, such as is now being carried on by "Bureaus of Municipal Research" all over the country.

A recent piece of work along that line is an investigation of the activities of the Tenement House Department of the City of New York by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research. Time does not permit a detailed analysis of this report, or a statement of its results from a statistical point of view. It can only be mentioned to illustrate some drawbacks to the use of the method pointed out some time ago by the present writer in a review of Dr. Allen's "Efficient Democracy", which may be regarded as the official prospectus of the "Municipal Research" movement.

The purpose of the Tenement House Report was two fold: First, to reduce work done and to be done to units of service per day, with the idea of establishing a basis for the coming years' appropriation from the city treasury; secondly, to reduce the operations of the department with regard to enforcement of the law to a statistical basis so as to determine hindrances to efficiency, if any such existed, and the responsibility for the same.

In both cases the problem was to reduce concrete activities to statistical units. The difficulties met with in the attempt to standardize service were much like those in fixing a standard in a family budget. In the present instance the standard adopted was the actual amount of work accomplished per man per day during the preceding year, without further inquiry as to whether this was a proper standard.

Furthermore, the relative importance assigned to different kinds of work was necessarily more or less arbitrary. It was estimated that inspections of a certain class took a certain proportion of time relatively to another class, the service unit being worked out as a common divisor of all classes. As a matter of fact individual inspections within the same class differ widely in the amount of time needed to make them, according to the size and general condition of the house examined, so that the assigned value of inspections of the class might differ widely from the actual sum of the work to be done.

When such a system is made the standard of practical work, its limitations are seen by the ease with which the unscrupulous inspector can evade it. If the standard is high he makes his inspections just so much the more carelessly, while the conscientious inspector is being overworked in the vain effort to live up to its requirements. If the standard is low, the unscrupulous inspector is still careless, but manages to secure for his own use a considerable proportion of the working day. In other words, a statistical "unit of work" is not an adequate gauge of efficiency; it must be supplemented by personal and individual oversight and attention.

The practical result of the first part of the investigation referred to, however, was good. The reduction of work and service to some sort of a calculable basis, even if not quite accurate, made the work of the department more definite to the special body whose duty it was to grant appropriations, and to the tax-paying public, whose opinion is of value in furthering or hindering appropriations.

So much cannot be said for the second part of the investigation. This was intended to indicate the degree of efficiency in the department in enforcing compliance with the law and to establish responsibility of failure if there was any.

It was found to be a difficult and tedious operation to reduce the various stages of action on departmental orders to a statistical basis. It took nearly a year to analyse a comparatively small amount of material, during which time departmental procedure was changing so that criticisms directed at conditions existing at the beginning of the period were irrelevent at the end of it.

This was another instance where events were moving faster than the plodding tread of research. And in this case the practical result on public opinion was just the opposite of that noted for the first part of the investigation. The press, failing to observe the limitations and precautions of the report itself, seized upon certain salient points, giving them the coloring of an "attack" on the department, with unfortunate results.

The most promising line of development of social statistics seems to the present writer that undertaken under public auspices, since official inquiries can be made much more comprehensive than can be hoped for in private enterprises, and governmental bodies have means to compel the giving of information that the private person or organization has not.

The Federal Census is obviously our most important collection of governmental statistics, and the one now just taken will afford some particularly interesting features from a social point of view. These have been so admirably summed up by the director of the census himself in "The Survey" of April 9th, 1910, that I will only mention here one feature, which is of special interest, not only for its prospective usefulness to social workers, but as showing the benefits of intelligent co-operation on the part of the interested outside public officials. This is the proposed tabulation by blocks and small enumeration districts of the principal population facts for large cities.

A desire for block statistics of crowded cities had long been felt by social workers and had been expressed from time to time in a more or less unorganized way. As far back as 1902 the Tenement House Department of the City of New York secured the population material from the census office for the census of 1900, which was then retabulated to show, by blocks, the numbers and density of population in New York city, classified by nativity and parentage of heads of families. This retabulation has been made use of continuously ever since, although the material, in a rapidly growing city like New York was very soon out of date.

The movement toward securing a block tabulation of the Twelfth Census first took practical shape in a conference called by Mr. Lawrence Veiller of New York city, to formulate a request for such a block census for New York city, and to be ready to act in co-operation with representatives of other cities who desired similar statistics.

A committee of this Conference drew up a detailed plan of the the tabulations desired, which was received with cordial attention by both the former and present director of the census. The committee, realizing the difficulties and expense attendant upon tabulating the vast mass of material by blocks, asked for only the most significant facts in this way, and for block tabulation only in the thickly settled parts of the city, but in addition requested the tabulation of all of the main population facts by small districts, to be marked off and adopted as permanent units of census classification.

The director of the census accepted very cordially the idea of a permanent unit, and requested the New York committee to plot out for him the exact territory to be included in each unit, so as to make use of their knowledge of local conditions in securing as homogeneous a population as possible in each. This was done and while no definite promise as to the exact extent of conformity to the scheme advanced by the committee could of course be made at the present time, the director of the census has informed them that it is now very likely that the main features of the plan will be carried out for New York, and that similar plans will be carried through for Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, and perhaps two or three other large cities.

If time had permitted it would have been appropriate to speak of some recent statistical work that the Tenement House Department of the City of New York has been carrying on, not so much for the value of the results themselves, as for the light to be thrown on the hindrances to statistical work.

Perhaps it may just be said briefly that it became necessary during the past year to get certain comprehensive information as to tenement conditions, which was not only badly needed for the practical work of the department, but was likely to be of unique value as a source of information for students of social conditions. This task was finally accomplished, but under great difficulties.

The fundamental difficulty was that while it was made a matter of general criticism that the department did not have on hand the information which they proposed to secure in the inquiry, yet no allowance was made by the taxpayers or board of estimate for the necessary service to perform this task. It had to be done by the regular force, inspectorial and clerical, a force not trained in any way for statistical work—in times snatched from their regular tasks. As a natural result more time than necessary was taken to secure the information, and a large amount of time, all unnecessary, had to be consumed in correcting errors that were made both in securing and working up the results by an untrained force. All of this was very poor economy of both time and money, occasioned by a short-sighted effort to secure economy.

One broad conclusion seems to emerge from this most fragmentary survey of recent statistical work, that in the line of social statistics the great difficulty at present is a very imperfect adjustment of means to ends.

The statistical method is, after all, a tool, to be used, not a toy to be played with. It is a language, a language of numbers, whose object is to express ideas connected by some thread of logic, and directed to some purpose, just as verbal language is, or ought to be.

And, just like other forms of expression, its scope, usefulness and power, in fact its own improvement and development, depend upon the listener as well as the speaker, upon the intelligence of the public to be reached as well as on the ability of the statistician.

At present the statistician is hampered on the one hand by a large section of the public, which finds the statistical language both meaningless and uninteresting. This public is content to respect the statistician at a distance, as a wise but dull old owl, whose work has some remote, recondite value, but nothing to do with practical every day affairs. So they allow him to go on his way unchecked by the criticisms of practical life and work, and it is no wonder that under this influence the statistician, and the social statistician in particular, is only too apt to lose himself in mazes of intricate analysis that take so long in the saying as to be of no practical use when said, or may turn out to be only an expression in more abstruse language of what was sufficiently well known before, or that may be of too little importance after all, to justify the expenditure of time and money upon it.

In another quarter lies in wait for the unlucky statistician another section of the public, whose fault is an over-belief in the utility of statistics, but a lack of comprehension of the scope or limitations of the method. Under this influence there is a constant stimulus to hurried and superficial collection of so-called "statistics." Anything and everything that may be clothed in Arabic dress, marshalled in columns and summed up in totals is drummed in a ragamuffin's army, to the hasty support of every social or political proposal.

It must not be understood that the few examples of statistical work surveyed above are to be taken as illustrating any complete or even considerable surrender to either of these tendencies. But in each case was to be noted some hindrance or help afforded by the public demand, according to its degree of intelligence.

Two years ago the present writer urged a better training of the statisticians themselves for their duties.

Further experience suggests that it is quite as important to educate the public. Is this too much to hope for? I think not. If the statistical method really is a means of arriving at truths, of value to the community, it certainly must be possible to make that value appreciated, with time and patience.

This task cannot be accomplished all at once. It is a reciprocal process. The statistician will learn a great deal more than he ever knew before, himself, about comparative values, in trying to make them clear to the public. The public, little by little, will learn to detect sophistry in figures as it now has glimmerings of a perception of fallacies of words. But the task cannot be accomplished all in one piece or all in a minute. It must be picked up here and there as opportunity offers.

One good opening along this line is with that great enginery of public opinion, the public press, whether daily, weekly or monthly. For this is one chief source of misdirection of the statisticians' work to-day. This is the great intermediary between the statisticians and the general public, and yet the requirements of that institution are in many respects for the exact opposite of what the statistician should permit himself to afford. Rapidity of production, salient and definite statement on any given subject, a direct answer to any popular demand, a selection of statements for their stinging power rather than for true perspective, all these are directly in opposition to that habit of patience, caution, discrimination and reserve, and to that sense of proportion that the scientist must cultivate.

But just because the press is and must be one of the most important channels of communication between the social statistician and the public, its demands cannot be ignored. Pains and great pains must be taken to meet them half way, by making the statistical material presented as clear, as pointed, as sensible, as practical as possible, without sacrificing truth and proportion, than by fighting in season and out of season for the other half, against inaccuracy and misrepresentation of the real truth, every time it appears.

INSTITUTIONAL RECORDS AND INDUSTRIAL CAUSES OF DEPENDENCY

BY MISS JULIA C. LATHROP, HULL HOUSE, CHICAGO.

The subject of Institutional Records and Industrial Causes of Dependency has been assigned to me on this program. An earlier draft of the program states in a note that it is intended to secure a brief statement as to what information various types of institutions should and could give on the industrial causes which bring to them the people they care for.

Later it was agreed that institutions for normal children should be omitted in view of the intensive study to be presented by Miss Lattimore. This paper is confined to a mere exploratory inquiry among the institutions which represent the largest numbers of custodial dependents, or to those in which causes of dependency arising from occupation may be expected to appear most obviously to lay inquiry.

It is improbable that any institution keeps a record showing more as to occupation than the single word under that head usually allowed space on the blanks.

How misleading this may be it is hardly necessary to point out. A wide range of actual work in varied situations and conditions as to health, tendency to alcoholism, risk of strain and accident is necessarily included under the single heading laborer, which would include about one-third of the names in many institutions. The healthfulness of the working conditions under which lead workers or miners are placed may vary so greatly that the mere title painter or miner proves actually misleading. Frequently the same individual follows more than one trade and it is essential to know the changing occupations and the reason for the same. It is probable also that a man when asked his occupation names that one which he regards as most dignified. There will be seen in the attached paragraphs from the Cook County Infirmary the instance of a man who at the age of 19 was a sailor for one year. His career as a sailor ended with an accident on the ship by which he lost a leg and for the next 36 years he took various jobs as caretaker and the like, such as a crippled person can obtain. Yet when after 36 years of independence he was finally forced to take refuge in a poor house, he puts himself down on the entrance card as a sailor, and one feels in that word the pride of a Norseman son of the sea.

A schedule, copy of which is attached, was sent to about 25 institutions with a letter explaining that the writer knew that the questions could only be answered by special inquiry, and asking for any suggestions which could be made. Not more than 20 copies were sent in any case, as no effort was made to secure more than an indication of what each institution might contain among its various elements.

While in the majority of instances replies to the letters have been made, frequently with excellent suggestions, few institutions have filled out the schedules for reasons which will appear. It is recognized, of course, that institution records are not so kept as to make any real contribution to the discussion of this subject, although they may give occasional hints chiefly in accident cases by which disability may be related to occupation.

The institutions chosen were large city poor houses, institutions for the feeble-minded and for the insane, homes for the blind and aged.

No attempt was made to examine the reecords of dispensaries or of general or special hospitals; but only to secure some indication as to how far at present industrial injury, whether due to accident or disease, is discoverable to the lay observer as an important factor in dependency of the chromic type.

In these groups of dependents a population of approximately a half million persons will be found, according to the special census of 1904.

The following quotations show the negative results obtained from inquiries addressed to authoritative superintendents of hospitals for the insane and institutions for the feeble-minded.

Dr. Walter E. Fernald, Superintendent of the Massachusetts School for Feeble-Minded, says:

> "I am convinced that so far as occupational standards are concerned the occupation of the parents has no appreciable relation to the feeble-mindedness of the children. I feel sure that any occupation which overworks the parents at the right time may produce mental disease in the offspring, but I think that it would be almost impossible to prove such relation."

Dr. A. C. Rogers, Superintendent of the Minnesota School for Feeble-Minded and Colony for Epileptics, says:

> "As I understand your letter and blanks, you desire information as to occupational influences acting upon the parents of our children in a way to cause the disability of the latter. I would not like to say positively that no such influence has ever exhibited itself in the cases coming into this institution, but I cannot remember of a single instance of the kind. Referring the matter to my first Assistant Physician, who has been a close student of literature upon this subject, is likewise negative."

Dr. H. H. Goddard, Director Department of Psychological Research, New Jersey Training School, says:

> "Out of 847 admissions, the occupations of whose parents we know, we find that fourteen were painters, and one a portrait artist. The painters do not seem to be more common than one other occupation.
>
> "We have been studying this problem of the cause of feeble-mindedness for some little time and we do not find the slightest indication that the occupation of either parent has anything to do with the result.
>
> "It is clearly and distinctly hereditary in at least 80 per cent. of the cases, possibly more.

Dr. H. G. Hardt, Superintendent of Illinois State School and Colony, says:

> "My personal experience has been that occupational disease has been a very small factor in the production of the defectives of the class that are obtained here as State's wards."

Prof. E. B. Huey, Psychologist, and Dr. A. G. Hamilton of the staff of the same institution, have carefully examined one hundred each of the more recent admissions without finding indication that the occupation of the parent may have any relation to the child's feeble-mindedness.

It should be noted that this inquiry was addressed to those engaged in the care of the feeble-minded upon the suggestion as to parental influence given in Sir Thomas Oliver's Diseases of Occupation, under the discussion of lead poisoning, where Bourneville is quoted as "placing house-painters in the unenviable first rank of the occupations followed by parents of mentally weak children." Dr. Bourneville was a French physician in charge of the Fondation Vallee, an institution for feeble-minded girls, and a member of the medical staff of Bicetre, and this apparently sweeping statement in the general dearth of precise information seemed most impressive to a lay reader.

Later, an article by Bourneville was examined in the journal entitled "Researches in Epilepsy, Hysteria and Idiocy." In this article Bourneville states that during a period of four years 143 families with feeeble-minded children were selected in which one or both parents followed an occupation recognized as unhealthful. In 52 of these 143 selected cases, the father was a house-painter. In concluding an elaborate analysis of the 143 families as to occupations, deaths and feeble-mindedness Bourneville says, "If these figures leave no doubt upon the subject of the action of the unhealthful occupations which we haveenumerated upon the death rate and the production of nervous maladies in children, we must not forget that another factor, perhaps more terrible than the occupation itself, enters into the account—alcoholism. In fact, in the 143 families, 79 fathers and 4 mothers drank to excess." But we of the laity have no way of knowing whether the 79 drinking fathers included any or all of the 52 house-painting fathers, or whether any of the 52 house-painting fathers had to wife any of the 4 drinking mothers.

There are other foreign authorities who ascribe to lead working a bad effect upon the mental development of children. However, in view of the extremely respectable American authorities quoted above, the laity can do no less than to recognize that this is still an unreaped field which must be cut and garnered by scientists before it can be gleaned by non-professional persons.

As to the inquiries regarding the insane, the ascertained basis for assigning direct occupational cause seems even less strong than in the case of the feeble-minded children. There is reason to believe that some cases of insanity from lead poisoning exist. Oliver mentions that asylum records show such instances. I recall with painful clearness a train-dispatcher and railroad telegrapher who became insane because he was at first thought to have caused a railroad accident by an error in transmitting instructions, but what combination of circumstances inherited predisposition, long hours or both made him unable to hold his reason firm against that shock was not stated nor imagined in the little court room where he sat.

The following letter from Dr. W. L. Russell, late Medical Inspector of the New York Lunacy Commission, now appointed Superintendent of the Long Island Hospital, New York, may well be accepted as covering the situation as regards the institutions for the insane.

> "I have received your letter of the 1st instant and should be glad to help you in regard to the subjects you referred to if I could. I am afraid, however, that the sit-

> uation is not so simple as perhaps some may think. You will find in the Annual Reports of all State Hospitals for the Insane, tables showing the occupations of the patients received during the year. One might think that from such tables very valuable statistical studies could be made relating to the industrial conditions which may have a bearing on the causation of mental diseases. An examination of the facts, however, will reveal that the information contained in these tables is inadequate for the deduction of much that can be turned to account in practical work. There can be no doubt that the 'Insane Hospitals and other institutions should and could give us' information on the industrial causes which bring to them the people they care for. The necessary facts are available. All that is necessary is to provide the means to utilize them. Unfortunately skilled work and quite elaborate investigations are needed. The problem is one for experts, and, as you well know, few State Governments are sufficiently liberal and enlightened to provide in an efficient way for the character of work needed.
>
> "Under separate cover I am sending you a set of instructions, which is used in this State, in an effort to secure the joint co-operation of the physicians in the State Hospitals and the statistician employed by the Commission in Albany for the collection of statistical data. As you will note on page 10, the information in regard to occupation which is asked for, requires much more than a simple statement of a trade or profession. This is a step in the right direction and I am in hopes that after a year or two we shall be able to produce something that will really throw light on the question which you have been asked to deal with."

We now come to a type of institution containing a proportion of inmates uncertain in numbers but ascertainable, about whose industrial disaster there can be no disagreement.

Dr. Wilhite, Superintendent of the Cook County Infirmary, has kindly furnished twenty schedules filled out with great care, choosing cases in which the factor of industrial injury was so large as to form adequate and unquestionable cause for dependency. This list could have been largely extended, but similar groups could be secured from any poor house. These cases, however, are so typical that it has been thought sufficient to brief them and attach them to this paper, together with an age tabulation.

Charles Booth says, in Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age, that the age of 65 is the period at which, by common consent, a man should be entitled to withdraw from active labor and at which, in his opinion, the pension should begin. The age tabulation shows the loss in working life suffered by each man according to a retirement standard of 65, as well as the age at which he began work and the length of his independent working life. These little biographies show the shortening of the industrial life of each individual.

A man of 55 began work at 16, has worked continuously at the same occupation for 37 years—laborer in brick sewer construction—has suffered from peridoical attacks of rheumatism practically during entire time engaged in occupation, during the greater part of the time he was required to work in water. He has now been 13 months in the Cook County Infirmary and was 1 year previously in the Cook County Hospital. Thus he had become totally incapacitated at 53, and 12 years of independent life is lost to him.

A man of 45 began work at 15, has been railroad and building construction laborer. When working as a gravel roofer he fell from a scaffold and struck his head on the cement walk. He has since been subject to epileptic convulsions. He has been 1 year and 6 months in the Cook County Infirmary and was previously 3 months in the Cook County Hospital, having become dependent at the age of 43, twenty-two years of independent earning power lost.

A man of 44 began work at 15 as a common laborer. At 35 he became a painter. After 7½ years he developed lead poisoning, resulting in a contraction of the muscles of both hands. He has been in the Cook County Infirmary for 13 months, becoming dependent at the age of 43, and thus losing 22 years of independent earning life.

A man of 33 began work at 15. He worked for 15 years as a peddler of notions, then as a laborer in a fireworks display for 1 year. There he lost the sight of both eyes during an accidental explosion. He was for 4 years in the Illinois Institution for the Blind at Jacksonville and has been for 1 week at the Cook County Infirmary. He became dependent at the age of 31, and has lost 34 years of his independent life.

A man of 36 began work at 15 as a farm and railroad laborer. During the winter he was a hunter and trapper, and while hunting in North Dakota was caught in a blizzard and had his foot frozen, necessitating amputation of his leg. He has been in the Cook County Infirmary for three months, becoming totally dependent at the age of 36, and is 29 years the poorer.

A man began work at 15, is now 54 years of age. Was employed as a common laborer for 30 years and for several years worked in a car-shop where he was injured and permanently incapacitated. He has been in the Cook County Infirmary for 8 years, was in the Cook County Hospital for 3 months, becoming dependent at the age of 46 years, and has lost 19 years of independence.

A man now 65 years old began work at 15 as a common laborer. For 5 years he was a teamster and was injured by falling from a load of baled hay. He was in the Cook County Hospital for 3 months and has been in the Cook County Infirmary for 3 years, thus being incapacitated at 62, within 3 years of theoretical retirement, but doomed to the old age of a pauper.

A man of 40 who began work at 14, worked as a baker for 26 years in basement bakeries when the sanitary conditions were bad. He has had rheumatism a number of times, and has been at the Cook County Infirmary for two weeks. Has become dependent at 40, with a loss of 25 years of independence.

A man of 60 began work at 18 as a trainman. Two years later he received head injuries in a railroad accident, causing partial paralysis and total blindness. He then peddled notions until four years ago when he entered the Cook County Infirmary, a dependent at 56, 9 years too soon.

A man of 40 years of age began work at 13 as a messenger boy. Was then an apprentice in a paint shop and a journeyman painter. The scaffold he was working on collapsed and he sustained injuries necessitating the amputation of his right leg. He then peddled notions for 16 years. When in the Cook County Hospital 3 months and in the Cook County Infirmary 2 years and 9 months. Became a total dependent at 37, with a loss of 28 years of independence.

A man now 58 years of age began work at 15. Worked for 18 years as an apprentice and machinist in a railroad machine shop. In 1885 was struck in the eye by the crank-handle of a boring machine, causing partial blindness. He continued to work periodically until 3 years ago, when he became totally blind. He has since been in the Cook County Infirmary, becoming dependent at the age of 55, with 10 years of independence lost.

A man of 26 began work at 15 as a common laborer. After four years he became a gold miner and lost both eyes by a premature explosion. He has been in the Cook County Infirmary for 10 months and was previously dependent for 8 months, thus becoming a dependent at the age of 24, with 41 years of independence lost.

A man of 43 began work at 15 as an apprentice and later as a machinist. While working in a machine shop he was struck between the eyes with the starting bar of an automatic pump, resulting in total blindness. He has been in the Cook County Infirmary for 3 years and 4 months, and was previously dependent for 2 years. Became a dependent at 38, with a loss of 27 independent years.

A man now 71 years of age started working when 17. Worked as a common laborer for 5 years and then at different branches of railroading for 30 years. He had his right leg crushed under wheels, necessitating amputation. He has been in the Cook County Infirmary for 4½ years, becoming a dependent when 66, 1 year ahead of the game, a poor reward for his long endurance.

A man of 49, who began work at 16, was a railroad construction laborer for 17 years, when a piece of steel chip pierced one eye, later developing into total blindness. He peddled notions for 4 years and has been in the Cook County Infirmary at various times for 12 years.

He became a dependent at 37, with 28 years of independence lost.

A man now 64 years of age began work at 14. Worked as an apprentice and metal worker for 42 years until 1902 when his hands were injured by acids, incapacitating him for further work. He has been at the Cook County Infirmary various times for 8 years, thus becoming dependent at the age of 56, 9 years of independence lost

A man now 63 years of age began work at 15. Worked as a laborer in a stone quarry for 16 years when he went partially blind from injuries received by a blast. He then did light laboring work for 25 years. He went totally blind 4½ years ago and has been in the Cook County Infirmary since that time. He became a dependent when 58, a life too literally blasted at 31, and the struggle for independence closed at 58, 7 years lost.

A man now 55 years of age began work when 14. Worked at various kinds of labor and as a driver at a livery stable. While there he was kicked on the knee by a vicious horse, sustaining an injury which later necessitated an amputation. He has been in the Cook County Infirmary at various intervals for 6 years. Was previously dependent 8 months, thus becoming dependent when 48. Another instance of a life ruined years before the struggle was abandoned and independence lost 17 years too soon.

A man of 56 began to work when 14. Was a common laborer for 20 years and a teamster for 10 years. While working as a teamster his leg was crushed, making an amputation necessary. He has been in the Cook County Infirmary for 1 year and 4 months, becoming dependent when 55, ten years of independence lost.

A man of 57 years began work at 14. When 19, working as a sailor, his leg became entangled in a line on board ship and an injury was caused which necessitated amputation of the limb. For 36 years thereafter he was engaged at numerous occupations, such as caretaker for summer homes, clerk in lodging house, and was not dependent until he entered the Cook County Infirmary 2 years ago. Unable to secure work because he was a cripple as the schedule states. The meager list of occupations shows that he was trustworthy and that he slipped down and down until at 55 the struggle for independence is lost and he goes to the poor house bereft of ten years of freedom.

The tabulation of these twenty industrial injury cases shows on a retirement basis of 65 years an average loss of working life, i. e. independent earning power for each man of 17.15 years.

To neither the individual nor the public is there any essential difference between industrial accident and industrial disease where the result is dependency. Both are entailed by the risks of the employment, whether these risks are in fact avoidable or inevitable.

The man with rheumatism from working in the water, or tuberculosis from working in a dusty trade, and the man blinded by an explosion or by an unwary use of a poison, are in the same boat and the interest and responsibility of society for both is the same.

The progress of invention and the cheapening of methods of production give a by-product of the new trade dangers, mysterious as yet but unquestionable. It is only of late that such a disaster could occur as this reported by the Illinois Eye and Ear Infirmary: A cabinet maker in a piano factory accidentally spilled a large quantity of wood alcohol down his leg, allowed it to dry, the poison was absorbed and by the next day he was totally and permanently blinded.

In conclusion:

Only the more obvious cases of industrial injury can be discriminated at present with certainty.

The subject is one upon which the work must be done by the medical profession and other scientists. Only as general facts are established as to occupational risks can we expect that case records in institutions will be so kept as to register industrial injury. These great institutions should themselves be centers of study and research, and it is a short-sighted public which has by meager appropriations and political interference hindered the free development of a vigorous scientific spirit which would not only express itself in clear case records, but would lead in securing the preventive measures and the systems of insurance which will inevitably follow such knowledge. The public is honest and generous, and eager to be just as well as generous. Today America is halting in the matter of dignified provision against the vicissitudes of industrial and professional life only because it is not given ascertained facts and intelligible interpretation.

STATISTICS RELATING TO JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

BY ROGER N. BALDWIN, CHIEF PROBATION OFFICER OF THE JUVENILE COURT, ST. LOUIS, MO.

The conception of what constitutes a juvenile delinquent is indistinct in most minds. The term is so loosely used popularly, so variously defined in law, and so poorly defined in statistics that we may well stop to inquire about its proper application.

The fact that almost all boys (not often girls) are at one time or another of their youth delinquent in the sense of violating law—through stealing from home, truancy, running away, bad associates, etc., must be apparent to us all. Indeed the observation of law is a matter which must be educated into every child who grows up successfully. It is quite clear that lapses or offenses like those just enumerated on the part of children of otherwise fair habits seldom justifies applying the term "juvenile delinquent." It is only when such laspses become frequent—when bad habits are formed and continued—that we are ready to define the condition with a name.

In the proper acceptation of the term, a juvenile delinquent may be defined as a child who is in a moral condition which inclines him not to follow the established lines of good conduct, whether by reason of a defective home, bad associates, hereditary traits of character—it matters not which.

It seems quite clear also—contrary to usage and to statistical precedent—that large numbers of children haled into juvenile courts, even when they may be fined or admonished by the court (not the discharged alone) are not delinquent children in any proper sense of the word.

The children coming before children's courts may roughly be divided into three main groups, regardless of offense, which in itself is no indication of real delinquency. The first group comprises children in good moral condition, with good homes and stimulating environments, who are so unfortunate as to be publicly prosecuted for a detected misdeed. Ordinarily, such cases are settled outside of court between parents and the offended parties. This group contains also children charged with such public offenses as automobile speeding, playing baseball on vacant lots or in the street, and other violations of municipal regulations, which are very seldom symptoms of any delinquency. The second group (the largest in juvenile courts), is made up of the unfortunate class of children who are not in good moral condition, who do not have both effective homes and a consistently helpful environment, and who are in danger, unless counteracting influences are brought to bear, of becoming habitual offenders. This group is of course composed very largely of children to whom the term "juvenile delinquent" can be properly applied. But there is a third group to whom the term applies with equal force (fortunately it is small) which consists of children who seem to be lacking in capacity for normal moral conduct, either from defectiveness, degeneracy, or from inherited bad traits.

It is thus quite clear that the juvenile court offers several profitable sources for the study of juvenile delinquents, that is, children who have begun to differ in habits from normal children. But before an intelligent study can be made we must understand what the normal child is. He is commonly regarded as not having any of the characteristic symptoms of a delinquent. We seldom think of him as actually stealing, of doing violence with stone or knife, "rocking" a pedlar, gambling, or doing any of the hundred and one things for which children are brought into juvenile courts. Yet the normal child often does precisely these things. I trust I am on safe ground in saying that we should regard as abnormal (certainly exceptional) a boy who could have grown up without stealing, who has learned by precept alone the laws of property.

We should bear constantly in mind that our normal child is one in whom wrong doing does not become a habit, while the abnormal or delinquent child is one in whom these tendencies have become a habit.

In turning for material regarding delinquents to the juvenile court, shall we include all who come to court charged with delinquency? Or shall we select only those found delinquent by the court? And shall we eliminate from the latter that class of casual offenders already discussed who, under our definition, cannot be regarded for purposes of comparison with ordinary children, as delinquent? Clearly, a truthful examination of the facts of child life demands an elimination of much of the material offered. The group of true delinquents offers the most profitable source of inquiry concerning the essential differences between delinquents and normal children. The study may even be narrowed to those children in the care of probation officers of the court who may be assumed to have been selected for the process of probation on account of their more serious shortcomings, their ineffective homes and poor surroundings. A still more definite group is presented by the delinquents in correctional institutions, who, under the modern procedure of probation are the sifted-out failures of the community, who represent the most serious departures from normal habits of life.

These three groups, then, the actual delinquents before the court, the delinquents of the probation office, and the delinquents of the institutions (the latter two groups being of course more highly specialized groups of the first) constitute the general material for a study of juvenile delinquency. The study in its broader aspects must be of course that of the first group—the delinquents before a children's court. But for purposes of scientific study of juvenile delinquents, it is necessary to select from among all the court children only those who are really delinquent. Such a study, however is not to be expected in the annual reports of the courts.

But quite outside these reports, it is somewhat surprising to find that almost no study of a scientific character has as yet been made of this material. The third group, reform school children, has been most carefully studied because the definite character of the material renders the task comparatively easy. The children's courts have neither been specially studied nor have they themselves given out results of value, and that for several reasons, viz.: (1) Because children's courts are new, their methods experimental and their records irregular, incomplete or constantly changing; (2) because under a constant pressure of work statistics and records are either neglected or often held somewhat in contempt as non-essential; (3) because their annual reports are not compiled by experienced workers and are therefore so extremely faulty from a statistical standpoint that we have as yet hardly found one to measure up to the most elementary statistical principles; (4) because statisticians, however anxious to get material, are unable to get it first-hand from children and must depend on the records, which, as we have seen, are of little statistical value. It is hardly too much to say that this country, at least as yet, has no statistical material in regard to juvenile delinquency as seen in the courts (not institutions) which afford a basis for well-founded conclusions of a general character. It is evident, therefore, that before special studies can be made, the courts must devote themselves to getting their material in proper shape for an intelligent presentation of all their work.

The problem is a most difficult one, and varies in each state and even locally according to the practice of the different courts. The juvenile courts in every large city deal with the same problems—they need in their law a common definition of delinquency, and in practice a more clearly defined terminology; a closer agreement concerning the records to be kept and their form, and especially in regard to method of compiling annual statistics and the facts to be included. Comparisons of communities and of court work are essential to any safe conclusion both in regard to the value of specific methods and to the nature of juvenile delinquency itself under varying conditions; but comparisons cannot be made without uniformity in the material to be compared.

It is most instructive and pertinent, therefore, to confine our discussion to the methods of statistical presentation of the facts juvenile courts present, i. e., the volume and character of cases and of children who come before a juvenile court in a year.

The first question is, what records should be used—the clerk's official documents or the probation officer's forms? In some courts these records are not separated, and facts are scattered over the two sets of papers, the legal and the probation officer's memoranda and history forms. Despite considerable variation, the probation officer's history blank contains, as a rule, information regarding age, birth, family, home, school, employment, habits, etc.

Granted a satisfactory record of facts, who should be entrusted with their compilation? It is clear such a task demands an experienced hand. Reports compiled by a stenographer, a volunteer worker, the court clerk, or a probation officer, (unless he be trained in statistics) the usual persons entrusted with the task, can hardly yield results of real value except in the most general groups of figures. It is safe to say that certainly not more than two court reports yet published have been compiled by a person with proper statistical training. It may be said in explanation that few juvenile courts can employ experts for the purpose on account of legal and financial obstacles. Nevertheless, there are certain principles which can be observed by any one compiling the facts, and which need recognition on the part of those responsible for court reports.

One of the most flagrant errors in practically all reports is the identification of cases with children. It seems to make no difference to the tabulators whether there are 1,000 cases in court or 1,000 children. Every time a name is on the docket—whether it is the same youngster five times a month—it counts 1 in the tables. Thus, if John Jones is in court six times during the year, he figures as six on the age tables, as six Catholics, or six Protestants, as six foreign-born, etc., etc. It should be made clear that there are certain tables—mainly those showing charges against children and disposition of cases—which should be based upon the number of cases—and that certain other tables (practically all the rest) should be based upon the number of individual children and so counted. So, no matter how many times Johnny offends, he should count, (except in two or three tables), as one and one only for the year.

It is essential also that every case or child counted should actually have been in court. Some courts have an informal way of handling cases "out of court" through probation officers, without any legal complaint or action by the judge. Such cases are often lumped with the court statistics. As they are usually of a petty character—neighborhood quarrels, minor offenses and misunderstandings with parents—their presence in the totals of court statistics must eventually lead to confusion and erroneous conclusions. Cases of this kind are of little or no value in throwing light upon juvenile delinquency, and should be carefully separated from court cases in every record system. In some courts, notably Cleveland and Denver, these "unofficial cases," or cases settled out of court, exceed those dealt with in court. Considering the fact that the law itself does not recognize them, that apparently the process of the law is not necessary for their solution, it is doubtful if they have any place in an exhibit of the court's work. If counted at all the only facts about them likely to be of any value is a statement of their number and character, which serves to indicate the volume of business of the probation office. In any event, it is certain that they should be set forth separately from court cases.

Although we are treating here the group of delinquents alone it might be well to observe in passing that the neglected or dependent groups should be distinctly separated from the delinquent in every table, and that such a separation should be based on an actual finding of neglect or delinquency on the facts set forth—not on any technical charge in court. The statistics of 1907-08 of the St. Louis court were very largely rendered worthless for comparative purposes by the inclusion among the neglected group of many truant children brought to court as neglected (though of course delinquent in fact) because the law did not provide for the filing of complaints for delinquency by the attendance or probation officer. These truants of course should have been separated from really neglected children and counted with the delinquents. Similar situations are true of other courts.

The restriction of our detailed tabulations to court cases of delinquents, and the counting of court cases in two groups by number of cases and number of individual children are therefore matters of primary importance. Each table should of course show the facts by sex, and where there are large numbers of colored children (certainly where they number 10 per cent. or more of the whole) there should be a division by color also. This grouping by sex and color is of course self-evident in tables dealing with individual children. In tables based upon total cases, however, a difficult problem arises. The subdivision, in case tables, does not indicate individual children, but cases as applied to children. This gives rise to confusion in any detailed examination of the different groups; for instance, when it is seen that a possible group of six white girls under "offenses against property" might mean one case each against six different girls or six cases against one girl, or any variation within these limits. The confusion thus caused can be remedied only by an elaborate system of case and child counting, with eight columns, four counted by cases and four counted by children, arranged side by side so that it will appear at a glance how much the number of cases are in excess of any given group of children. This complicated solution is the only means for a presentation of the whole truth. The arrangement of totals at the top of each table and in the first column is to be recommended as conducive to easy examination and interpretation.

With these principles of grouping and subdivisions laid down for all tables, it next is desirable to see what general groupings of tables may profitably be made. As the statistics in question apply to any one given year, it is clear that all children coming before the court during the year naturally fall into two groups—those who have been there before and those who have not. This grouping of children is most vital to an intelligent understanding of the facts. The kinds of charges on which children reappear in court, the disposition made on a second or third appearance, the social or home conditions of children who come back to court—all are questions of signal interest and intense significance of the child-life of the community, especially when comparison is made with those cases coming to court for the first time in that year. This division has been recognized by the United States census in the juvenile court statistics appearing in the Social Statistics of Cities (1905), but limited to first and second appearances in court and the disposition on a basis of these appearances, a method which starts out with the right point of view but fails to be of practical value because it is so incompletely carried out. A second appearance in court may mean something or nothing, according to the charge preferred. But where year can be compared with year, on the basis of a grouping of old and new cases, a real standard of measurement of the conditions of child-life and of the processes of the court can be set up. The grouping of social facts on the basis of the number of appearances of a child in court, first, second, third, and fourth time, etc., which for any practical purpose need not be carried further than a grouping of the new and old cases in any one year, has been elaborated to such an extent in the statistics of the Chicago court that every fact given has been related to the number of appearances. The result is that the statistics without elaborate text explanation (which is lacking) are almost unintelligible. In addition numbers after the fourth and fifth appearance become so small that comparisons on any percentage basis are likely to lead to false conclusions.

Having determined the general principles of tabulation the next question is, what tables to compile. This matter is to be governed somewhat by local conditions which might make certain tables of value when comparisons are made with related facts known for the community at large. The use to which the figures can be put is of course the only justification for their compilation. If their lesson is doubtful, merely speculative or perhaps misleading, through absence of comparative data, they should by all means be omitted.

Briefly, tables should be given which show: First, the volume of business of the court, the charges for which children come to it and the methods of disposition; second, such social facts regarding these children as can be compared with facts for the children of the community at large, with past years of the court, with the groups of offenses themselves, or which, even without these comparisons, are of some interest as showing the facts of these court children as a group. Even without the comparative facts for the community, we may gain valuable results; for instance, from the study of the parental condition of children before the court, since that factor is essential in their relation to the court and to their delinquency. Other groups of tables which can be added with profit are those showing the success and failure of probation, and the social facts of the group of children at any one time in the care of the probation office.

Something should be said of the suggested comparison of offenses with facts showing social conditions. Such comparisons are of course valuable in any study of crime among adults, as there is a more or less definite relation between offenses and social conditions where the habits of life are fixed. Among children, however, the offense itself is of minor consequence, being at best only a symptom of habits which may make for a continual round of all kinds of offenses. Moreover, the particular offense charged may be quite accidental, the same boy possibly having been guilty of a half dozen other things on the same day. A boy brought in for larceny is usually in the first instance a truant. He may also be a runaway, a crap shooter, a cigarette smoker or any of a dozen disapproved brands of youngster. The groups of offenses, i. e., offenses against the person, property, peace and morals, have indeed considerable significance, and if the offenses and the groups are rated on the actual, not the technical charges, a comparison of social factors with groups of offenses would be of value. It is certain, however, that not nearly the same importance can be attached to offense classification among children as among adults.

The table headings which follow contain practically all the material compiled in any of the juvenile courts, and indicate the most important facts to be presented:

(1.) Charges on which children appeared before the court, counted by cases and subdivided by boys and girls, white and colored—the charges grouped under: (a) offenses against the person; (b) offenses against property; (c) offenses against morals; (d) offenses against the peace; (e) violations of ordinance; (f) violations of probation and parole.

(2.) Disposition of cases before the court, counted by cases and subdivided as above.

(3.) Manner of bringing cases to court—i. e., by police, attendance officers, etc., counted by cases and subdivided as above.

(4.) Number of times children in court during the year had been before the court on charges; counted by children, subdivided as above.

(5.) Ages of children before the court—counted by children, subdivided as above.

(6.) Nativity of children before the court; counted by children, subdivided by boys and girls only, not colored and white; grouped by foreign born; born of foreign parents, one or both; and born of native parents.

(7.) Religious affiliation of children before the court; counted by children (a table of little value, because facts are difficult to determine accurately and comparative material is lacking).

(8.) Housing condition, counted by children (of little value for reasons stated under 7).

(9.) Parental condition; counted by children; grouped under (i) parents together,—capable and incapable, (ii) parents not together,—(separated by death, divorce or separation, step-parent in place of parent lost).

In these tables are included all the leading facts which can be determined with profit, except those relating to physical condition and employment record. Other facts, even when properly noted on record blanks, are difficult to treat statistically, because they represent largely the opinion of the investigator. Such facts are the notations in regard to "habits," characteristics, associates, etc.

In addition to the tables covering the facts for any one year, there should be added for the sake of a complete presentation of facts and tendencies a group of tables affording comparisons with previous years. Charges and dispositions are of greatest importance as showing the volume and character of work and the methods of the court in handling it.

The comparative tables presented in the St. Louis report of 1910 include several tables giving statistics by months, showing per cent distribution of dispositions, in order to illustrate the seasonal and monthly variation in the character and number of cases before the court; and others showing month by month the growth of the work of court and probation office. A particularly valuable comparative table is one showing the total number of children in the care of the court at different times, both those in institutions and those in the care of the probation office. A table of the cases discharged from probation and parole during the year should also be included, and should be accompanied by a text analysis of the number of the discharged cases that reappear in court or find their way, so far as it can be determined, to other courts and institutions. This test of the probation method, in combination with commitments to institutions direct from probation, is essential to a fair statement of its benefits.

The main principles here set forth may be summarized as follows:

(1.) The necessity of a complete probation officer's record of social facts, kept fully for each child.

(2.) The compilation of statistics from these records only by a person experienced in statistical work.

(3.) The separation of tables into (1) groups counted by cases and (2) groups counted by individual children.

(4.) The separation of cases actually before the court and those settled outside court (where this system prevails), and of delinquent and neglected children on a basis of the actual facts in each case.

(5.) Subdivisions to show sex, and, where colored children are numerous, color groups. Under tables counted by cases a statement of both cases and of the number of children in the subdivisions.

(6.) The division of tables into three groups: (a) tables of all children before court during the year; (b) tables of new children only; (c) tables of old cases reappearing.

(7.) The compilation of such tables as deal either (1) with the volume of court business and methods (charges and dispositions), and (2) with social facts that can be compared with children in the community at large, with past years of the court, with groups of offenses (not offenses themselves), (3) the success or failure of the probation method.

Of course the chief value of all these statistics, however well compiled and clearly set out, is as a basis for an intelligent text discussion and analysis. It requires a long and careful study of any extensive group of statistics to interpret correctly their significance to the community. Statistics, it must always be remembered, are only a means to an end and their proper interpretation is a more exacting task than their compilation. Too often we get meagre statistics, poorly compiled; but when we get more complete statistics they often have quite as little value because they are not properly interpreted.

The juvenile court, in most communities, needs to be gently reminded that it is not only a popular agency for the moral uplift of childhood, but that the volume and character of its business constitute a measure of the failures of the moral agencies of a community. It is a social barometer of child life.

The juvenile court has then the clear duty of pointing out facts intelligently—and it can be intelligent only by scientific study of its business and results—not by annually compiling pleasant generalities and assurances of good work. By this study we shall learn better wherein the community is failing, and we can more intelligently strengthen the forces which keep children out of the court. The lesson which the court can teach the community by careful presentation of facts may be fully as great a service as it renders day by day in its individual moral regeneration of broken homes and misdirected children.

Publicity

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

BY H. WIRT STEELE, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, MARYLAND ASSOCIATION FOR THE PREVENTION AND RELIEF OF TUBERCULOSIS, CHAIRMAN

Three years ago, a Committee on Organization of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, decided that the subject of Publicity in charitable work was of sufficient importance to be dignified by the creation of a Committee on the subject, to report the next year. Two years ago that Committee reported in favor of accurate publicity. It made a plea for closer association between publicists and social workers that they might better understand each other and the limitations and possibilities of each. We attempted to define the word "News," for at that time it was not generally conceded in the editorial offices of magazines or at the desk of the city editor, that the kind of things that social workers were doing, in American communities, in themselves constituted news. At that time, the "H. I. story," otherwise the Human Interest story, was still a matter of pure sentiment, a more or less readable article, in which fact and fiction were deftly interwoven to produce a thrill. The Committee sought to give a more rational meaning to the Human Interest story, to define more carefully its uses and abuses.

Last year, we made a direct appeal to the publicists, both newspaper men and magazine publishers, to take cognizance of the great effort being made for the betterment of living conditions and the conservation of human waste. We sought to point out that such stories cleverly told are teeming with heart interest, that, where they have been well done, they have proven a mighty weapon in the betterment of conditions of life of those who suffer and are heavy laden. Probably for the first time in the history of American magazine making, the editor and publisher of one of the great periodicals of this class spoke directly to his confreres in the profession, telling them their responsibility in the matter of charitable relief, care of the defective classes and the correction of offenders; in the matter of civic righteousness and social uplift.

The Committee now desires to finish its work for the time being and to suggest a general outline for a campaign of publicity.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS. To begin with, we might seriously ask ourselves "Why give publicity to charitable and social work and its results?" It is a fair question and in times past has been known to receive the answer that we should not do so, that there was an injunction in Holy Writ "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth." The inference was made that this referred to giving to the poor, but we have learned in modern times that unless the left hand does know what the right hand is doing in its ministrations to the needy and unless the head knows what both hands are doing, there is waste of resources, a lack of effective help and too frequently positive injury of those to whom we would give. If this is true of the individual, and we believe it is, it is equally true of the group, whether that group be a club, a class, a charitable society, citizens of a ward, of a city, of a state, or of the nation. It is necessary for the people living on the Lake Shore Drive in Chicago, to know what the people living within a block of Hull House in the ninth ward are doing for the progress of humanity. It is essential that the people of Pittsburgh know what the people of Philadelphia are doing, to make life easier and sweeter for the family bereft by tuberculosis of its chief bread-winner. It certainly is wise for the people of Maryland to know what the citizens of Oregon have done and are doing to prevent organized greed from exploiting "old, young" children in mills, factories, mines and shops or as pages of the denizens of the half world, as employees of a great telegraph corporation in the night messenger service, and how else can these left hands know what the right hands are doing, save through the avenue of right publicity? What better agency have we for the promotion of that democracy of spirit and of effort that we know to be necessary in building up co-operation of the units of society that we may have efficiency in service?

A CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM. Your Committee would like to assume that its case has been proven, that its reasons for securing or giving publicity to social work have been made and its definition of right publicity accepted. If we may take that for granted we desire at this time to submit as our last pronouncement for sometime at least, by laying down as the basis for any single piece of publicity work, whether it is simply educational propaganda or a campaign for raising funds, that the psychological principles involved in the education of an adult public are the same as those taken into consideration by a teacher with a class of school children. We may very well borrow the most approved methods from pedagogical science and apply them almost word for word in teaching a big public.

ATTENTION. First of all, the teacher is taught that she must secure the attention of the child; so must you. Whether you be attempting to organize charitable relief of the community for the benefit of the family of the victim of the White Plague, or whether you be engaged in an effort to secure a clean milk supply that would result in saving the lives in your cities of hundreds of thousands of babes of the poor, or whether you be attempting to set a standard of comfort and decency in the housing of working people, or whether you be attempting to secure for workers a fair wage, a reasonably short work day or compulsory restitution in case of industrial accidents or occupational diseases, the attention of the public must be arrested.

INTEREST. Your next step, as in the case of the teacher, must be to gain the interest of as many people as possible, preferably of all the people of your community. The interest must be real and not simulated. They must have facts and figures, often predigested and served to them in a way that both appeals to the mind and touches the heart. The element of concentration must not be overlooked or neglected. Attention is a matter of the moment. It may not, and often does not require any volitional effort on the part of him whose attention is arrested. Interest itself embraces the mental effort to concentrate. This is produced sometimes by a headline showing a neatly turned phrase. It may be a half-hidden or suggestive truth, tucked away in the headline. It may be a catchy phrase in the street cars or on the bill boards. It may be simply the kind of type used in an advertisement. It may be a picture. It may be one of a dozen devices selected after a careful study and weighing to find the best.

SUSTAINED INTEREST. Having gained interest, it is necessary to the development of the program that the individual or the public may be led a step farther toward the object sought; that that interest be sustained; that the mind, whether of the individual or the mass, recur to the subject matter again and again, with an ever quickened spirit, not in a morbid or maudlin way.

ACTION. When the mind of the individual—whether child or adult, or the mass mind of the community has been stimulated to the point of sustained interest, the result according to the pedagogical authorities is action. When the feebleminded child has been struck in the face with the medicine ball frequently enough, it will usually learn that by raising its hands it can ward off the thing that hurts. When the normal child has reached the point of realizing that the opposing team has collectively more strength than he possesses, he will very soon abandon his natural desire to be the whole show and get into the team work with his fellows. The man in the street may know nothing about the intricacies of corporation law or the iniquities of the "interests", yet when his attention is arrested by a newspaper cartoon, his interest is aroused by a magazine article and sustained by a mental stocktaking of his own resources, leading to the discovery that the cost of living has advanced faster than his income, we may expect to see him in action soon. So it follows if our first premise be true that the attention of a public may be secured by some legitimate device of the publicist whether he be an orator, an artist, or a writer who holds up for a moment a picture made of spoken words, of pigments, or of printers' ink and paper. Then interest must be aroused, and here the process again follows as in the case of the individual, whether the object sought is a pension of $5.00 a week to help a family in distress or a bond issue of $20,000,000.00 to build a sewer system under a great city. Interest must be sustained until it produces action, either in opening the individual purses of the community or the deposit of ballots for the bond issue at the polls.

HABIT. Action many times repeated becomes habit, and is it not our aim in all social work to produce habits of thought and action in individuals or in communities? Does not the charity organizationist seek a condition of things when people will not give alms to beggars on the street and where those who are able will help those who are not able to help themselves? Do we not all agree that it should be the habit of mind and action of the community to want to guarantee to childhood his birthright of a time to play and a place to play? Are we not all anxiously awaiting the time when charity shall mean social justice? Your committee believes that it has in vague generalities at least pointed the way.

SPECIAL CONSIDERATIONS. Is it not probably true that if all the legitimate social work going forward in society today could be measured in ergs or foot-pounds and all added together it would appear very small in comparison with all the actual mechanical energy being generated and used in the production and distribution of wealth? We believe the greatest value attaching to the activities of the social worker is its educational value through which the mass learns by the steps we have pointed out, to make the service of humanity one of its chief functions. It is the spirit of the social settlement worker, the good neighbor translated into terms of business, that we read in the story of the establishment of the social service department in the gigantic house of Sears-Roebuck & Company of Chicago, or a similar department in the great clothing manufacturing plant of Henry Sonneborn & Co. in Baltimore, or a similar department in any one of hundreds of larger or smaller wealth producing machines throughout the country. Those evidences of the socialization of industry did not come into being overnight. They are the results of the slow painstaking education of their projectors, the proprietors, owners and employers. That education was accomplished through publicity: publicity through which the incidents of the day's work of the charity agent and settlement worker were told with clearness, exactness, charm. Nor would they have reached their best fruition unless these efforts had been corrolated with the other activities of life. Social workers must not only make it clear that their activities are worth while themselves, but that they are related and have natural points of contact with all other lines of work for social betterment and industrial efficiency. When this program is followed by every individual engaged professionally in the work of social salvage, we believe the then total of dynamic power which now lies latent in a city, a state, or the country, will be transformed into forces destructive of injustice, greed, and wrong, and productive of clean, decent citizenship.

SOCIAL ADVERTISING

BY ORLANDO F. LEWIS, SECRETARY OF THE NEW YORK PRISON ASSOCIATION

This paper—and the accompanying lantern slides*—announce no new discoveries. My purpose is to present simply some of the methods used by charitable and civic organizations to acquaint the public as to their work. Much of what I present will undoubtedly be trite to many social workers, who have labored with annual reports and leaflets, inserts and even "return envelopes." But perhaps, the results may be suggestive.

The term "Social Advertising," as used in this paper, means the efforts of charitable and civic societies to instruct the public as to their purposes. The fundamental duties and functions of a given society should condition the nature of the advertising and of the appeals, which are but another form of social advertising.

The first requisite of social advertising is to convey a truth. The New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor is said never to issue an advertisement or appeal that is not educational. Undoubtedly most charitable societies have similar purposes in mind. Smiling Joe, perhaps the best picture advertisement of the New York A. I. C. P., told a story of preventable non-pulmonary tuberculosis that helped to bring in $225,000 for a seaside hospital for other little children.

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*Mr. Lewis illustrated his paper with lantern pictures which, unfortunately, cannot be reproduced in this volume.—Editor.

Hence many societies feel that the best advertisement of a society is its good work. Bolton Hall says that the public does not care so much about what you are going to do as what you have done and are doing.

Every society has many important social messages for its community. In announcing such messages, practically all societies use certain self-evident methods:

1. Annual Reports.
2. Leaflets, pamphlets, circulars, and other printed matter.
3. Letters of appeal.
4. Lectures, addresses, etc., by members of the society's staff.
5. Newspaper articles.
6. Financial secretary or solicitor.
7. Finance Committee.

These methods have been amply discussed in the section on publicity of the National Conference during the last few years. This morning I would ask your attention to certain newer methods of advertising, or communicating with the public. The illustrations are chosen from annual reports, leaflets, posters, photographs, newspaper advertisements, etc., published recently by societies throughout the United States.

Charitable societies seem to be paying far more attention than formerly to the form as well as the contents, of their printed matter. Every executive secretary of a charitable society should know the names, the appearance, and the effectiveness of the more common styles of type, such as Caslon, Old Style, Roman, Cadmus, Antique, Cheltenham, Gothic, etc. Paraphrasing the statement that "clothes make the man," may I say that in large measure "readibility makes the report." Such a knowledge of type may be readily acquired from type foundry catalogues or from a printer's type book. Thus the secretary is rendered less dependent upon the taste of a local printer, who hasn't the types desired, but claims to have something "just as good."

Societies are tending to refrain from trying even in annual reports to tell all they know, or all that they think the public should know. The tendency is to give to the public one general fact, or a few important facts, awaiting then the proper digestion of the few facts presented. This seems good psychology. Modern life speeds us—the general public—up to high tension. The average recipient of a charity leaflet or appeal gives, if at all, a relucant minute to its consideration.

Hence it is the first minute that counts, indeed, the first few seconds. This quick-working, one idea plan of publicity is obvious, first, in many of the newest leaflets. For instance: The National Child Labor Committee depicts on one page of an insert leaf a tenement boy, 12 years old, sweating at sewing for fourteen hours a day. The Playground Association of America, asks in another leaflet: "Shall we provide a playground (picture of city children) or enlarge the jail (picture of cell block in a prison). The New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children shows in a leaflet, Mary Ellen, the first child rescued by the Society, as she appeared, in rags, one half hour after she was rescued from a hogshead on Water Street, and Mary Ellen as she appeared the next day.

The Big Brothers Movement prints a leaflet, on the cover of which is simply the name of the movement, and the picture of a tattered boy, arraigned at the bar of justice for his first offense. With wide-open eyes, he does not as yet grasp or understand his sudden punishment.

Now the mind jumps from the particular to the general, from the tangible to the less tangible. So the Charity Organization Societies of New York and Baltimore issue "One idea" leaflets or tracts. The New York C. O. S. entitles them "Questions Often Asked;" the sub-titles vary with each leaflet. New York answers for instance in several brief pages the question: "What Does the Charity Organization Society Do?" Baltimore replies to the inquiry: "If I Refer a Family to the Federated Charities What Happens?" Buffalo issues a leaflet entitled, "The Wheels of Organized Charity."

This "One-idea" plan is followed by a number of societies in the covers of their annual reports. Instead of the conventional "Sixteenth Annual Report of the Charity Organization Society of Blank for the Year ending December 31, 1909," we find many interesting covers like that of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, which sent out recently, in a chocolate colored, close fitting envelope, a booklet with a brown cover, and with the attractively embossed title "The Ninth Milestone," while in a type of subordinate size the name of the society and the serial number of the annual report appear.

Note also the cover of the "Year Book" for 1908–1909 of the Mary Crane Nursery of Chicago, with just the words "Year Book," and in addition an attractive photograph of a smiling youngster in a swing. From Orange, New Jersey, comes an annual report entitled "The Philanthropic Activities and Progress of the Oranges in 1905."

The Buffalo C. O. S. has printed on the title page of its 1909 annual report the following: "Relief After Misery. The Work of Reconstruction. Buffalo, 1909." Then following a brief quotation, the words: "Thirty Second Annual Report of the Charity Organization Society of Buffalo, 1909." Columbus, Ohio, entitled its last annual report "Considerate Charity." Minneapolis, "Considering the Poor."

Is that not good psychology? Of what value is an annual report that isn't read, or a leaflet that does not compel attention? And the next point about these annual reports and these leaflets is this. Having at the outest attracted attention, they lead on the reader by certain simple mechanical and technical means as follows: The subject matter is broken up into frequent paragraphs. The paragraphs are given specially legible and popular captions. Sentences are underlined occasionally, and the authors do not pause even at the use of italics. In short, legitimate means of attracting and holding attention are employed. Why make the recipient of an annual report or of a leaflet hunt for it? What would we think of a storekeeper that did not take proper advantage of his show windows or his counters? Let the roving eye of the recipient of the annual report or the leaflet be caught—and held.

Do we think such a product is undignified? A Buffalo leaflet numbers its paragraphs, prints captions in large type, indents certain paragraphs, and prints at times in smaller type with single space. The Playground Association of America numbers its paragraphs and underlines several sentences on the same page. The Associated Charities of Cincinnati breaks its subject matter into short paragraphs, uses red ink captions, and emphasizes a certain sentence by the use of italics.

Many societies that still adhere to the more formal cover in annual reports, choose paper, type and subject matter more pleasing to the eye than in former years. The tendency is to print very little upon the cover page. Thus we find the words: "Civic Service House" doubly underlined; then in smaller type "A Social Settlement and a School of Citizenship. Founded 1901." The Milk and Baby Hygiene Association, also of Boston, prints upon its cover, with light blue background, the seal of the society. The C. O. S. of Indianapolis precedes the words "Annual Report" with an embossed monogram "C.O.S."

Similarly, on a grayish brown cover, we find "The Third Year of the National Vigilance Committee of the United States of America." A semi-centennial report comes from New York, on heavy gold-colored paper, entitled: "First Half Century of the Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art. Fiftieth Annual Report, June 3d, 1909."

In the body of the annual reports we find the subject matter much better displayed, even to decided attractiveness in many instances. The Buffalo C. O. S. report deserves special commendation for its accompanying photographs. Printed on rough paper, in ten point and twelve point Roman, a type of beauty, its pages are frequently broken by paragraph captions. Scattered through the report are a half dozen very artistic photographs of persons, illustrating for instance, "Widowhood," "Desertion," "Unemployment," "Sickness," etc., while on opposite pages, blocked in by a light rule, are printed descriptions of the photographs and the larger lessons that the photographs teach.

Let us look for a moment at some of the pages of annual reports. The Baltimore Society breaks its pages into paragraphs with indented captions in heavy face type. The Legal Aid Society of New York does not break its pages, but prints marginal captions. The Philadelphia C. O. S. breaks its reading matter with frequent statistical diagrams. Shall we not once for all agree that the public does not approach the annual report or other publications of a society as it does the latest best-seller among novels, and that consequently a page that is eminently suited for a novel is thoroughly unsuited for an annual report.

A number of societies introduce cleverly their annual report. The Topeka Provident Association (adopting the plan from the Minneapolis Associated Charities) prints "Our Platform," a series of short numbered paragraphs that he who runs may read. The New York C. O. S. and the United Charities of Chicago exhibit the scope of their work in diagrammatic form. In this connection the Chicago Relief and Aid Society's recent report is a novelty. In the upper left-hand corner is shown the photograph of a little mother of the tenements. Then, in un-obtrusive Old English type, the words appear elsewhere on the page: "A brief outline of the work accomplished by the Chicago Relief and Aid Society during its fifty-first year, 1908." This is followed by a clear and brief list of its relief functions.

Turning now to the use of pictures and photographs, it seems clear that their use is steadily increasing, both in annual reports and leaflets. Especially well used in the current report of the Chicago United Charities is a double paged photograph of "The Open Air Tuberculosis School." Two thirds of the two pages are given over to descriptive reading matter, but the reading matter is well-chosen and well displayed. I must speak also of the Snow Boy photograph appearing in 1909 in the annual report of the Chicago United Charities. Indeed, the value of human interest photographs is undeniable. The National Child Labor Committee prints a photograph of a tiny girl. She is just more than a baby. Heavy-eyed, with drawn face, she sits late at night at a sewing machine. Above the picture are the words: "The Song of the Shirt." Below the picture the words: "Age, Seven Years. Time, Ten o'clock at night. Place:—Our Country. Wage, Three cents an evening. What Are You Going To Do About It?"

"A Tenement House Madonna" is the title of a beautifully symbolical photograph by Lewis W. Hine, who justly claims the title of Social Photographer. The Pittsburg Associated Charities and the Baltimore Federated Charities have published this photograph as typifying the spirit of their work.

Similarly, the New York A. I. C. P. in a recent folder shows a ragged, despondent little boy coming to the Association in rags and with true "before and after" effect, same little boy a half hour later, leaving the A. I. C. P., a grinning youngster, with a bundle for the other members of the family.

This "One-idea" photograph is always effective. The Playground Magazine prints on its title page in one issue a grinning boy with a farmer's straw hat on his head. The United Charities of Chicago publishes a little card of appreciation to those who made its summer work possible. The Topeka Provident Association prints a photograph of its building. The Associated Charities of Cincinnati publishes a folder, 19 x 10, with seven photographs and descriptions. The Associated Charities of Evansville, in a city where most everybody, I suppose, knows most everybody else, sends out a double postal card of Christmas greetings, 9 x 12 inches in size, in which are pen and ink sketches of C. O. S. activities, evidently having appeared at some time in the local newspaper.

The Wayfarer's Lodge of Philadelphia issues a leaflet, on the front page of which is simply a group of unemployed men, and the question, "Why Not?" A similar leaflet bears the stanza:

"Wood to Burn, A Crippled Brother,
Who'll Buy the One to Help the Other?"

A leaflet that proved remarkably successful, in combination with other advertising, was issued several years ago by the Maryland Association for the Prevention and Relief of Tuberculosis. On Page 1 of the leaflet the question was prominently asked: "Will You Help Build the Fence?" On page two, a clever poem, indicating that a fence at the top of a cliff is far better than an ambulance at the bottom. Pictures of tuberculosis germs, a tuberculosis victim, and a family of eight with one member dying of consumption in a two room flat clinched the lesson. A remarkable financial campaign, on the proposition of building the fence, raised over ten thousand dollars within a few days.

In presenting statistics to contributors and non-contributors a society runs, it seems to me, two dangers:—First, of not getting them read, and secondly, of being adjudged a cold-blooded organization. The Chicago Relief and Aid Society prints a very clear and brief comparative table, showing the relative number of persons helped by that society in 19 consecutive years. The Boston 1915 movement, in a large four page sheet, has succeeded in segregating its statistics in a graphic manner.

Some societies look upon statistical tables as highly interesting, some as necessary evils. Yet the excellent work of Miss Lilian Brandt of the New York C. O. S. proved how lucid tables of statistics may become. And in Philadelphia, several years ago, the S. O. C. audaciously published a close facsimile of the annual city tax bill, substituting the words "Bureau of Relief, etc." in place of the original wording, filling in names of persons addressed, making out bill "To the Charities of Philadelphia," and debiting the recipient "To One Voluntary Contribution—amount of same being left entirely to donor's generosity." And below were printed horizontal lines in black, comparing statistics for the current year and for the year before.

Clever diagrams, are made to illustrate the relationship of the Associated Charities and the C. O. S. to the community. In Omaha and South Omaha the Associated Charities is shown as the hub of a wheel that has some fifty spokes each representing an affiliated organization. Worcester, Mass., shows the Associated Charities as a circle with nineteen surrounding circles, with each of which the central circle is connected by a line. The Boston Associated Charities has prepared a map, from the center of which radiates the different agencies that use the Confidential Exchange. The center represents a telephone exchange, which is labeled "The Charitable Switchboard."

In Pittsburgh, Mr. Weller has two ingenious pictorial devices for illustrating the relationship of the Associated Charities to the City and to the Home.

May I ask your attention now for a few minutes to some specially novel forms of advertising social needs and social work? It is so generally recognized that it is the first impression that counts in the majority of appeals and advertisements from charitable societies that special efforts are made to arrest and secure the attention of the recipients of advertising matter. As an illustration, the C. O. S. of New York issued in the fall of 1909 a card, resembling very closely a wedding invitation or an invitation to a formal function. The card was printed upon heavy card paper, in engraver's Roman type, and invited the financial interest of Mr. or Mrs. So and So, in the work of the C. O. S. in helping individual families and in the betterment of social conditions. The name of the person to be appealed to was filled in in a stylish handwriting. The envelopes, of good calendered stock, were also addressed by hand. This appeal brought excellent results. Similar is the membership invitation of the Playground Association of America. In both cases the card has a strong personal appeal, and in a refined way. The Prison Association of New York has just published an eight page leaflet, developing this idea of personal invitation, upon the front page, the name of the recipient of the leaflet being written in as in the case of the C. O. S. appeal. The Prison Association leaflet shows the use of Caslon Old Style type, good spacing, short sentences, indented captions, heavy face for captions, and the use of heavy leads for underscoring—all designed to please the reader and compel his attention.

Columbus, Ohio, seeks to gain the reader's interest in the annual report by a special request for a return letter from the recipient of the report, stating (a) parts of the report that especially interest the recipient; (b) points, not emphasized in the report, which the recipient believes should be covered in next year's report; and (c) a list of persons, not mentioned in the Contributor's list, who would be pleased to receive a copy of said report.

The great complaint of many who give even liberally to charitable enterprises is that the charity society beseeches and even bombards the public for money; and yet, after receiving the contribution, regularly ignores the contributor until the next year or the next appeal. Yet it is by no means impossible to keep in touch with contributors. The annual report furnishes a chance to the A. I. C. P. of New York, which affixes a little printed slip to the front cover, with a word of greeting and also the suggestion that if time is lacking to the member for a careful perusal of the report, he will find the fresh-air facts on page so and so particularly interesting, or the milk committee's report on page this and that, or the itemized statement of the society expenditures on pages so and so.

I might continue long to mention novelties in advertising. Among postals used as appeals or advertisements I ask your attention to one from the Woman's Trade Union League of Chicago, entitled "Sacred Motherhood." It depicts a woman, with a babe at her breast, driving a sewing machine at high speed in a tenement room. The letter "S" of the word "Sacred" is represented by a dollar sign. The Associated Charities of Pittsburg sends out an attractive "Little Mother" postal card, urging membership in the A. C. On the address side of the card is the photograph of a folorn, ragged but pretty little girl leaning sadly against a closed door.

Several novel cards are issued in the style of illuminated gift cards. Of these, perhaps the most striking is the Buffalo Prayer, written by Mr. Frederic Almy, with its plea that "a little more than we can comfortably afford shall be given to those servants of the poor who seek to cheer forlorn homes, to lift up weary lives, to open the path of opportunity, to remove old evils, and to cure the plague of poverty at its very sources." The Big Brother's movement prints a somewhat similar card, saying: "Let him who enters this work remember he is entering the world of simplicity, and having this ever before him, let his life be ever sincere.". The Philadelphia S. O. C. issued on January 1, 1908, an illuminated New Year's Card, entitled: "The Half is More Than the Whole," emphasizing the truth, (too often not appreciated by those to whom an appeal is sent year after year) that if they want to double their riches they should share them.

Time forbids me much further description of advertising methods of charitable organizations. Letters of appeal vary comparatively little in the various societies. The tendency is strong toward short typewritten appeals, in facsimile, the best work being done with the multigraph, less frequently by process. These appeals state the message with simplicity and sincerity, and are practically an introduction to the accompanying leaflet. Generalizing, one may perhaps say that the day of the long written appeal is waning, as is also the day of the closely printed, voluminous annual report, with its uniform type and its paragraphs sometimes as long and unbroken as the proverbial German sentence. Nearer and nearer social advertising approaches the best types of commercial advertising.

May I ask you to read an appeal by Miss Mary E. Richmond, which embodies, it seems to me, a lesson for us all in straightforwardness, sincerity, brevity, and recognition of a relationship between the society and its members far closer than ordinarily is expressed or perhaps felt. What could be more effective than the following introductory words: "This is the last appeal that I shall make for work among the poor in Philadelphia. Before leaving the Society with which I have been associated for nine years, I am most anxious to see the present deficit of $4,500 cleared off, and my successor, Mr. Lee, unhampered at the beginning of his new work."

Before closing I would emphasize for a moment the usefulness of posters in campaigning in social service work. The Boston 1915 poster, advertising the exposition in 1909, is a delight to the eye. It does not express social service, but aeronautics, for the 1915 idea of uplifting an entire city was already thoroughly familiar last November, to a goodly proportion of Bostonians. The poster was in colors and was very effective.

More definitely social in its force was the poster of the Massachusetts Civic League in its vote compaign on the public playground act a year or two ago. Here we have one of Mr. Hine's social photographs enlisted for political purposes. Referendums are dry and unintelligible things to most voters, but a picture of boys pitching pennies in lieu of supervised play was graphic and carried its lesson.

Crossing the intervening states into Maryland, we find the poster evolved by Mr. Steele, chairman of the National Conference's Publicity Committee, and Secretary of the Maryland Tuberculosis Association. The poster is for rural consumption. Can you imagine a tuberculosis meeting advertised as "Something Doing?" It reminds one of the story told of the state wide tuberculosis compaign in New York, where one farmer, going into the hall, met another farmer coming out. "Say, what they doin' here, anyhow?" "I dunno, exactly," said the other, "but I kind er' think they're trying to change consumption to tuberculosis."

Mr. Steele's society has gone into the methods of the "free show" promoters, but qualifies it by the fact that you must catch your audience if you are to prevent them from catching consumption.

The New York C. O. S. is persistently campaigning in a somewhat similar way to reach the citizens of that city.

Summarizing in one paragraph the gist of this task and the accompanying lantern slides, I would say this:—

1. Societies are giving much more attention to the **forms** of their annual reports and leaflets, as well as to the contents.
2. Secretaries of societies should become well acquainted with the more common kinds of modern type.
3. Secretaries should study modern advertising methods.
4. Easy methods of making reports and leaflets readable and attractive in relation to form, are
    1. Variety of type.
    2. Indented captions.
    3. Underlining sentences.
    4. Occasional insertion of pictures, photographs or diagrams.
    5. Marginal captions.
5. The "One-idea" cover of the annual report or leaflet is effective.

6. The attention of the reader must be gained almost immediately.
7. Simplicity, clearness, sympathy, attractiveness are ever to be aimed at.
8. And one further suggestion:—successful publicity means **persistent,** ever-working publicity. Hence the need of frequent new publicity plans and "schemes." Hence this little talk to illustrate a hundred different methods.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ADVERTISING AS APPLIED TO SOCIAL PUBLICITY

BY CLAUDE C. HOPKINS, CHICAGO

I have been told by numerous charity organizations that they find it impossible to raise funds in a large way by letters or by advertising. They regard personal solicitation as the only way to awaken human interest effectively.

On the other hand, I know of several charities which are supported solely by letter. For several years I have written the letters for one of them. I also know of several other instances where large interest was awakened and large sums were collected through the printed word. These charities are no more appealing than the average, but the publicity was handled by men schooled in the art of making printed words effective. They know how to use type to touch the chord that responds, as others do spoken words. It is something of this science which I wish to discuss with you.

Theoretically, advertising should be as well applied to social publicity as it is to business publicity. It is the ideal way for reaching large bodies of people. In print we are able to present our case to thousands or to millions in a single day. We are able to get to the fireside, where we reach men in their most receptive moods.

It is folly to say that mankind can be swayed by speech alone. Our education is accomplished, our opinions are formed, largely through the printed word. Men are stirred to rebellion, to war or to peace largely through what they read. Public opinion, the power that rules us politically and socially, is almost entirely created by type. Oratory is on the decline, because people prefer to have public questions discussed in the magazines and in the newspapers. How can anyone say that this tremendous power cannot be used effectively to any legitimate end. If anyone's experience tells him it cannot be done, we must seek for the fault in the methods.

We used to be told in business that orders from dealers could not be secured through print. Thousands of road men were once maintained to accomplish results which are now accomplished at a tenth of the cost through the mails. Now many a concern with a national trade employs no road men at all. They are distributing their goods through tens of thousands of dealers solely through the use of print. The tendency of the times, wherever I see it, is toward these economical methods of salesmanship. A very large percentage of the business of today is done through the mails and through print.

A few years ago house-to-house canvassers were employed to a much larger extent than now. It was thought that many things—especially books—had to be sold in person. Now the selling arguments are presented through print to millions at once. And the results are incomparably larger than they were in the old-time ways. It would take ten years to do in the old way as much as advertising has done in the past few weeks in selling the Harvard Classics. It would take a lifetime of personal canvassing to create such a trade on a food product as is now created by a single season of advertising.

If such things can be done in commerce and politics, why should they not be done in work that appeals to the instincts of all mankind—that universal instinct which is the foundation of parenthood—the instinct to help the helpless.

In advertising—whether by letter or print—the percentage of returns from the people addressed may not be so great as from personal contact, for there is something in a live man's personality which can never be put into type, and it is harder to refuse a man standing before you than a man at a distance. But the number of people reached is so much greater, and the cost of reaching them so much less, that in net results the right printed matter will invariably have the advantage. There is also the almost insurmountable difficulty of finding people competent to present a cause in person. It is not only a question of ability but one of enthusiasm, for no man can do effective work in a cause in which he lacks heart. When results are accomplished by advertising it is necessary only to find one competent man. He will present the subject to all alike, and in the most effective way. It is out of the question to find enough men to do equal work in person, so, if any influence is to be widely extended, the use of print is essential.

It is my wish to illustrate some of the points that I make by reference to commercial affairs. One reason is that modern commerce is conducted in an able way. Men are apt to do things with enthusiasm when their future is involved. They are likely to exert their utmost ability when their own dollars are at stake, and I think that the difference in results between business and social publicity is largely due to this fact.

In business the written word must pay. Many millions of dollars are every year spent on it, and it must bring back more dollars.

In business there are no excuses. To confess one's inability to sell goods through print counts him out entirely, for goods must be sold at a profit through print if a business is going to compete with its rival in the face of modern conditions.

I remember in the early days of the carpet sweeper, when few dealers had any considerable sale for them, that I accepted the task of selling to those dealers by mail. I was told by all of the road men that I undertook an impossible task. They assured me that if I went on the road for a week, and measured up the difficulty of selling in person, I would be completely discouraged.

I knew that if I attempted merely to talk carpet sweeper I should quickly prove them right. Even though I aroused a dealer's desire for them, he might delay action, for one reason or another, until he forgot what I said. In written salesmanship, as in personal salesmanship, it is essential to get immediate action. So I had a lot of sweepers made up in twelve rich woods. Each sweeper in a dozen was made in a different wood, and the sweepers together formed a very attractive exhibit in forestry. Thus I was bound to sell a dozen when I secured any order at all.

To make this assortment important, I told every dealer that he could not obtain it unless he signed an agreement—which I enclosed—to exhibit the sweepers for 30 days in his windows. Had I offered the sweepers without such a requirement they would have lost most of their interest, for human nature is such that we do not appreciate that which is offered free. We are apt to take things at the valuation of the man who presents them to us. To get immediate action I told the dealer that never again would these sweepers be made up in these twelve rich woods, the stock was limited, and when it was gone the offer was ended forever. That was another effect in psychology. We all like to get what others can't get. There is a great attraction in limited editions.

Then I had the dealer where he was offered what all dealers could not get. I had him obliged to do something himself which gave value to what I offered, and I had him in a position requiring immediate action. The result was that 5,600 dealers accepted the offer which I made them by letter, and a large percentage of them were dealers to whom our salesmen had never sold. From that time on, by varied schemes of this nature, I sold more carpet sweepers by letter than fourteen salesmen on the road combined were able to sell in person, and I did it at trifling expense.

One can imagine how different the results would have been had I not brought to bear all the effects of psychology. By any usual means of soliciting I could not have expected enough returns to pay one-half of my postage.

But all methods are useless unless they are backed by enthusiasm. That which touches the heart must always come from the heart. Like begets like. A man who attempts to awaken human interest in a subject in which he is not enthused is bound to fail utterly no matter how great is his genius.

The successful solicitor believes in his subject, and he makes others feel his enthusiasm. It is this alone which arouses others to action. A man who lives and breathes his subject will have his way in a large percentage of cases.

But many a man who shows this spirit in person will utterly fail to convey it in type. Ask him to put his arguments in a letter and he will omit every trace of enthusiasm. He will become formal and studied. He will employ a manner and tone which, if he employed them in person, would set his hearer laughing. He knows himself that if he stood face to face with the person addressed he would never expect to arouse any interest through the methods he employs by letter. The result is, of course, that the letter doesn't succeed.

It is this way with men in general. They are not properly schooled in the art of written expression. A man in correspondence is a very different man from the same man in conversation. He leaves a different impression and has a different effect.

That is one reason why the average man cannot get results by letter. He is not himself. All his enthusiasm is buried in formality. He is like a man who is using a language with which he is little familiar. In the struggle with an unfamiliar way of expression he loses sight of his object. His words, if spoken, would have as little effect as they have in type.

There are actors whose spoken words bring tears to the eyes. There are authors whose written words have an equal effect. But if either attempted the other's method he would probably be ineffective.

So there are men who in person find it easy to win converts to a cause, but who cannot arouse interest by letter. There are others whose written words bring people their way, but who may utterly fail to win people in person.

Every man who can talk isn't a competent salesman-in-person. Nor is every man who can write a competent salesman-in-print. The results from either method will depend entirely on the man who employs them.

In business in these days men employ experts in every line of effort. A man who invents a device will employ an attorney to defend his rights in event of a suit for infringement, and he will employ a competent salesman-in-print if he wishes to sell it by advertising. Perhaps this is one reason why we accomplish in business that which is rarely accomplished in social affairs.

I receive a great many letters soliciting help for some charity. Most of them are stilted, cold and unnatural—evidently written by men unaccustomed to the effective use of printed words. They come from men who, in all probability, have the cause deeply at heart. If I met them in person I have no doubt that they would arouse an equal interest in me, but the letter utterly fails of this purpose. There is no human interest in it. It conveys to me nothing of what the writer must feel. All the influence it has on me is to impress me again with the absolute futility of soliciting money in such a half-hearted, incompetent way.

The object of all advertising is to touch the chord that responds. No matter how brilliant the work that we do, it is useless expense if it fails to do that. We must not forget the human element. We must not confine ourselves to cold logic and facts.

Before I attempt to apply this principle to social publicity I would like to illustrate it further by business experiences, for the soliciting of business and the soliciting of charity are not essentially different. The same principles apply.

A man found himself in New York one day with only a five-dollar bill in his pocket. He had to have work, and he set out to find it by advertising in the want columns. His ad ran something like this:

> Wanted: Any sort of work by a man,
> age 31, honest, good reference.

There were seven hundred similar ads in the want columns and this ad brought no reply. The next day he tried again—no reply. The third day he had 60 cents left, if he published another ad he would need to go without breakfast. If he failed he would have no place to sleep. He was desperate, and this was what he wrote:

> Is there any work on God's green earth for
> an able man who must have it?

And he set the ad in pica type. There were seven hundred ads the next day in those want columns, but only one like this.

Here was the one ad which made a man feel like giving its writer employment. It brought him the choice of some sixty odd jobs.

One June a certain clothing concern found itself in a hole, the spring had been backward, their stocks were heavy, their bills were long overdue, they were on the verge of bankruptcy. In this emergency they called on an able ad-writer, and he advised them to tell people the truth. "Tell them that you are bankrupt and that you must raise the money. I know no other way to secure quick enough action." The firm refused this method. It would be fatal, they said, to reveal their condition. It would bring every creditor down to them. So they advertised their sale in the old pusillanimous way. 'Great June sale of clothing. Prices cut 40 per cent." It was the old cry of "wolf" and the people did not respond to it.

Then they appealed again to this writer and told him to go ahead. The next day their advertisement read something like this: "We are on the verge of bankruptcy. We owe $641,912.42 of which $562,822.11 is overdue. These are our creditors, and these the amounts that we owe them. These are the prices we make on our clothing to lose part instead of all. If you come in crowds tomorrow our creditors will wait. If you don't, they will close our doors before night. For this ad for the first time will tell them our exact condition."

The crowds did come and the firm was saved.

There are emergencies which inspire even the most ignorant to desperately effective action. Under that stress, words are spoken which have magical effect, or letters are written which bring what is wanted—sympathy or help.

A lady who is interested in organized charity has frequently asked me for contributions. What I have given has been given from courtesy. She had never awakened in me any interest in the work to which she was devoted. But one day she came to me direct from a visit to a particularly pitiful case, and, under the stress of her fresh, active sympathy, she told me the facts in a simple but eloquent way. The chord that responded was touched. There were several men around me who heard the story, and every man instantly offered a liberal donation, and we all remarked, after the lady was gone, how large a percentage of such appeals fall down for the lack of that human interest.

In business, when we undertake an advertising campaign, we go to the farthest extremes to gain the inspiration and the facts which will make our work effective. Advertising men will frequently make a house-to-house canvas, in order to learn how to sell through print by actually selling in person, in this way they learn what arguments have the most telling effect, and in this way they learn objections which must be overcome.

The widest investigations are made to learn the lines which are most likely to lead people to buy. In a recent campaign which I have in mind, these investigations consumed two months and employed 130 men. Without any such effort to get at the facts, and to measure up the easiest way to the purse, how can we expect that social publicity is going to compete with commercial publicity?

The capable advertising man will advertise nothing which fails to arouse his enthusiasm. For myself, it is my almost invariable rule to advertise nothing which I have not first sold to myself. Until I can create in myself the impulse to buy it is useless to attempt to create it in others.

A hundred efforts fail for lack of enthusiasm to one which fails for lack of ability. Vitality means more than mentality. Inspired mediocrity will always accomplish more than uninspired capacity.

In a certain charity with which I am somewhat connected we take young boys from the Juvenile Court and place them on a farm. They live there in cottages—ten boys in a cottage—under a matron's care, they are placed under home influence and educated. Most of these boys have never before known a Christian home. They have known nothing whatever of proper maternal care. There we use the influences which tame most of mankind to turn these incorrigible boys into good citizens.

For years we have supported there over fifty boys at an annual cost of $250.00 per boy. Lately we have increased the capacity, by raising $50,000, to an even one hundred boys. We have done all this without employing a single solicitor. Outside the activity of the directors, all the needed funds have for years been raised solely by circular letter. We have found here, as others have found, that ordinary soliciting letters may as well not be written. But we have also found that every bright but unfortunate boy supplies a great deal of interest-awakening material if we only know how to present it.

To make each contributor a part of this organization we have created a system of membership. A life membership in the association sells for $250. A full membership costs $25 per year, an associate membership $10 per year. By this we accomplish two purposes. Each contributor feels that he gives to a cause in which he is a personal factor, he is not merely aiding another's philanthropy, he is carrying out one of his own, there is a great deal in this view. By this means we also gain an annual contribution in the shape of dues. One is much more apt to continue a membership than he is to renew a subscription.

Another method which we have employed, and which is very effective, is this: We print on a card the picture of a particular boy. On the back of the card we give the boy's name, his age, his history, and such other facts as had led the directors to help to save that boy. This card is enclosed with our letter. Thus, when we make our appeal, the unfortunate boy stands there to make it real. Then we say in substance this: "Here is the boy and this is his history. What are we going to do? If we cannot support him we must send him back to the street, or send him to some institution. If we are to keep him and teach him and make him like boys of our own, the cost will be $250 per year. Are we to give him a chance or to turn him away? That is the question which we wish to put up to you."

If the person addressed gives $250 per year, this boy becomes his boy. We report to him quarterly about the boy's progress, we thus get him to share our interest. Or he may assume half of the boy's support, or a quarter, in any case he receives our reports, and continues a personal and active interest in that particular boy. This is another way in which we secure continuing contributions.

There is more that appeals to one in one real live boy than in any association that was ever incorporated; it is an easy matter to decline the formal invitation of a society to contribute to its support; it is a far different matter to turn down a live boy whose future may be at stake on your decision.

As these boys go out into fields of usefulness we keep all of our possible friends informed. Here is a boy who came to us an incorrigible—a boy of the street who never had a chance; last year he was president of his class at a certain university. Here is another boy who came to us as a thief; we saved him from a prison school; all that he needed was a simple chance, such as your boys have; last week he went back to the city to take a position we had secured for him in a bank.

There is always a human interest in the stories we tell. There is always a boy who has become a good citizen, or a boy who ought to be. We never talk of the association—of a thing cold or impersonal. We write of the boys who become like our own boys when we give them a proper environment.

I have for years written all of the letters which have brought support to this work. And, though my whole business is soliciting through print, I never attempt to write one of these letters without renewing my personal touch with the work. Either I go out to the farm to arouse my enthusiasm, or I talk with men who are wholly wrapped up in the work. I come to feel that a man is wronging these boys if he refuses to help them through. When I feel that myself it is not very hard to make other men feel it.

About two years ago Mr. Herbert Kaufman wrote a series of advertisements for the Chicago Tribune to raise money for the Y. M. C. A. They appealed to the men who had come as boys to the city, and who still retain a vivid recollection of the loneliness that assaults the boy; they reminded these men that other boys were still coming, other boys are just as lonely. And then it told what the Y. M. C. A. meant to such boys as those. We rarely find a better example of the right sort of human appeal.

I am told that these advertisements were very successful, and that they have been copied in a great many cities with equally good effects. If this is so, they form a study in social publicity which every organization should have.

The object of all these remarks is to convey to you these ideas: The printed word is the most powerful factor in the business world of today. It is the most powerful factor in our social world and in our political world. It can be and should be an equal factor in all that pertains to the good of mankind.

But the printed word, like the spoken word, must come from the heart if it is to accomplish its mission. It must bear a human interest. It must be written by men who really feel what they say. And it must be written by men who are properly schooled in expressing themselves in print. The words that we use do not matter. It is the spirit back of the words that counts.

Social publicity has many advantages over any business publicity. The purpose is always unselfish. The object is one which has proved its power to appeal to human minds. When social publicity fails of effect, one may be sure that something is lacking, and that something is a quality which no business man, seeking to sell a breakfast food, would tolerate. It is for us to bring social publicity up to a business plane.

DISCUSSION.

MR. FRANK TUCKER, of New York.—I want to express my very great appreciation of the work that has been done by this Committee. It would be well for everyone here to bring to the attention of any society with which he may be connected the importance of publicity with regard to its finances and its work in the community. Some ten years ago I began to lecture on this subject of publicity in the School of Philanthropy in New York and the progress that has been made in sound publicity work as shown by Mr. Lewis's paper and the accompanying illustrations is most gratifying.

Mr. Hopkins' paper is full of valuable suggestions. At the same time it is liable to be interpreted too literally. There is a very large difference between publicity in social activity and publicity for the sale of merchandise. In the first place, we must realize that we are not selling something; we are performing a function for a community and the first essential of sound publicity work is to teach the community the unsound conditions that exist within itself. The second step is to teach the community its responsibility to eradicate those conditions. The third step is to demonstrate your own efficiency in performing that work for the benefit of those affected. The final principle you must follow, as said at the close of Mr. Lewis's paper, is to keep everlastingly at it, for however constant you may be in bringing the conditions that exist before the community, there will be many people who will not realize them.

MR. CHARLES F. WELLER, of Pittsburgh.—This meeting has been one to discuss tools and the methods of using them in a very definite fashion. However, I prefer another name to the word "Publicity". Publicity suggests newspaper articles or printed matter. I think the title "Community Education" would express the situation better. When I think of what we have to face in our communities, it carries with it a breath of the inspiration we need. We must have a campaign of Community Education, which sinks its roots deep and provides for a large future. It is also necessary that we secure publicity through the newspaper. Not only printed matter, however, but ,the organization of community education more as a school, would bring the right publicity.

The best thing in the way of Community Education that we did in Pittsburgh was to organize a conference on the care of dependent children. In the department stores every man and woman got a card showing some three sessions a day for three days and a luncheon session thrown in. We spent $800.00 on the conference and if anyone wants a new method of Community Education, try that. I don't think we have spoken enough of the social value of pink teas, or eating together. Mr. Taylor called a little luncheon party in the Duquoin Club, in which there was enough enthusiasm engendered to send out ten solicitors who raised considerable money in twenty-four hours. We are only just beginning on our problem of Community Education.

MR. J. W. MAGRUDER, of Baltimore.—It goes without saying that none of us have any objection to publicity, but we do feel that there is something much deeper than mere publicity; that unless the publicity itself rests upon the solid foundation of an educational propaganda, we are going to fall short. I feel modest in speaking of this subject myself, having fallen far short of my own ideals in respect to popular education. The ideals of charity organization societies should be observed not merely by paid workers and a few volunteers, who represent only a small part of the community, but by all the people so that they will conform to them. There should be a publicity department; but it should stand for publicity and more. It should be an extension department like that of a university. Its function should be to promote among the people the ideals and methods of the charity organization society. We should gain two ends; first, enlisting the people in the things in which we ourselves are interested; and, secondly, a body of public sentiment in favor of the work with which we are identified. If that is done, there will be no difficulty about contributions.

MR. CHARLES ISBELL TAYLOR, of St. Louis.—It has been a long time since people began to advertise, but a short time since they began to study advertising carefully. Students of advertising are now just fully awake to the fact that truthful advertising is the only sort that brings genuine success. With this thought in mind social workers ought not to be afraid of advertising as a factor in their work. In order to get his wares before the people the manufacturer must tell the people what he has to offer and why it ought to be used. He must advertise. From the standpoint of the advertising man you have a commodity for sale. This commodity is social service of some form. You need funds from time to time. You need the sympathy and intelligent co-operation of the public. Yours is a problem of education. Let the public know what you seek to do—what is the line of your future development. Advertise! If you will go to them in the right spirit you will undoubtedly find the newspapers ready to co-operate in every way in their power. You can get for nothing what we advertising men pay real money for. For example, we find it worth while to buy reading notices in the newspapers—paying for them as much as 50 cents and $1.00 a line in the big city papers. Our advertising matter then appears somewhat in the guise of news. But your appeals to the public are legitimate news and you may have for nothing these reading notices for which we pay many dollars. Then there are the Sunday newspapers. We do not all approve of them—some of the features of the newspapers are possibly very objectionable, but the Sunday newspapers are here and they can be made to work to the good of the public if you will guide them right. A full page advertisement in a metropolitan Sunday newspaper costs from $250.00 to $500.00. You may have page after page of feature articles, properly censored by your own committee, absolutely without cost. These articles become powerful sources of education and the effort required to secure them will be small indeed compared to the amount of energy that you expend in other ways, but to the same end. In the matter of raising funds it costs the advertising manufacturer anywhere from 5 per cent to 25 per cent or more to sell his wares and get money. With you at the outside the cost could never come above a small fraction of 1 per cent—this representing the actual time of somebody getting your material together for the newspapers. If you properly censor the matter that appears with your sanction it certainly could do no harm and might do a great deal of good. You are in a position to utilize one of the most important factors of modern business—turning it to social ends. It is worth your while to consider how you may best secure the benefits which can come from educational advertising.

MISS HATTIE B. GOODING, St. Louis.—I have often wished that I could make philanthropic workers who want newspaper work done feel and understand that newspaper reporters are human beings. Newspaper reporters are treated as intruders, are not recognized as helpers, but treated as thought they were prying into things. Very often people say "Why should we tell reporters?" They want to help you, they go to you because their paper wants to help you. Not very long ago there was a big dinner given here to start a public campaign. The publicity part was in my hands. After talking with them for a little while before dinner, I asked "Where is the table for the newspaper reporters?" They replied that they did not think of asking them to the dinner. Yet the reporters were to inform the public of the money needed. It is true reporters have to put things in a certain way, as their papers want it (but they are not trying to misrepresent people). What they want is a fair showing and they want to give the public a fair showing. If they are given the proper information it is used not only for their own benefit but for the benefit of the public. The very thing the newspaper wants is a special personal interest, not dull reports and orders to publish something which they think will help no one. If people realized that they could talk to hundreds and thousands of people in the newspapers as if they were personally talking to them it would be greatly to the benefit of every civic and charitable organization.

MR. TUCKER.—The great daily of the future will be the one edited from the social point of view. The great newspaper man of the future is the one who will see through the news happenings to the social causes and won't be interested in the sensational details of the happening. The staffs of the great newspapers of the future will be made up of men who will have taken a course in one of the schools of philanthropy of the country.

Mr. Taylor spoke about education publicity and how the columns of newspapers are open to us. He evidently does not know, as perhaps many of the people in this room do not know, that just such a press agency has been maintained for several years by the Survey, which has given millions of people many columns of information on social conditions. If I could show you here the scrap books containing reprints of those articles from papers in the United States, I am sure you would be surprised at the amount of space which the newspapers have given to the subjects presented at this Conference.

MR. EUGENE T. LIES, Minneapolis, Minn.—In Minneapolis there was one paper that did not do the best kind of work in regard to giving publicity to charitable organization news items. The effort was made to influence the key man on that paper to take a wider, better and saner view of charity work, and after a while it succeeded most admirably. That city editor now makes a point of spending part of his time at meetings of various organizations in the city and coming into contact with their officials. He wants to get the spirit of the people in the work, an idea of what they are trying to do, in what direction they are trying to move. As a result of his new view he has been asked to speak before these organizations and to give them an idea of what the newspapers want on their side. He has moreover issued a bulletin to the reporters that before they publish any so-called human interest stories involving poverty they should be submitted to the Associated Charities for approval. That has been lived up to faithfully. This Minneapolis paper has been remarkably effective with the publicity it gives to the social welfare organizations in that city; and lo and behold! the other papers are now doing the same thing to understand and interpret these public movements. Newspaper men are human, but you have got to get at them right, convince them that all you want is fair play for your organization and that you believe in team work.

Reports From States

The reports this year consist of answers to questions upon the subjects following:

A. New legislation *since last year's report on matters of Charities and Correction, and other social questions bearing upon these.

B. New results of legislation previously reported.

C. New philanthropic agencies.

D. Notable new developments in public or non-public institutions and agencies.

E. Social needs which are apparent but neglected that may be met either by legislation or voluntary associations.

F. The social outlook.

G. State Conferences of Charities.

Where no report is made under any of these headings the implication is that nothing new has developed in the year.

In preparing the Reports from States the editor has incorporated with the written reports from the Corresponding Secretaries, the verbal reports made at the first general session of the Conference, May, 20th, 1910.

REPORTS CONCERNING LAW BREAKERS.

The Committee on Law Breakers, presented as an appendix an exhaustive report on correctional affairs, by States. With this statement has been incorporated all that was reported by the Corresponding Secretaries on the same subjects, avoiding duplication, and the whole appendix is given as a part of the Reports from States under the heading of "New Legislation on Prisons, Courts, Probation and Changes in Practice."

ALABAMA.

Maurice Willows, Birmingham, Corresponding Secretary.

We are making progress in the line of social betterment. During the last year there have been decided improvements in our juvenile court laws, which have been amended and made more effective. The restriction of the sale of intoxicating beverages has brought about a decided gain. Whatever may be said pro or con of State-wide prohi-

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*See paragraph "Reports Concerning Law Breakers."

bition, we find conditions much better because of this law. There is in process of establishment an industrial school for girls. We have an establishment started in Birmingham for dependent girls. We have a State institution for dependent boys which is on the congregate plan, but we expect an increase in our appropriation and will improve it.

New Private Philanthropic Agencies.

I. Complete Juvenile Court System, with detention home facilities. Private organization with County and City appropriation in Birmingham.

II. "Children's Aid Society" formed in Birmingham, Ala., to add to the work of the Boys' Club. Departments—working together: (a) Boys' Club, (for newsboys and street boys); (b) Childrens' Aid, (home finding and placing); (c) Juvenile Court, (probation officers for county and city, paid by half public and half private funds; (d) Children's Bureau, (information and records of children in the different institutions of city and county).

III. "Associated Charities" organized in Mobile, Ala.

IV. "Associated Charities" formed in Birmingham, Ala.

V. Playground Association, for Birmingham, Ala.

VI. Odd Fellows "Widows' and Orphans Home," established in Cullman, Ala.

Social Needs

I. The abolition of the fee system in jails, etc. II. The abolition of the convict lease systems for State and County convicts. III. The separation of dependents and delinquents in our State institutions. IV. A State institution for feeble-minded and defectives. V. An adequate system of factory inspection. VI. A compulsory education law. VII. A parental responsibility law. VIII. A State Board or some system of supervision of charitable institutions. IX. An adult probation law. X. An institution for care and treatment of chronic inebriates and drug fiends.

The Social Outlook.

Outlook bright for future, especially as to items I, III and IV above. Public opinion being awakened along these lines.

The legislature of 1911 will give us legislation working toward better things.

At our County and State primaries held during spring, almost all the candidates expressed themselves against the fee system.

ARKANSAS.

J. H. Reynolds, Fayetteville, Corresponding Secretary.

We have many charitable institutions doing more or less good. We have had for many years a statute providing for punishment for cruelty to animals. The last session of the legislature made it include children, by a special dispensation of grace. We have endeavored to pass a juvenile court law and failed, but we are ready to start in again at the beginning of next year, and we have every reason to believe it will go through. In one or two places we have arrangements for a juvenile court, but very little has been done along that line. We are aroused toward the need of work, and ask you to come over and help us.

New Legislation Relating to Charities, Correction or Social Advance.

N. B.—Legislation on correctional matters appears in the report presented as an appendix to the committee report on law breakers in this and in other States. (See page 624.)

No law except that a tuberculosis hospital was provided for in 1909. This institution has been located near Booneville on a mountain some 3,000 feet high. The board has been appointed and buildings will be erected soon.

New Results of Legislation.

The reform school provided for three years ago is doing good work and the last legislature continued appropriation for it.

Social Needs.

Juvenile courts. Compulsory education. Child labor law.

The Social Outlook.

No marked developments either in institutions or in public opinion.

CALIFORNIA.

W. Almont Gates, San Francisco, Corresponding Secretary.

California has nothing great to report. We are not engaged out there in revolution, but rather in evolution. Hospitals for the insane are increasing. Every hospital is erecting a reception and treatment department. As soon as they are done, hydro and electro therapy will be introduced. One of our hospitals was absolutely wrecked two years ago in a blaze. A thousand patients were set on the field, and they have been living in shacks. Except for the lives that were lost, the loss by fire was a gain, for in place of the old building is now one of the finest hospital plants in the State.

We have passed a juvenile court law that is probably as far advanced as any in the Union. We have organized juvenile courts in every county, and we have a State Juvenile Court Association which includes the judges, the probation officers, etc. We have a State Playground Association, and are agitating for playgrounds in every city and village. As to the care of dependent children, we have the old orphan asylum plan, but the number is constantly decreasing and the number of those who are placed there temporarily—half orphans, while mother or father gets established again—is increasing. The average stay in the orphan asylum is less than three years. But the number of dependent children aided in the care of their mothers at home is increasing. Instead of taking the children away from the mother on account of poverty we aid the mother to keep her family together.

New Private Philanthropic Agencies.

The Playground Association of California.

California Juvenile Court and Adult Probation Association. This association is organized to bring the juvenile court judges and probation officers into closer touch, and advance the work for child saving.

New Developments.

Each of the five State hospitals for insane has been constructing separate cottages, or receiving buildings, for receiving and treating the acute insane. These buildings are all equipped for the best work in hydro and electro therapy.

The home for the feeble-minded has had built and is now occupying two separate isolated cottages for epileptics, of about fifty inmates each, one for males and one for females.

Social Needs.

This State needs more systematic and careful work in the care of the dependent child. There is now considerable agitation for more placing-out work and for state supervision of orphan asylums; also that there shall be a judicial determination of all cases of child dependency.

The Social Outlook.

A few years ago we were in the worst condition of any State in the Union. I think I am safe in saying that by the simple process of advancement and development we are getting on the plane where we will be among the best States.

COLORADO.

William Thomas, Denver, Corresponding Secretary.

The principal social advancement in our State has been the establishment of the Colorado Association for the Prevention and Cure of Tuberculosis. An active campaign has been carried on all over the State, with exhibits in the principal cities. The association has secured the observance of Tubercular Sunday in 339 pulpits. One of the greatest problems we have is the tuberculous indigent, who has his legal residence in another State but who comes to us and whose indigence is a great drain upon our well-disposed citizens, and whose disease is a menace to the health of our State. Colorado Springs has raised $30,000 for the establishment of a free tubercular sanitarium. Another advancement is the inauguration of conferences in our State Board of Charities. The first was held in May, last year, and the subject was civil service. At the next meeing we considered the defective and delinquent child, and at the last meeting we considered the distribution of funds and cases for charity. These conferences are well attended by our thoughtful people, and we feel that they will be productive of much lasting good.

New Results of Legislation.

The State home and training school for mental defectives mentioned in the last report has not yet been constructed. However, the State has donated about 300 acres of land for its site. This school will be located within ten miles of Denver, Colorado, the site being upon the northern branch of the Cedar Creek valley, commanding a magnificent view of the Rocky Mountains and surrounding country, which is highly cultivated and developed. The cottage system of buildings will be adopted.

New Philanthropic Agencies.

The Colorado State Association for the Prevention and Control of Tuberculosis.

Social Needs.

Supervision of lying-in and maternity hospitals, homes or boarding houses for children is needed. There should be legislation requiring reports to be filed with the State Board of Charities and Correction in all matters concerning the transfer of children. And also reports to be filed by all persons keeping or maintaining private homes for orphans or other children.

The Social Outlook.

The outlook for a continued and systematic betterment of social conditions generally is good, the work being well and energetically carried forward. As all the world knows, women are especially active in such matters, therefor in this State, by reason of equal suffrage, the public has a better understanding of existing conditions, and is in greater sympathy with all advanced movements.

CONNECTICUT.

Charles P. Kellogg, Waterbury, Corresponding Secretary.

I am glad to have a report of unusual progress, made during last year. We have a hospital for epileptics and an appropriation of $25,000 has been made to start the work. We are making one of the greatest fights in the Union against tuberculosis. A number of local associations have been formed and united.

New Legislation Relating to Charities, Correction or Social Advance.

A colony for epileptics was established and $25,000 appropriated for land and buildings. Land not yet purchased.

The superintendent of a hospital for the insane may parole a patient for a period not exceeding six months, and during this period he may be returned or recalled at any time.

When any person who has been acquitted of crime on the ground of insanity and has completed his specific term in a hospital for the insane, is still suffering from insanity, the court that committed him shall order his further confinement until he recovers.

A State Board of three paid directors was appointed to establish in each County a County home for tuberculosis patients, three of the homes to be erected as soon as possible. Patients who are unable to pay the cost of support shall be paid for by the town, city, or State. One hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars was appropriated for the purpose of the act, and the first three homes will be opened this summer, with accommodations for not less than 300 patients.

An act provides that every physician shall report to the health officer of the city or town within twenty-four hours every case of tuberculosis that shall come under his care. The health officer shall keep records of all such cases which shall be open only to the health authorities of the State, city or town. All apartments occupied by a tuberculosis patient, when vacated, must be disinfected, cleansed and renovated.

An act provides that the operation of vasectomy may be performed upon such inmates of the State prison and of the State hospitals for the insane as it shall be determined by a board of three competent surgeons would be likely to produce children with an inherited tendency to crime, insanity, feeble-mindedness, idiocy or imbecility. So far as known, no such operation has yet been performed under this law.

An act provides that no woman and no minor under sixteen years of age shall be employed in any manufacturing, mechanical or mercantile establishment more than fifty-eight hours in any calendar week, except that where they are employed for only fifty-five hours a week during June, July and August, they may be employed for sixty hours a week during the remainder of the year; also where seven holidays with pay are given during the year they may be employed until 10 p. m. from the 17th to the 25th day of December. The factory inspector shall report all violations of the law and every violation shall be punishable by a fine of $20.00.

No certificate of age to work shall be given to any child under sixteen years of age unless such child is able to read and write in the English language and to do arithmetic up to and including fractions, except to foreign-born children over fourteen years if they have an equivalent education in their language.

The State Board of Education is authorized to establish two free public day and evening schools for instruction in the arts and practices of trades for pupils of fourteen years of age and over. Fifty thousand dollars annually is appropriated for the purpose. Arrangements may be made with manufacturing and mechanical establishments for the pupils to obtain half-time practice.

New Results of Legislation.

No new institutions or methods put into operation since the last report, except a public hospital in the city of Derby, which was opened December 6, 1909.

St. John's Industrial School for Boys, not before reported, has been in operation about two years and is situated at Deep River. It is an excellent school under the ownership of the Roman Catholic diocese, and is managed by a board of trustees. It has accommodations for nearly 100 boys and the pupils are supported there by relatives, churches, etc., and not by the State or the towns. Its purpose is one of industrial training for boys who do not do well at home, but they are not committed to the school for definite offenses.

New Private Philanthropic Agencies.

Not before reported but organized about two years ago is the Juvenile Commission of the City of Hartford, a board whose members are appointed partly by the mayor and partly from private associations, and whose duty is to study child-life in the city and make recommendations for needed improvements.

Two new Associated Charities Societies have been formed since the last report, one in Waterbury, which began active work October 1, 1909, under the direction of H. L. Udell, manager, and the other in Stamford, organized early in 1910.

A second conference on the training of children for trades will be held in New Haven on April 27th, under the auspices of the Consumers' League of Connecticut.

New Developments.

At the New Haven County Temporary Home for Dependent and Neglected Children, the large, new congregate building, which was in process of construction at the time of the last report, was completed and occupied in October, 1909. The use of this new building marks a change in the system of caring for the children, for with the former small building about fifty children only were housed in the home proper, and the remaining 150 of those supported by the home were boarded in private families. In the new building two hundred are accommodated in four congregate dormitories of fifty children each. The supposed advantage of the new plan is open to doubt.

The General Assembly of 1909 made an appropriation of $254,830 to the State hospital for the insane at Norwich, which will provide a substantial increase in the accommodations of this growing institution which was opened in 1904.

An appropriation of $50,000 was made to the Connecticut Institute for the Blind for the purchase of land and the erection of a building for the use of the school department of the institute.

An appropriation of $75,000 was made for the construction of a nurses' home building at the hospital for the insane at Middletown.

Social Needs.

The indeterminate sentence law should be amended so as to compel a more liberal application of its provisions by the courts than is now the case.

A reformatory for women is needed.

All of the county jails should be put under the unified control of a State Board of Prison Commissioners, together with the State prison and State reformatory.

Private homes should be established for the care of destitute men who are above the almshouse class.

More active placing out of children in family homes from the county temporary homes for dependent and neglected children should be arranged.

More playgrounds for children should be provided in the cities and larger towns.

The Social Outlook.

The social outlook in Connecticut gives promise of increased public interest in matters relating to charities, correction, and the general social welfare. Especial interest is being shown in the warfare against tuberculosis, as evidenced in the formation of the State commission, the establishment of the County Sanitaria, and the active work of several local anti-tuberculosis societies. The new State reformatory and the proposed colony for epileptics are also proof of progressive action along these lines. An awakening of public opinion in matters of local philanthropy is seen in the formation of the Associated Charities in Waterbury and Stamford and in a recent meeting held to consider the subject in Torrington.

The first State Conference of Charities and Correction also brought out considerable interest in the subjects under discussion.

Public interest is not as active, however, as it might be in matters relating to the care of dependent children, public poor-relief, etc.

DELAWARE.

Mrs. A. D. Warner, Wilmington, Corresponding Secretary.

The greatest advance in Delaware has been against the white plague. We have a farm of sixty acres on which have been constructed buildings that will accommodate free patients. The Catholic organizations are erecting a building that will accommodate twenty, and the rest of the institutions seem to be progressive. We still have the whipping-post, I am sorry to say, but it is effectual.

New Results of Legislation.

No institutions by legislation, but one through city appropriation and private contributions, the Physicians' and Surgeons' Hospital, at Wilmington.

New Private Philanthropic Agencies.

Compulsory education laws are enforced and truancy laws are becoming more effective through the police officers, who have been empowered to investigate complaints from their respective districts.

Peoples Settlement will soon begin a $50,000 building. Have purchased a large lot and have space for playground. The kindergarten has doubled and demands for boys' clubs increase.

The West End Reading Room is an active social center. Open all the year. Are now planning a manual training department. Kindergarten open ten months and large yard for play.

The third playground was opened last summer, supported by the city. Known as the "Municipal Playground." The other two are supported by private citizens. A new bath house was opened last summer, making three for the public use of men, women and children.

Anti-Tuberculosis Society has erected model sanatorium buildings on a fine location at Marshallton, Del., called Hope Farm. Has capacity for forty patients and four new wards are in construction. The Anti-Tuberculosis Dispensary is in the Associated Charities' building and is now under the care of the Delaware State Commission.

The Consumers' League is pursuing active work. Their scholarship committee co-operates with the compulsory education committee, and this relieves the hardships in the family which the enforcement of the law might bring. The league members are studying the laws affecting wage-earning women and also child labor laws as relating to street trades and canning. They are enlarging the "white list" of the local merchants and investigating sanitary conditions. The cultivation of vacant lots is receiving their earnest attention and promises good results.

New Developments.

The Delaware State Tuberculosis Commission has now in charge the free dispensary at 602 West Street, Associated Charities' building, which has been remodelled and improved in modern sanitary conditions. A second nurse has been added and the work has increased fifty per cent the last year. Eight new dispensaries have been opened, all doing splendid work in the campaign against the great "white plague."

The boards of health, both city and state, are co-operating and all cases receive thorough care and attention.

Under the able direction of Dr. A. Robin, the commission is making a study of the housing conditions in the State, particularly in Wilmington, with a view to agitating an interest in housing reform.

Home of Merciful Rest, Wilmington, has just completed a new and modern addition with capacity for eight patients, costing about $5,300. Babies Hospital and Day Nursery has bought adjoining house, accommodating more children and affords room for dispensary and operating. The nursery takes children at 10c per day and has a kindergarten.

Social Needs.

A juvenile court is our most urgent need; also an institution for infectious and contagious diseases, and a temporary shelter for transient women and children. All these subjects are receiving the earnest attention of good citizens and we hope will soon be accomplished facts.

The Social Outlook.

A very marked spirit of progress and advancement throughout the State.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

George S. Wilson, Washington, Corresponding Secretary.

The interesting social work in the District of Columbia has been maintained and strengthened in a very encouraging way during the past year. Under the leadership of our Monday Evening Club of social workers, the social organizations have learned to work together more effectually. We have made some progress in reference to probation and parole, in securing legislation for the care of the feeble minded, for the better care of inebriates, for isolation of cases of tuberculosis who will not under instructions take proper sanitary precautions. And we have strengthened the non-support laws, getting truant fathers to support their children. While we have made progress along all these lines, we have not actually secured legislation in all of them. In several of these matters legislation has passed the senate and is in a favorable state in the house, and some will undoubtedly become law this year. A telegram advises me that an amendment to the non-support bill has been favorably reported by the house committee. During the past year we have been almost continuously engaged in warfare on the loan shark, and I am advised that the bill pending is sure to pass.

New Legislation Relating to Charities, Correction or Social Advance.

Several important measures are pending in Congress, and some of them have made considerable progress and will doubtless become law; but no actual legislation has as yet been enacted this year.

The following are the more important measures now pending:

1. A bill to abolish the Board of Charities and substitute therefor a director of charities to serve under the immediate direction of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia. The alleged purpose of this bill is to centralize authority and responsibility in the executive affairs of the local government. It is not yet known whether the motives back of the measure are good or bad. The bill is now pending before the District committees in the senate and house. Neither committee has yet taken action. The bill as introduced in the house provides also for the abolition of the board of education and the substitution of a director. As introduced in the senate it affects only the Board of Charities.

2. A bill providing for the probation of adults. This bill has passed the senate and has been favorably reported by the house committee on Judiciary. It will probably pass.

3. A bill to regulate the loaning of money in small sums at rates of interest greater than the legal rate of six per cent. The bill is aimed at the so-called "loan shark evil." It provides a flat rate of two per cent per month and prohibits commissions and charges of all kinds. The bill has passed the senate and is pending before the house committee on the District of Columbia.

4. A bill to establish a school for feeble-minded children and appropriating $50,000 for a building. This bill has passed the senate and is pending before the committee on the District of Columbia of the house. The chances for its passage are good.

5. A bill making drunkenness a misdemeanor and providing for an inebriate asylum, to which inebriates and drug habitues may be

committed for a period not to exceed two years. This bill is pending before the committee on the District of Columbia of the house and senate.

6. A bill compelling persons to support their parents in destitute or necessitous circumstances. This bill is pending before the committee on the District of Columbia of the house.

7. A bill to provide for the compulsory isolation of dangerous tuberculosis patients. This bill has been introduced, but not yet considered by either house.

New Results of Legislation.

The child labor law reported as having passed last year has been working with reasonable satisfaction and less friction than might have been expected.

The law for registration of cases of tuberculosis and for free examination of sputum and disinfection of infected premises is working satisfactorily.

New Private Philanthropic Agencies.

A Pasteurizing plant has been installed to furnish milk for infants. The milk will be distributed through stations in various parts of the city. It will be sold to those able to pay and will be distributed free to persons unable to pay on orders by physicians and other social workers to the poor.

New Developments.

The work of the Monday Evening Club, a club for social workers, has been greatly broadened by the introduction of delegate members from various churches and philanthropic and civic organizations. It has had several important meetings during the year dealing with questions of broad social interest, and has organized committees to carry on the work of social betterment. The following committees are actively at work: A committee on the physical welfare of school children; a committee on the loan-shark evil; a committee on church cooperation; and a committee to endeavor to bring about some plan for unity of action on the part of civic and philanthropic forces in the community.

Social Needs.

Better care for poor patients suffering from chronic diseases and for those convalescing from acute ailments.

A prisoners' aid society or other similar organization to help discharged prisoners in their efforts at rehabilitation.

FLORIDA.

Verbal report by a delegate.

We have simply to report beginnings. There are two charity organization societies in the State at the present time, Jacksonville and

Pensacola. The State is woefully lax in all that touches the question of child labor, juvenile courts, or playgrounds. Probably more has been done in the line of tuberculosis than in any other field. There have been two tuberculosis exhibits held in the state, of considerable size, within the past eighteen months, one in Jacksonville and the other in Pensacola. In addition to that there have been County tuberculosis exhibits, I can't say just how many, but I know of six. The last legislature passed a bill which has practically put the loan shark out of business. The Pensacola representative was responsible for that bill. The playground work is being extended in Pensacola.

GEORGIA.

Joseph C. Logan, Atlanta, Corresponding Secretary.

We are still far enough behind to learn from the experience of others. This question of social advance is racial. Prohibition has held its own, and we are proud of so much of it as we have. There has been large interest in the prevention of tuberculosis, evidenced by the provisions for sanatoria in two counties and by the State, and by the formation of three societies providing visiting nurses. The probation law, which permits county commissioners to extend probation, has been adopted in two counties. We have a parole law on the statute books, but no parole system. The city of Atlanta is now proposing to make a study of its police court records to see what is the effect of the present system of punishment in the police court upon men, women and their families. The big thing about this proposition is that the city proposes to make this study to find out the efficiency of its system just as it would the accuracy of its books. During the last year a State asylum was investigated and it was brought before the minds of the people of the State that separate provision should be made for epileptics and the tubercular. Two orthodox charity organization societies have been added to the list, giving us five. On the whole, the minority in Georgia, which is the safeguard of its democracy, is being rapidly augmented by power and numbers.

IDAHO.

J. T. Humphries, St. Anthony, Corresponding Secretary.

New Legislation Relating to Charities, Correction or Social Advance.

House bill No. 194, passed by the legislature and approved March 16, 1909, establishing a State school for the education of the deaf and blind children of the state to be called "State School for the Deaf and the Blind." The Governor of the State of Idaho and the State Board of Education were empowered to select and purchase a suitable site, also to have all buildings erected and equipped at a cost to the State not to exceed $25,000. The board also has the direction, management and control of said school; hires the superintendent, instructors and employees and fixes their salaries. All children between the ages of six and twenty-one who are too deaf and blind to be educated in our public schools shall be deemed deaf and blind for the purposes of this act. It shall be the duty of the Board of Education to ascertain the number of deaf and blind persons in the State, and as soon as practicable thereafter take the necessary steps for their education as provided for in this act.

A law was passed providing for the teaching of physiology and hygiene, including especial reference to alcoholic drinks, stimulants, narcotics, and their effect on the human system, in the common schools of the state, educational institutions receiving aid or support from the state, in teachers' institutes, teachers' classes, and in state reformatories; the protection of orphans, homeless, or abused and neglected children; an act to provide for the care and education of destitute and abandoned children and to aid in finding homes for such children; an act providing a compulsory education law for all children between the ages of eight and eighteen; an act to regulate, control, restrict, and prohibit the sale and handling of intoxicating liquors, to provide for special elections to vote on the question whether the sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage should be prohibited therein.

New Results of Legislation.

Children's Home Finding and Aid Society of the State of Idaho have a new building located at Boise, Idaho. Bill appropriating funds to construct same approved by the legislature March 3, 1909.

State School for Deaf and Blind, located at Gooding, Idaho, have new buildings ready for occupancy. Bill establishing same was approved by the legislature March 16, 1909.

New Developments.

Departments that have been added of late to the Idaho Industrial Training School, located at St. Anthony, Idaho, are: Musical conservatory, both vocal and instrumental is taught; classes in stenography and typewriting; masonry and brick-laying; harness making has also been added to our shoe-making department; 160 acres of land have been purchased and added to our institution; two new buildings, to be used as dormitories, have been erected; a water system has been placed in position; a separate power and heating plant. All this in consequence of an appropriation of $50,000 by the last legislature.

Social Needs.

The State has great need for an institution for orphans and also an institution for the feeble minded, there being, at the present time, no place to send such children. Some of the feeble minded are cared for at the insane asylum, and the orphans are, at the present time, cared for by the industrial school. At the Idaho Industrial Training School we are greatly in need of a more extensive library, a gymnasium, a shop-building, and an appropriation to equip same with proper machinery to provide for the teaching of the several trades.

A State agent to look after the welfare of boys and girls placed on parole from the Idaho Industrial Training School.

The Social Outlook.

At the present time the State is in better shape for caring for delinquent and dependent children than it has been at any time in its history. There has been more discussion along these lines among the different women's clubs of the State, and there is a general feeling throughout the State that more should be done for the delinquent child, so that the outlook is encouraging.

ILLINOIS.

William C. Graves, Springfield, Corresponding Secretary.

New Legislation Relating to Charities, Correction or Social Advance.

New charities administration law enacted, which was described in detail in the 1909 report of the National Conference, pages 430-440. The new Board of Administration provided for therein has assumed charge of the institutions and is making an aggressive campaign of improvement. The new Charities Commission, provided for in the new law, was duly appointed and is covering the inspectional field through its own service and the service of sudsidiary boards of visitors for the state charitable institutions and county auxiliary boards for the almshouses and jails. The State Board of Charities, by the provisions of the new law, ceased to exist on Dec. 31, 1909, after forty years' of service.

The Supreme Court has rendered an extremely important decision, sustaining the law of 1909 which prohibits the employment of women in mechanical establishments, factories and laundries in Illinois for more than ten hours a day.

New Private Philanthropic Agencies.

A state-wide campaign against tuberculosis has been set in motion.

The directors of the James C. King Home for Old Men began erecting an institution at Garfield Boulevard and South Park Avenue, Chicago, under the provisions of the will of Mr. King. The institution will be devoted to the care of old gentlemen who have come to years of economic inefficiency without money enough to support them in their declining years. Before plans for this institution were drawn the directors made a careful study of like institutions and they express the hope that the result of their care will be a high-grade, satisfactory home, both as to the physical equipment and as to its administrative policies. The institution site is an entire block of land. The endowment is generous.

Social Needs.

An amendment to the insane commitment law permitting the detention of suspected mentally sick persons for thirty days pending observation and treatment in a psychopathic hospital.

A State psychopathic hospital in Chicago.

A law for the commitment and detention of feeble-minded persons.

A colony for improvable epileptics.

A State sanatorium for consumptives.

A State hospital for inebriates and a commitment law for inebriates.

A State farm for the training of delinquent men.

A second institution for delinquent girls.

A second institution for delinquent boys.

A more adequate system of registration and supervision of midwives, registration of births, and more adequate inspection of nurseries and children's institutions. We need a stronger statute for the prevention of ophthalmia neonatorum.

Clearer laws relating to the inspection of lodging houses, the re moval of overlapping jurisdictions on the part of the State and the city, both in this inspectional work and in matters relating to midwives. The relation of the State Board of Health to local boards of health should be more clearly marked.

The Social Outlook.

The State institutional outlook is better than at any time during the last four years, owing to the campaign of the old State Board of Charities, which went out of existence Dec. 31, 1909.

In other respects public opinion is doubtless strengthening, though slowly, in many lines. It is noticed whenever a conference is called, for instance in the interests of tuberculosis, on such subjcts as anti-spitting, it is gratifying how transportation companies, certain police officials and others take to the subject and the amount of interest shown. Women's clubs are a great factor in manufacturing public opinion, agitating subjects that need popular discussion.

Not only in the large cities, but in small cities as well, there are a great number of people who have an intelligent interest in social matters. In business circles there is a very keen awakening in matters of sanitation in factories and workshops, a live interest in insurance, sick benefits and in the general welfare of employes. One of the largest concerns in the State is about to bring out voluntarily an employers' liability act to carry out its own plan, which is in advance of the law in most, if not in all States. The discussion along the line of preventable disease and preventable accidents is bearing fruit in an unmistakable manner.

INDIANA.

Miss Laura Greely, Indianapolis, Corresponding Secretary.

New Results of Legislation.

Great strides have been made during the past twelve months toward uniformity in public records and accounts. The State Board of Accounts, appointed last summer, has begun the examination of township offices. Within the year also, at the request of the Governor, the Board of State Charities prepared a set of blanks for use by the State institutions in making their annual reports, with a view to securing uniformity in certain statistical tables. These forms have been included in the reports now being published.

With the help of appropriations made by the last General Assembly the School for Feeble-Minded Youth is erecting an additional building for custodial care of women, the State prison is constructing a hospital for insane criminals; and the Southeastern Hospital for the Insane is practically completed.

The Indianapolis Board of Health and Charities has employed ten inspectors for medical examination of school children. The mayor of the same city appointed last summer a playground commission, which took up the work previously carried on by the Children's Aid Association. Ten playgrounds were maintained, the school board appropriating $1,200 toward the work.

Effective work is being done under the new housing law, also by the new State employment bureau.

In carrying out the probation act of the last assembly some very gratifying results have been noted. Our new Southeastern Hospital for the Insane is practically completed and will soon be occupied. Our new girl's school is doing good work and has received an addition to its building. Our epileptic village is being improved year by year. A State hospital for the treatment of tuberculosis is practically complete and awaits an appropriation that it may be utilized. One of our interesting bits of legislation passed by the last assembly provides for the inspection and licensing of every child institution in the State, whether public or private. This came about as a result of the investigation of conditions in Indianapolis, where it was discovered that there were eighteen maternity hospitals, twenty-eight baby farms, and thirty-two private persons willing to accept infants to board and ask no questions, a total of seventy-eight. This licensing law divides these institutions into four classes, and every one of them, whether public or private, must be subject to inspection and must have an annual written license. All institutions that receive baby wards must make the same kind of report that public institutions make. The result is that of the eighteen maternity hospitals only seven applied for license, and but four licenses were granted, all the others being put out of business. Of the remaining sixty agencies and organizations only four applied for license, and three were granted. So we have licensed seven of that group out of a total of seventy-eight, and the work is being much better done. We are not receiving the large proportion of dependents from other States, some as far west as the Rocky Mountains and others as far east as the Atlantic Ocean.

New Private Philanthropic Agencies.

The Indiana Child Labor Committee.

The Aurora Charity Organization Society.

The Pendleton Charity Organization Society.

The Indianapolis Commercial Club Committee on Benevolent Associations. (Investigates charities soliciting help).

The Citizens' Auxiliary Committee of the Indianapolis Charity Organization Society.*

The Terre Haute Boys' Club.

The Children's Hospital Association, Indianapolis.

The Methodist Memorial Home for the Aged, Warren.

New Developments.

Marion County, the largest in the State, is erecting a new poor asylum on the cottage plan.

On August 1, 1909, the South Bend Anti-Tuberculosis League opened a small camp for incipient tuberculosis. A few more shacks for tubercular patients have been erected at the Indianapolis City Hospital. There are now fifteen shacks in this little colony. The South Bend Associated Charities conducted a children's dispensary last summer. The work of Fairview Settlement, Indianapolis, originally intended to provide cottages, rent free, to mothers struggling to keep their families together, is being extended to homeless old people.

Social Needs.

The Board of State Charities, in its last annual report, recommends legislation along the following lines: Additional provision for the insane; the establishment of district work-houses; a State institution for dependent children; deportation of non-resident dependents and defectives; the abolition of the fee system in the administration of county jails; a law requiring judges to visit the correctional institutions; a law to prevent defectives being committed to reformatory institutions; a commission to study the needs of the adult blind.

The Social Outlook.

Progress along various lines of social activity is apparent in many parts of the State. Literary clubs, special societies and school authorities are showing unusual interest. The work is also being advanced by the churches. In addition to the local feeling, a half dozen religious denominations have, through their State organizations, appointed standing committees on charities. Most of the progressive legislation of recent years has the approval of public opinion.

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*"To investigate the cause of pauperism in the city, study plans for looking after the preventable evils and suggesting suitable remedies for them, and to stimulate co-operation among the many charitable and philanthropic enterprises which the city maintains." The plan is to have a membership of several hundred. There are now 150.

IOWA.

Verbal report by a delegate.

Iowa is making substantial progress in many ways, especially in the study of tuberculosis. Our two State lecturers directed by the Board of Control have reached almost every city and hamlet in the State, much of this work being done by private enterprise. In many cities and towns plans are being considered for making local hospitals. But the greatest results come from the fact that our State lecturers are awakening the people to what may be done by themselves. In the matter of playgrounds, that work is being extended throughout the cities of the State, and we are very much gratified by what has been already done. The fact is, wherever we awaken our people to the necessity of playgrounds, they become alive to other propositions that make them more valuable as citizens in pushing those things that are of worth to the state.

KANSAS.

F. W. Knapp, Topeka, Corresponding Secretary.

New Results of Legislation.

The legislature of 1909 appropriated $20,000 for the purpose of carrying on a state-wide educational campaign for the prevention and control of tuberculosis, one-half of this appropriation available during this year and one-half during the next fiscal year. This money is to be expended under the direction of the State Board of Health and is being used for three distinct purposes. First, a traveling exhibit in connection with a lecturer, visiting nurse and helper. Second, prophylactic supplies furnished to registered cases of tuberculosis. Third, distribution of literature along the line of prevention and treatment of tuberculosis. Between August, 1909, and March, 1910, this exhibit has been given in fifty-eight cities, with an aggregated attendance of 95,000 people.

The legislature of 1909 also enacted a stringent law relating to fire escapes and fire protection which applies to all public institutions, school buildings, halls, opera houses, hotels and office buildings, which is being rigidly enforced.

New Private Philanthropic Agencies.

The State Federation of Women's Clubs is making an active campaign for the establishment of public playgrounds in all of the larger cities and is receiving the co-operation of various other organizations.

New Developments.

Under appropriations made by the legislature of 1909 a tubercular pavilion for men is being erected at the Topeka State Hospital for the Insane, and one each for men and women is being erected at the Osawatomie State Hospital for the Insane. The Topeka hospital already has such a pavilion for female patients. This will enable a complete segregation of the insane tubercular patients in both these institutions.

A reception hospital for intense treatment of the acutely insane patients is being erected at the Topeka State Hospital for the insane.

A new reception hospital has recently been opened at the State Home for Feeble-minded at Winfield, Kas.

A new $60,000 administration building has recently been opened for the State Hospital for Epileptics at Parsons, Kas., and a new cottage for male patients is now under course of construction.

Since the last National Conference additional room has been provided, not including the improvements above referred to, for 170 male patients and 150 female patients at the Topeka State hospital, and for the first time in many years Kansas has complete State care for all of the insane who are eligible for admission into the state institutions.

The Board of Control is preparing to enforce the law providing that the relatives of insane and feeble-minded patients who are able to do so without impoverishment shall pay into the State treasury the per capita cost of the maintenance, care and treatment of such patients. This law was recently upheld in a decision by the Supreme Court of this State and over a hundred thousand dollars has already been collected. A judicious enforcement of this law will not harm any individual citizens but will result in a vast saving to the taxpayers of the State.

We have State investigation of private institutions, and through an appropriation given by the last legislature Kansas will have one of the best classifications of her wards of any State in the Union.

Social Needs.

Kansas needs a separate hospital for the care of the criminal insane, which institution might be established in connection with either one of the State hospitals or one of the penal institutions.

There should also be established an industrial reformatory for young women similar to the industrial reformatory for young men.

The Social Outlook.

In view of the extended improvements which have been made at all of the State institutions and the further fact that public opinion seems to be largely in favor of their further improvement, there is but little question that the social needs will be properly taken care of in the near future.

You can travel all over Kansas and you won't find a drug store or a place where you can buy intoxicating liquor.

KENTUCKY.

Edward Grauman, Louisville, Corresponding Secretary.

We have a law that no child under the age of fourteen shall work at any time at any occupation, and he may not work under the age of sixteen unless he has been at least four years in the public school. Our compulsory education law is in accordance with the child labor law. Our adult delinquency law compels fathers and mothers to go into juvenile court with the child, and be there beside the child. This year for the first time in Louisville nearly all the charity work is in the hands of organized charities. The Jewish charities have been very active. The Associated Charities has done all the relief work of tuberculosis. The child labor associations look after children under fourteen and the Associated Charities attends to the children after the age of fourteen. We have medical inspection in our schools. In future we will also have the nurse as well as the doctor. The tuberculosis association has a traveling field secretary who goes all over the State, visiting the people in danger of tuberculosis. This is one of the best means for fighting tuberculosis.

New Legislation Relating to Charities, Correction or Social Advance.

I. A "Tenement House Act," passed by the State Legislature relating to the construction, maintenance, sanitation and inspection of tenement houses.

II. An act was passed through the efforts of the "King's Daughters" appropriating $10,000 annually for the maintenance of the Home for Incurables at Louisville.

III. A tuberculosis sanatorium established to be supported conjointly by the city of Louisville and the county of Jefferson.

New Results of Legislation.

Medical inspectors, supported by the city, to inspect white and black public schools, who report the cases to the Associated Charities, whose officers will do the friendly visiting.

New Private Philanthropic Agencies.

A Legal Aid Society, supported by the Woman's Club of Louisville, has its representative stationed in an adjoining office to that of the

Chief Probation Officer of the Juvenile Court, whose principal duty is to work in conjunction with him in offering free legal aid and protection.

Milk stations established in the poor districts of the city, supported by subscription, the object of which is to provide babies with sanitary milk.

LOUISIANA.

No report except on correctional matters. See the appendix to Report of Committee on Law Breakers (page 624.)

MAINE.

Edward P. Wentworth, Portland, Corresponding Secretary.

One of the most notable developments during the last year has been the organization of the Maine children's commission, composed of a dozen or so child-helping agencies. There was no co-operation between them until this organization was formed into a commission in which each one of these institutions is represented. They have a paid agent who goes for any one of the institutions that may need her. If one has a surplus of applications for homes, and another a surplus of children, the two work together and a child goes from an institution which, perhaps, the applicants know nothing about. The co-operation on the part of the agencies has become cordial during the year, although at first there was considerable opposition.

We have no State board of charities. At the State conference of charities to be held in Portland next October we plan to devote a principal session to the agitation of that measure again. A couple of years ago a commission appointed by the governor reported unanimously in favor of a board, but it was defeated. But we will keep at it until we get one.

New Results of Legislation.

The construction work at the new Maine School for the Feeble Minded is progressing rapidly. The school was opened a few months ago with a small number of inmates. There are now about fifty feeble minded persons cared for at the school and there is a large number on the waiting list who will be received as soon as the new buildings are ready for occupancy.

New Private Philanthropic Agencies.

Among the new private philanthropic agencies established this year are the Associated Charities of Bath and Bangor, and the Boys' Club of Portland. The Provident Society of Saco has been reorganized for charity work along modern lines. A new anti-tuberculosis society has also been recently formed.

New Developments.

The Children's Protective Society has greatly increased its activity during the past year and it is doing excellent work in rescuing children from evil conditions and surroundings. This is a private association, but is recognized by State law and is assisted to some extent by State funds. Hundreds of cases have been investigated by the society. Every week children are taken from places where they are being neglected and abused, and placed in homes where they may be properly cared for and educated.

Social Needs.

Legislation against certain practices of land sharks; remedial loan associations; better enforcement of sanitary regulations; better housing conditions.

The Social Outlook.

In Portland, the largest city in the State, there is great interest in whatever pertains to charities and correction, and slowly but surely this interest is radiating to every part of the State and creating new centers of interest. The Associated Charities of Portland has wisely provided for the needs of the poor of the city and at the same time furnished object lessons of how charitable work should be done for the benefit of the State at large.

MARYLAND.

Nathaniel G. Grasty, Baltimore, Corresponding Secretary.

We now have thirteen municipal centers supervising the living of consumptives in their own homes. The State has now a municipal tuberculosis commission that will make a survey this summer with a view to completing the necessary machinery of making it the most complete survey in America.

The city of Baltimore has appropriated ten thousand dollars for playgrounds to supplement a private gift of fifteen thousand dollars for that purpose. A private hospital for consumptives has established a separate department for children. The State tuberculosis sanitarium, which two years ago asked for $275,000, this year asked for a hundred thousand dollars more, and got it, for a pavilion for advanced cases. One of the largest clothing manufacturing concerns has established a plan of social service.

New Legislation Relating to Charities, Correction or Social Advance.

State care of the insane, for the proper care and treatment of all the insane, especially those confined in county almshouses and asylums.

Pure food law and assuring proper protection to consumers.

Midwifery bill, providing for educational qualifications and for the registration and licensing of midwives with a view to the better preservation of public health.

Other important bills of which it is difficult to know the fate, since the Legislature has only recently adjourned.

New Private Philanthropic Agencies.

Children's Bureau of Baltimore, for the purpose of bringing all the children's agencies into closer relation to one another.

New Developments.

State care of the insane is an assured fact.

The formation of a Children's Bureau will result in closer co-ordination of the children's societies in the city.

The number of tuberculosis nurses in the health department has been increased from two to fifteen.

Maryland School for Boys is to be conducted on the cottage plan and will move into the new buildings June 1st, 1910.

Two constituent societies, the Charity Organization and the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, as a relief giving society, have consolidated and as one corporation are working successfully.

The Public Athletic League and the Children's Playground Association have enlarged the recreational facilities of the city.

New inspectors connected with the health department make a special business of enforcing the new Housing Code.

The Child Labor Committee and the Consumers' League have each employed a paid secretary.

Social Needs.

Colony for epileptics; a detention home for juvenile delinquents; hospitals for advanced tuberculosis; more adequate provision for the care of feeble minded children; an intermediate reformatory for young men; additional provision for dealing with drunkards and inebriates; better equipment and resources for settlement work.

The Social Outlook.

The social outlook is bright. Public opinion is in a fairly healthy condition, especially in the city of Baltimore.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Joseph Lee, Boston, Corresponding Secretary.

This will certainly go down in Massachusetts history as the bar and bottle year because of the bill to separate the selling of drinks over the bar from the growler and bottle trade, which has now just become a law. In its essence the bill is an advanced application of psychological principles to legislation. To those conservatives who believe that every man is born with a certain number of drinks written on his forehead, and that all legislation can do is to prescribe the circumstances under which they shall be taken, it means of course very little. The resulting conditions upon which its supporters rely for valuable results, are:

First. That there will be fewer places where bottle and growler drinks can be bought, and consequently a longer walk for the purchaser, and the stronger application of the publicity check both to him and to the proprietor of the shop.

Secondly. The buyer will have to be at least sober enough to get from the bar to the bottle shop thus separated from it; and when he gets there the immediate suggestion of the general desirability of drinks will be lessened.

In general the bill is a reverse application of the principle of the department store where the lady goes to buy a hair pin and stays to purchase a hat. It is interesting that the first proposer of the bill was former President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard.

Child Labor.

The most notable group of laws brought forward this year consisted of five bills introduced by a Child Labor committee, representing many organizations, as follows:

An eight-hour bill for women and children; prohibiting night work for minors; providing that children should not work in trades or parts of trades or even under specific conditions found to be dangerous by the State Board of Health; requiring, for any child going to work under sixteen, medical certificates from school committees of fitness to go into the specific trade contemplated; and giving school committees the licensing of all the newsboys instead of merely those under fourteen, with the additional provision that not merely the boy breaking the law but the person selling him goods with the knowledge that he is going to do so (generally a newspaper) shall be fined.

Of these bills the eight-hour law and the night work were defeated and the rest have become laws. The showing on the evils of night work, especially as to the messenger service, was so strong that a concentrated effort ought to pass it another year.

The theatre people made a notable attempt to exempt theatres from the present night work law for children under fourteen, and the legislative committee was given a continuous performance by an all-star cast of some of the leading lights of the American stage. They, however, remained obdurate, and Massachusetts will still be deprived of the opportunity to see precocious genius on the stage.

A commission has been created to see how the inspection of factories can best be divided up between the State Board of Health, the State police and other agencies.

Health.

Toward the protection of the public health an important bill codifies the laws prohibiting cocaine selling, increases the penalty and makes the obtaining of evidence more possible. So long as men can be hanged for murder it is a question what suitable punishment can be found for those who make a living by the wholesale degradation of children and others of their fellow citizens.

The State Board of Health has been given $2,500 a year to send out in small quantities, with directions and advice as to its use, the preventive for infantile blindness. A commission has been created to study and report the best system for dealing with tuberculosis by the State and the cities and towns. The State Board of Insanity has been required to provide temporary care for persons suffering from mental diseases in Boston (now lodged in the House of Detention at Deer Island).

Attempts to dilute the mild Boston building law have failed.

Charities and Correction.

Charities desiring incorporation must be passed upon by the State Board of Charity to determine the need of the charity and the fitness of the people who propose to carry it on. Counties instead of towns must pay expenses incidental to the arrest and imprisonment of tramps, and the inspectors of the State Board of Health are to inspect station houses and lockups. The probation system will survive another year the assaults of its enemies. Prison made goods need not be "branded" as such, the trade unions not having supported the bill.

And Others.

A playground law has been enacted for the special benefit of the forty cities and towns that adopted the playground referendum last year and the many others that followed their example, providing that a city or town can carry on its playgrounds through the park department, the school committee, a special commission, or any combination of the three.

Some bills to limit regular bill-board advertising have been defeated, but a bill to limit the powers of the embattled citizen to destroy illegal advertising signs seems headed for a similar disposal.

The new Boston charter has been defended from an assorted variety of attacks. The provision in the charter that persons appointed as heads of departments must be certified by the Civil Service Commission as being qualified for their office either by training or experience is already having a good effect in defending the children, the paupers, and the prisoners in charge of the Children's Institutions Trustees, the Pauper Trustees, and the Penal Commissioner from being used in payment of political debts.

As to extra-legislative advance, I am naturally interested in the things accomplished by the Boston School Committee, of which I am a member. Acting under the suggestion of the School for Tuberculous Children (now numbering about a hundred and sending back nearly twice that number every year with the disease arrested), the School Committee this year had a round-up of anaemic and under-sized children and those with enlarged glands in their necks, and found about five thousand of them among the hundred thousand children in the schools. For a small number of these it has started seven open air rooms in different schools, in most of which bags for the children to get into on cold days and two-cent mid-morning lunches always to be paid for by the children, are supplied by outside agencies. We have also provided for more air in all the school rooms in the city on the theory that it is better to open the window before the child is dead or even sick.

We have advanced somewhat since last year in vocational training, having taken over the Girls' Trade School, and set a committee of masters to work in connection with Meyer Bloomfield's vocation bureau, which is to be the live wire between the school and the job. We are planning a short-term clerical high school which will short-circuit the building clerk or stenographer from high school to his work. These are the new things in addition to our evening trade school in free hand drawing and other branches, and our three vocational high schools to start the boys in commerce or in the mechanic arts and to teach the girls dressmaking, millinery and housekeeping. Harvard has opened a dispensary in connection with the new dental school, and medical inspection in the schools is paying constantly more attention to the children's teeth.

The State Tuberculosis Board has opened three new sanatoriums.

The 1915 Housing Committee has made a notable report, the work of Harold K. Estabrook and Philip Cabot. They claim that congestion in Boston beats New York in spots, and their analysis of it shows that this is largely due to the taking in of lodgers in the tenement houses, especially among the Poles and Italians and to a lesser extent among the Jews; that the overcrowding is mostly illegal and renders lawful competition practically hopeless, and that territorially considered it is cumulative, crowded districts attracting factories and the factories attracting new crowds of people. The remedies suggested include, first, the extension of the Boston tenement house law to the surrounding district; second, the enforcing of the law outside the congested area so that action taken within it shall not merely result in spreading the disease; and finally, the enforcement of the law within the congested area, this remedy to be applied gently at first because investment has been made (largely by Italians inhabiting the district) on the well-grounded assumption that the law would never be enforced. Thus the congestion will be gently squeezed out toward places prepared to absorb and neutralize it.

Two new cities have started associated charities.

Increase of co-operation has been a notable feature of the last few years, the Associated Charities especially leading a triumphal career specifically indicated in its inter-city conference, but including also an intra-city confidence less visible but even more important. Specific co-operative attention has been given to deserted wives and to the deserters of them.

The Civic League, with the help of a pamphlet in the nature of first-aid-to-the-injured, printed by the Playground Association of America, has been organizing playground work in the cities that last year accepted the playground law.

A private charity development of great public importance is the growth of the S. P. C. C., which covers the State in an increasingly adequate way with the high quality of work that it is doing in its line. It seems as though any community must be insane to leave the support of this charity still inadequate to the need. For what purpose were people endowed with imagination and given the writings of Charles Dickens to make it work?

The things on which we are still lamentably weak, but now partly conscious of the fact and therefore likely to improve, are still the great departments of work and play. Our trade schools feebly show the sort of thing that ought to be done, but do not yet do it to any appreciable extent. Germany has not yet begun to tremble at our competition, and the great majority of our boys and girls are left to wander about on leaving school with no knowledge of any useful work and no particular way of preparing themselves for it.

In the matter of play our playgrounds are still mostly places labeled such rather than the actual thing. Wholesome recreation for girls hardly exists. Our Sunday will continue a menace to the morals of the community until we have learned that a day of idleness is not a day of rest.

MICHIGAN.

Verbal Report by a Delegate.

Michigan is advancing in a general way along the line that has been laid out in previous meetings. We have been following up what we think is largely wise legislation in different ways. We have established psychopathic wards in connection with the State University Hospital, and are completing psychopathic wards in the Insane Hospital, so that they will now be curative institutions rather than custodial. We expect to prevent many cases from going to the asylum. We are taking an active interest in the tuberculosis movement, and our State Sanitarium is doing splendid work under the oversight of the State Board. We have a home for dependent and neglected children, and are taking more interest in the oversight of private institutions in behalf of dependent and neglected children, and they are under State supervision. Lastly we are establishing industrial schools for children.

MINNESOTA.

A. W. Gutridge, St. Paul, Corresponding Secretary.

There is intense interest in tuberculosis work throughout the State, as evidenced by the activity of the State Association; and the State Board of Health is backed by appropriations from the last Legislature. There is work also going on in the counties where committees have been formed by the State Association. The visiting nurses system is being extended, and we have medical inspection.

More provision is being made by the State for feeble minded and epileptics. A home for inebriates is about to be erected under a law passed by the last Legislature, to be conducted by Dr. Tomlinson. It is to be an industrial school and a place of detention. A detention hospital is to be provided in the State hospitals for the insane in connection with the voluntary commitment. Interest in the remedial loan proposition against the loan shark is also very active.

New Results of Legislation.

Under the law passed in 1909, several counties are preparing to construct Sanatoria for consumptives. One county, St. Louis, has such a building in course of construction. In addition, this county has opened a camp for consumptives at the poor farm. The increased appropriation for educational purposes by the State Board of Health, has enabled the Board to have its traveling exhibit on the road much of the year. Some one hundred cities and towns have had the advantages of the exhibit. The State Sanatorium for early cases of tuberculosis at Walker is enlarging so that its capacity will be doubled. Up to the present the accommodations have been limited to sixty.

New Private Philanthropic Agencies.

Duluth has completed the organization of its Associated Charities, has engaged a general secretary, and expects to be in full working order by May 1st. This city has also organized the Neighborhood House Club, which has done large and valuable club work for boys and girls during the past winter. The plan is to have this a regularly organized settlement by next winter. Duluth too, has made arrangements to open three additional playgrounds this summer, making six in all. The physical examination of school children was assumed by the Duluth School Board February 1st, 1910.

Minneapolis has organized the Equitable Loan Company with a capital stock of $150,000, to compete with "loan sharks." A playground commission has been formed to study the situation; a department of school hygiene has been established with the physical examination of school children as one of its functions; the water problem of the city has been settled by the adoption of the report of the Citizens' Commission and of expert Rudolph Herring, in favor of mechanical filtration with hypo-chlorite of calcium and alum treatment; a down town boys' club has been formed by the Juvenile Protective League; the Visiting Nurse Committee of the Associated Charities has enlarged its camp for tuberculous children.

In St. Paul, the Anti-Tuberculosis Committee has incorporated, engaged an executive secretary, and increased its force of nurses. It has also constructed a well-equipped sanatorium with thirty beds for the treatment of the tuberculous. This was opened for the reception of patients in January. Plans are laid to establish out-of-doors school work for tuberculous children this summer, to be continued under more permanent plans upon the opening of the school year. A Remedial Loan Company is in process of formation. Playground work has been greatly enlarged and improved. The physical inspection of school children was taken up last September by the School Board with a staff of physicians and nurses. The Amherst H. Wilder Charity, an endowment for the poor of St. Paul, has come into the hands of the Board of Trustees, and plans are being worked out for the development of the benevolence.

In the State as a whole, the activity in anti-tuberculosis work has been most marked. The State Association has opened an office, and engaged an executive secretary and office force. Much work is done by the Association in co-operation with the State Board of Health's traveling exhibition. Special attention is being paid to organizing committees in the various counties. In all, twenty such committees are now at work. Four are employing visiting nurses and other committees are preparing to do so. The State Association is arranging to employ a traveling nurse. Compulsory education, especially in the farming districts, has received much attention. The State Child Labor Committee has been busy in important matters. A branch of the National Association for Labor Legislation has been organized. The State Board of Health has adopted important rules governing sanitary conditions of lodging houses in cities having a population of 10,000 or over. Other matters of moment were the extraordinary success of the Tag Day movements in Minneapolis and St. Paul, the proceeds to go toward the support of nurses, chiefly in tuberculosis work, and marked activity on the part of the Women's Clubs generally along civic welfare lines. Duluth is soon to have a well-worked out school pageant, with folk dances, to be known as the "Fete of the Nations." St. James Catholic Orphan Asylum, Duluth, has moved to the country where opportunity for practical education in trades and farming will be ample. Many of the benevolent institutions have enlarged.

The State Conservation Congress met in St. Paul about the middle of March, and developed extraordinary interest. This congress had a direct and important bearing upon the philanthropic agencies of the State.

Social Needs.

The largest social need is a reformatory for women.

The Social Outlook.

Public opinion in Minnesota is in a very healthy condition on social questions. It is only necessary to set out the need fully and intelligently.

MISSOURI.

Prof. Charles A. Ellwood, Corresponding Secretary.

Missouri is proudest of all of the fact that she is growing. She is proud that she is able at last to criticize herself, as those of you who heard her young governor last night, will understand. Here are a few straws in the line of progress. In our insane hospital there is a tuberculosis department. In Hospital No. 2 there are three scholarships for the study of the cases scientifically. The Board has voted to introduce industrial work, and in the school they are going to send one of their young women to Chicago to study at the School of Philanthropy. A number of others will go to study advanced methods in industrial education. In the Girls' Industrial School home economics is to be put in this summer. They already have playground work.

Our governor appointed as secretary for our State Board of Charities a progressive, bright young man, trained for the work. Those of you who see the exhibit of the State Board of Charities will see that he has done a great deal of progressive work. The State Board has also appointed a member to investigate the parole work in the small towns. He has tried to make the people in small towns understand that they are responsible for the conditions which send boys and girls to the industrial schools. We are trying to make them take this burden upon themselves, and provide not only for a home, but for the training of the girls. This will awaken public opinion on the necessity of prevention, to see that their children have a square deal, which they have not had in this State heretofore. Last year a law was introduced for medical inspection in schools. It failed to pass the Senate. But we feel that enough interest has been aroused so that next year we shall be able, with the help of our governor, to pass this bill in both houses. We have a blind school on scientific lines of which we are proud. The playground work is also good in St. Louis, and it is extending to the smaller towns. We have playground centers in many small towns and this is one of the most hopeful signs.

New Legislation Relating to Charities, Correction or Social Advance.

On account of the decennial revision of the statutes some enactments were made by the General Assembly of 1909 that otherwise would not have been. The more important enactments bearing upon charities were as follows (For legislation as to corrections see page 624.)

A law to place the inspection of bakeries and sweat-shops in the hands of the factory inspector, instead of the labor commissioner.

Revision of laws regulating the adoption of children by parents and through the Probate Court.

Revision of law prohibiting the sale of cigarettes to boys under eighteen years.

A law obliging inspectors to report accidents to the Factory inspector, giving the Factory Inspector power to prevent danger to health from smoke, dust and overcrowding.

Revising the law relating to the employment of women in dramshops, which had previously permitted the wife, daughter, mother or sister of the proprietor to serve. Also prohibiting the sale of liquor to intoxicated persons or drunkards.

Providing for the efficient registration of all births and deaths over the entire State, under the State Board of Health.

Providing for a State Board of Immigration to encourage immigration to country districts.

Limiting the hours of employment of women to fifty-four a week and nine per day.

Providing for the safety of employees in mines.

Providing for compulsory attendance at school three-fourths instead of one-half the school year, and making the appointment of attendance officers obligatory in school districts of 1,000 population or over.

Providing for the establishment of night schools.

New Results of Legislation.

Lax enforcement of compulsory attendance law continues. Some cities containing 1,000 population or over have not employed attendance officers.

New Developments.

The interests of philanthropic workers in Kansas City are at present centered about a new municipal Board of Public Welfare, to create which an ordinance has been introduced. This Board is to take over the work of the present Board of Pardons and Paroles, to have a department of public charities, and to engage in such preventive measures as housing reform, anti-tuberculosis work, etc.

One of the most significant steps taken recently at Kansas City has been the establishment of the McCune Home for Boys near Independence, under the authority and with the support of the County Court of Jackson County and the Kansas City Board of Education to provide for truants and juvenile court cases.

A committee of the St. Louis City Council has been appointed to remove the Industrial School to the country.

The State Insane Hospital No. 1, at Fulton, is erecting a $40,000 dormitory specially adapted to the care of tuberculous patients.

It is contemplated in connection with the erection of an industrial building at State Hospital No. 2 to install a system of industrial employment for the insane.

The State Board of Charities and Corrections is now requiring uniform reports from the juvenile courts of the State and has undertaken to supervise the placing-out of girls discharged from the State Reform School for Girls.

The State Board of Charities and Corrections has undertaken to secure reports from the private benevolent institutions of the State.

The work of the State Conference of Charities and Correction has been enlarged through the appointment of five permanent committees: On Social Legislation, on Care of Children, on Adult Delinquents, on Organization of Charities, and on the Insane, Feeble Minded and Epileptic. The last named committee conducted a special conference of hospital superintendents at Kansas City March 15 to 16.

A larger field of effective activity has been entered upon by the State Board of Charities and Corrections, under the policy outlined by its new secretary, William T. Cross. Mr. Cross is an instructor in the Department of Sociology of the State University. Under the present scheme the Board is keeping in constant touch with the various agencies of charity and reform, both local and state, by means of records and regular reports and occasional visits. The attempt is being made to work out the larger charitable and correctional problems student-fashion. The first number of a quarterly bulletin was issued by the Board May 1, 1910.

Social Needs.

1. Centralization of some of the features of administration of the State institutions. Principles now being worked out by the State Board of Charities and Corrections.
2. Professionalization of employment in State institutions and putting it on a better salary basis.
3. Installation of industrial employment of the insane.
4. Better medical service in the State hospitals.
5. Enlargement of the colony for the feeble minded and establishment of a separate colony for epileptics.
6. Establishment of a State Psychopathic Institute.
7. Establishment of a reformatory for young first offenders.
8. Better centralized control of conditions in county jails and almshouses, and organization of public out-door relief.
9. State-wide extension of anti-tuberculosis work.
10. Provision by the State for dependent and neglected children.
11. State-wide extension of juvenile courts.
12. Establishment of a probation and parole department of the State Board of Charities and Corrections.

The Social Outlook.

Public feeling in Missouri at the present time will undoubtedly be found a good culture-medium for ideas of social reform and the modernization of institutions. The accomplishment of improvements in public institutions requires more than to convince people of the needs for those particular improvements. Perhaps the most significant single mark of advance that has been made during the year is Governor Hadley's decision that the improvement and co-ordination of the work of the State institutions is of sufficient importance that the State Board of Charities and Corrections should have a secretary of professional training and experience. But other improvements as important, each with its supporting column of public sentiment, have begun to be made. From the two largest cities at the eastern and western extremes of the State there is a movement to establish some form of juvenile court in every jurisdiction of Missouri. Medical societies in the same two cities have provided for a joint committee to examine into the needs of civil service in the State institutions. The existence of an appropriation for an industrial building at one of the hospitals for the insane has led its Board of Managers to inquire what industrial employment of the insane consists of. A movement is organizing to establish medical inspection in the schools of the smaller cities. Every sheriff and superintendent of an almshouse and overseer of out-door relief who has had to fill out a tedious question blank sent him by the State Board of Charities and Corrections is beginning to awaken to the meaning of his work. The establishment of general organization for securing vital statistics is beginning to drive through the mass of population the pulsations of social unity. More people are being encouraged to ask concerning their long-established charitable and penal institutions: Are they adequate? Are they accomplishing their original purposes? Not the least significant is the promised rejuvenation of the State Conference of Charities and Corrections. But the key to the whole series of reforms is the work of the State Board of Charities and Corrections. If all the social betterment agencies should concentrate their efforts on the work of enlarging sufficiently the powers of this one agency the ultimate gain would be immeasurable.

NEBRASKA.

A. W. Clark, Omaha, Corresponding Secretary.

Coordination of social forces for the betterment of social conditions in our State has been considered for the past year, and as a result of the agitation and education along these lines among other things there was a meeting of representatives of child-saving and child-helping agencies in our State, for organization. There were present representatives from the State Public School for Dependent Children, the Orthopedic Hospital, the State Industrial Schools for Boys and Girls, the State

Institutions for the Blind and Deaf. The juvenile courts of our State were represented by the leading judges and the probation officers. There were present representatives of the Associated Charities, the St. Vincent de Paul Society, and the child-saving agencies of our Catholic brethren, the St. Thomas Orphanage of Omaha and the St. Thomas Orphanage of Lincoln. Our Jewish friends were also well represented by delegates, as well as the private orphanages of the State. We think this is the first organization of the kind in the Union. We have emphasized the common ground and the essential community of interest upon which these agencies for children rest, and have tried to promote good will and fellowship among the workers for children. The organization grew out of the conference of Associated Charities in Omaha, in which there are fifty-two philanthropic organizations revolving around one center.

New Legislation Relating to Charities, Correction or Social Advance.

A law was also enacted which gave the State Board of Health authority to designate hospitals, where indigent pulmonary consumptives should receive care and treatment at the cost of the county in which they had a legal residence. Good results have come out of this legislation.

The object of this law is twofold, to cure the disease and teach those thus affected how to live so as not to endanger the lives of others.

New Results of Legislation.

The only new State institution which went into operation since last report is the State Public School for Dependent Children, which was created to take the place of the Home for the Friendless which was abolished.

The enactment of the law creating this school is not as liberal in its provision for the admission of children as we think it should be. Provision is made for receiving only children who have been voluntarily surrendered by their parents or guardians or found to be dependent by proper court or board of county commissioners, hence fewer children have been received than for a like period under the previous law, but the system adopted by the present institution has been to place the children in homes as fast as they could be found and investigated, thereby giving the children advantage of natural home life. This has reduced the daily average at the institution over seventy per cent. The management has already secured splendid results and has demonstrated that it is not necessary to hold children in an institution for any considerable length of time. Homes are found for dependent children within a few weeks and in many cases within a few days. The child-saving agencies of the State are co-operating with the State School.

New Private Philanthropic Agencies.

The Federation of Child-Saving Agencies of Nebraska was effected at Omaha in March, 1910. Representatives of the State Public School, private societies for placing children, juvenile courts, orphanages, St. Vincent de Paul, Associated Charity organizations, child labor committees, truant officers, State industrial schools and State institutions for the deaf and dumb and blind met in conference. It was unanimously agreed that federation was desirable and that co-operation would result in economy of time and money and secure greater efficiency in the work for children.

Public playgrounds were conducted in Lincoln last year for the first time, during the public school vacation, on the school house grounds under the direction of the City Improvement Society. The Charity Organization Society furnishes the Improvement Society the necessary funds for conducting them this year. The County of Lancaster has purchased ground for a public playground near the County Detention Home.

New Developments.

1. The Associated Charities of Omaha during the past year has brought about a complete federation of all the charitable and philanthropic organizations of the city and of all city and county agencies which have to do with the betterment of social conditions. They constitute fifty-two spokes in this wheel of co-operation revolving around the hub Associated Charities. Monthly conferences are held by the representatives of these various organizations with a large attendance and deep interest.

The Associated Charities the past year has established the South Omaha branch, has created an industrial department and legal aid department, has established a training class for social workers and has enlarged vacant lot gardening to four times what it was last year.

2. The Visiting Nurses' Association has made provision for tent work for the benefit especially of invalid children and mothers and tubercular patients.

3. The Child Saving Institute at Omaha is in the midst of the work of constructing a $60,000 building with hospital features for temporary care of needy children.

4. The abolishment of the Home for the Friendless and the creation in its stead of the State Public School is a notable development. Dependent children under sixteen years of age are provided for and the management of the school is under a special board of control appointed by the Governor.

Social Needs.

The social needs of Nebraska were considered at the State Conference of Charities at Lincoln, January 17 and 18, 1910, and the problem of securing legislation to meet these needs was referred to the Executive Committee of the Conference. Fourteen members of this committee met in Omaha in March, and after careful consideration decided to work for the enactment of the following laws at the next meeting of the Legislature:

1. A law to create a State reformatory for young men and women and for first offenders and to provide for industrial training and education.
2. A law to establish a State labor colony.
3. A law to provide heavy penalties upon those who may be engaged in the white slave traffic.
4. A law for the submission to the people of an amendment to the constitution to make provision for establishing a non-partisan board of control of charitable and penal institutions.
5. An amendment to the present law relating to suspension of sentence to enlarge its scope so as to include misdemeanors as well as felonies.
6. A law to provide for a parole officer to look after prisoners discharged from the penitentiary and to look after boys and girls paroled from the State industrial schools.
7. A law to establish the civil service system in making appointments to State charitable and penal institutions.
8. A law to establish a tuberculosis sanitarium.
9. A law requiring that all persons or societies who place children for adoption or by contract shall have a license.

The Social Outlook.

The public conscience of this State is more aroused than ever before for better enforcement of law, for the reformation of the delinquent and for better care of dependent children. There is a growing demand for a higher grade of service in our State penal and charitable institutions and for more attention to those affected with tuberculosis and to the unfortunate blind and deaf and to the epileptics of our State.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Mrs. Lillian C. Streeter, Concord, Corresponding Secretary.

New Results of Legislation.

The New Hampshire State Tuberculosis Sanatorium has been completed and was opened for the reception of curable patients Nov. 1, 1909. It is located at Glencliff, sixteen hundred feet above the sea level. The buildings consist of an administration building 40x80, two pavilions for patients 100x28, accommodating twenty each, with wide verandas, a power house, and a central heating plant.

Both paying and indigent patients are taken at this institution; indigent patients being entered through the State Board of Charities. Dr. P. C. Barlett is the superintendent.

The pressure for the admission of advanced cases has been serious. There is a sentiment that provision for them should be made.

New Private Philanthropic Agencies.

Since our last report the New Hampshire Settlement Association, so-called, has been organized by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union with headquarters at Manchester, designed especially to help and protect working girls in our cities.

The Pembroke Sanatorium Association, a private corporation, established for the aid of advanced cases of tuberculosis, has been organized, and is caring for about sixteen patients. It has no fund for free cases, each patient being charged fifteen dollars per week.

From February 5 to 12, a tuberculosis exhibit was held in Concord under the auspices of the Concord Charity Organization Society, which was most successful from every point of view. The total attendance was about 10,000. Talks upon tuberculosis, emphasizing the importance of preventive measures, were given each evening by different physicians in town, and different social and fraternal organizations were special guests of the exhibit each evening. A mass meeting was held in the City Auditorium on the Sunday evening at the beginning of the exhibit which was attended by over seven hundred people, and the whole exhibit was recognized by all as a great educational power. Under the influence of this Concord exhibit, Manchester and Nashua, the two largest cities in the State, are now trying to arrange similar exhibits.

During the last two years, six new District Nursing Associations have been organized in the State, at Derry, Dover, Lisbon, Littleton, Sandwich and Whitefield. Nineteen associations now exist throughout the State, although it is barely ten years since the first one was organized in Concord.

A Charity Organization Society has been organized in Laconia during the last year but has not yet secured a general secretary or begun its work.

New Developments.

Two new buildings have been erected at the State School for Feeble Minded Children. These additional accommodations provide for double the number of children that have ever been admitted. Two of the county almshouses provide graduate nurses to care for the sick. The lock step has been abolished at the State Prison.

Social Needs.

A separate Industrial School for Girls, a State Workhouse for criminals committed for minor offenses, a Home for Crippled Children, an agent for placing out and supervising dependent children, and additional homes for the aged.

The Social Outlook.

The social outlook in New Hampshire, to even the most conservative and cautious observer, is far more hopeful than it was ten years ago. The change for the better in public opinion and the increase in the number of people interested in social questions is very marked.

In the matter of health the general public is beginning to be thoroughly awakened on the subject of tuberculosis, typhoid fever, and other preventable diseases. Our State Board of Health is chiefly responsible for this. Their Sanitary Bulletin, published monthly, has been a strong factor in educating public opinion throughout the State upon these matters and their work on food inspection has been most efficient and successful.

Public opinion in regard to the care and education of feeble minded children has been almost completely changed under the influence of the splendid work being done for such children in our State School for Feeble Minded, established in 1903. This school met with the bitterest opposition at first, determined effort having been made to abolish it two years after it was established, but it has now won general public approval.

The increase in the general interest in charity organization, district nursing, play grounds, and civic work is also marked. Through the past winter a series of seven conferences upon civic subjects, such as "The Health Rights of Our Community and Are They Enforced," "Clean Markets," "Prevention of Tuberculosis," "Health of Our School Children," "City Playgrounds," "School and Home Gardens," and "Junior Civic Leagues," have been held in Concord, the capital city of the State, under the auspices of the Civic Committee of the Woman's Club, with your secretary as chairman, which have been largely attended and have aroused interest throughout all New Hampshire.

Many people also are becoming more actively interested in our penal institutions than ever before, especially the clergy of the State.

NEW JERSEY.

Mrs. F. C. Jacobson, Newark, Corresponding Secretary.

The things most needing attention have been attended to, and that is the care of the feeble minded and the tubercular. Through our commissioner of charities and corrections a number of persons needing that care were looked up and provided for by the last session of the Legislature. Glen Garden is up in the mountains, inaccessible, but an appropriation of twenty thousand dollars was made to make a suitable road, and we have an ideal place there to take care of the tuberculous patients. We also have for the epileptics a place which has been provided in the last few years. We had a number of epileptics among the tuberculous and feeble minded, and provision has been made for them. The Legislature has been very liberal in all these matters. Newark has recently made an appropriation for a detention home.

New Legislation Relating to Charities, Correction or Social Advance.

Child Labor. Night Work of Children Prohibited.—A law prohibiting the employment of minors at night work. The law prohibits the employment of minors under fifteen years, after July 1, 1910, and under sixteen years after July 1, 1911. The chairman of the committee to which the bill was referred is the proprietor of a glass blowing industry in Southern New Jersey and the passage of the bill was a triumph of the developed public sentiment in the face of bitter opposition from the glass blowing industries of that part of the State.

Employers' Liability.—A commission on employers' liability was created to investigate the subject and report to the next Legislature. This commission was appointed in lieu of passing any of the several employers' liability bills which were introduced.

Education of the Blind.—Removing the age limit of five years, making it possible for the State to begin the education of blind babies under five years old.

Tuberculosis.—Counties authorized to erect county hospitals for tubercular patients.

Physicians required to report to the local Board of Health in writing, name, age, sex, color, occupation and place of last employment of persons known by such physician to have tuberculosis. Report to be made within forty-eight hours after obtaining knowledge and the local board of health shall take charge and isolate such patients.

The white slave bill, similar to the Mann bill introduced in Congress, became a law.

Newark now has legal authority to build a new almshouse and to sell the lands and buildings now used for such purposes. The cost of the new building is limited to $300,000.

Second class cities now have authority to provide an assistant overseer of the poor, who shall be appointed by the overseer.

Cities of the first class may issue bonds up to $250,000 for the erection and equipment of public baths.

Feeble Minded.—All admissions to institutions for the blind, deaf, epileptic and feeble minded are now made through the office of the Commissioner of Charities and Correction instead of through the Governor's office.

Supplement to the act for the maintenance of deaf, dumb, blind and feeble minded persons by authorizing the parole of any male person admitted to any institution in the State. This enables suitable cases to help their families but makes them liable to be returned if it seems best by the Commissioner of Charities.

A committee on "Provision for the Feeble Minded and Epileptic" was active during the sessions of the Legislature. During the past twenty-two years provision has been made for an average increase per year of twenty inmates. This Legislature has appropriated $155,000 for residence buildings exclusively. This should provide for about 200 additional.

The superintendent of the New Jersey Village for Epileptics is permitted to allow a patient to visit his parents, relations or guardians.

A law passed providing for the summary investigation of the construction of any county building provided the grand jury sitting in said county presents evidence of failure to fulfill specifications and the board of freeholders shall request any justice of the Supreme Court to make such summary investigation.

Cities of the first class are authorized to make an annual appropriation to conduct dental clinics for the free treatment of indigent persons. The act for the establishment of schools of detention was amended to provide that children may be placed in such schools by the parent or parents, guardian or guardians. Also provides that the boards of freeholders of any county may purchase land adjoining or near schools of detention already established for the care of homeless, indigent or neglected children provided that sum to be expended does not exceed $3,000.

After July 4, 1910, all midwives must be licensed by the State Board of Medical Examiners.

Local Boards of Health are required to furnish a copy of the act to prevent blindness—approved March 11, 1895—to every local physician, midwife or nurse in the municipality for which said Board of Health is appointed.

New Results of Legislation.

New Jersey Commission for the Blind.—Developments have shown the commission to be in touch with the best work done by commissions of other states along the same lines. The commission has mapped out and is taking the first steps in an excellent plan of work: (1) a census of the blind, (2) prevention, (3) beginning the care and education of the blind by the State at an earlier age, (4) visitation and instruction of the adult blind in their homes.

Feeble Minded.—First step is taken toward the transfer of adult male and female feeble minded from the Training School for Children to the State Home for Feeble Minded Women and the feeble minded department at the Epileptic Village. The first group will probably be transferred in July.

Tuberculosis.—The State Tuberculosis Commission authorized by the Legislature of 1909 was responsible for one of the largest and most important tuberculosis meetings ever held in the State. The object of this meeting was to arouse public sentiment and create a demand that the State Board of Health be responsible for the educational and preventive work now being done by private subscription through the State Tuberculosis Association. The result was that the 1910 Legislature passed a bill appropriating $10,000 to the State Board of Health to use for educational and practical purposes in the study, treatment and prevention of tuberculosis. This bill was signed by the Governor, but failed of its purpose because the appropriation committee refused to make the appropriation, claiming that the State Board of Health already had a large enough appropriation for its needs.

New Private Philanthropic Agencies.

George Junior Republic.—A branch of the George Junior Republic has been established at Flemington, N. J.

New Anti-Tuberculosis Societies at Egg Harbor City, Hammondton, Moorestown, Madison, Burlington, and a reorganization of the society at Phillipsburg.

Joint Committee on Home Economy, Newark.—Committee formed to organize work of instructing mothers and the older girls in the principles of home-keeping, especially in the proper feeding of the family, in order to demonstrate to the public that the training of the natural home-makers is the only national method of meeting the problem of the under-fed child. Classes are conducted in the model flat in Boyden street, Newark, and in the basement of one of the public schools. The committee will more thoroughly organize and extend the work, with the end in view of demonstrating that it comes logically within the scope of the public educational system, and will eventually be taken over by the Board of Education.

New Developments.

State Charities Aid Association.—A complete reorganization of this association. An auxiliary association has been formed, composed of the leading citizens of the State. Ex-Governor Franklin Murphy is the president. The object of the auxiliary association is to raise the sum of $10,000 per year for the work of the association. It is proposed to engage the services of an expert, and to give him the necessary assistant and office equipment. The association proper will not only supervise the institutions specified for by law, but will do broader and more thorough work than ever attempted before. It hopes to become the great power in the State.

Social Service Building.—The Newark Bureau of Associated Charities has conducted a successful effort to secure a building for its work and five other charities have agreed to go into the building renting quarters from the bureau. These are as follows: The Catholic Children's Aid Society (and with them Rev. Francis A. Foy, Supervisor of Catholic Charities), Visiting Nurse Association, Legal Aid Association of New Jersey, State Commission for the Blind. It is hoped that the State Charities Aid Association will also take offices in this building.

Codification of Laws Relating to Children.—The Young Men's Christian Association of New Jersey issued a codification of the laws of the State concerning children, their protection and the criminal acts usually committed by them.

Department of Charities and Correction.—The Advisory Board of the Department of Charities and Correction, consisting of the heads and officers of all State institutions, organized into seven standing committees as follows: Legislative, dependents, defectives, appropriations and publicity, purchases, transfers, inspection. These efforts within institutional lines to provide an equivalent for state supervision are being watched with interest.

Deaths in Insane Asylums.—The establishment of a rule "to advertise the deaths of inmates in the newspapers in all cases where the addresses of relatives are not known" results from public investigation of a large county asylum for the insane.

Department of Research at the Training School has put three field officers at work investigating family relations. About two hundred families are partly recorded and forty-five completely so.

The Epileptic Village has one such officer who has already investigated twelve or fifteen families.

The Training School's summer school for teachers has been enlarged so as to receive forty pupils but as the applicants far outnumber the accommodations steps are being taken to organize a winter course.

Eleven counties or cities have founded new tuberculosis sanitaria.

Montclair has made all arrangements for an out-door school to be opened in the fall, the Board of Education to provide the place and equipment and the local Tuberculosis Society to provide lunch. This school will care for about thirty children.

State Tuberculosis Association exhibit made over and is now one of the best in the country. This association will open its fall and winter campaign with a tuberculosis conference, to include all the local organizations and social forces in the State.

Joint committee on the better care and feeding of infants has three distributing stations in congested sections of the city where milk modified in the babies hospital is distributed. At these stations consultations are held weekly and competent physicians weigh and examine each baby. Sick babies are sent to the proper hospitals and clinics and well babies are kept well. The mothers are quite proud of any gain shown and there is quite some rivalry to see which baby improves most during the week. Two trained nurses visit the homes and instruct mothers in infant hygiene and we find this the real work of the committee.

Employment bureau for males and females opened by City of Newark is doing fine work and politics have little to do with its management.

Newark Public Bath Improvement Association.—This was formed five years ago in the hope that Newark would provide sanitary baths in its congested districts. There are three baths in Newark, but they are unsanitary and inadequate. A vigorous campaign has been waged and resulted this year in the passage of a law authorizing cities of the first class to issue bonds up to $250,000 for the erection and equipment of free public baths. It is hoped to begin work on the first new bath this summer and the committee plans to keep a careful supervision over the construction, at the same time working for the abolishment of the present unsanitary affairs.

Social Needs.

An adequate employers' liability act.

The creation of a central authority in the State preferably a department which shall assume supervision of all the eleemosynary activities of the State.

A State law providing for the control and supervision of societies placing children out in homes.

A State law regulating the incorporation of charitable organizations, restricting such incorporations to the actual needs of the communities and providing as to the experience, fitness and good faith of the incorporators and those who will conduct the organization.

Extension of the powers of the State Board of Children's Guardians giving them authority to safeguard all dependent children.

Jury reform.—The system which gives sheriffs control of selection of jurors should be changed to that of a non-partisan commission.

Institutions for Use in the Treatment of Tuberculosis.—No building for prevention or cure of tuberculosis, public or private, should be located or established, without the permission of the State Board of Health.

Criminal Insane.—Separate provision for the criminal insane in all hospitals—state and county.

Legislative agencies or committees at the state capital who would keep in touch with the measures introduced there affecting social needs and charitable and state institutions.

Larger power and increased efficiency for the Department of Charities and Correction.

Restrictions governing juveniles attending theatres, dance halls, billiard and pool rooms.

Prevention of employment of persons under eighteen years of age as messengers, etc., in telephone, telegraph and messenger offices between the hours of 10 P. M. and 5 A. M.

Sterilization of criminals, idiots, imbeciles, epileptics, rapists and other defectives who in the opinion of a competent board of examiners should not procreate.

Restriction as to the number of hours of woman's work in factory and mercantile pursuits and prohibiting night work in factories for her.

Charities (public and private) directory.

Institutions, associations, etc., operated for charitable, philanthropic, or correctional purposes, to record in office of Commissioner of Charities and Correction, names of executive officers and other items of public importance.

The Social Outlook.

The social outlook is most encouraging. The State has awakened to the need of providing for its dependents and defectives, especially its feeble minded. People in all walks of life are awakening to social service work and I believe that great things may be expected of New Jersey in the next five years. Tuberculosis is a state-wide interest, as is industrial education and indeed the whole educational system is receiving its full share of interest. Slowly, but surely, the State is realizing the effect of the home upon the community, and housing conditions will, in the near future, take its place in the real activities. Public sentiment seems directed toward women of the State and something must soon be done for their protection. With all this and the enlarged work of the State Charities Aid Association, we hope to report great progress in the near future.

NEW YORK.

Robert W. Hill, Albany, Corresponding Secretary.

New York is still progressing, as evidenced by the interest which the people take in everything looking to social betterment. During the past two years our campaign against tuberculosis was state-wide. It may be said the State is committed to the expenditure of more than fifty million dollars for the completion and extension of State charitable and reformatory institutions. In order that the system may be completed, a number of new institutions are planned which have received favorable consideration from those who will finally have to put their approval upon them before they will become established. The program in behalf of children still moves forward. The program for the perfection of the probation system is still under way, and there is in all parts of the State a quickened consciousness on the part of the people themselves, which is a happy augury for the future. What speaks for the future better than anything else is the interest that has been taken by the Governor of the State in matters relating to charities and reform. It is due to him to say that he has given to the State boards which have to do with all the public institutions, his full support, and that in the program which he has outlined to the legislature his recommendations cover the needs of these boards, and so he has pointed the way to the people for what the future must have, if the State performs its full duty to the unfortunate.

New Legislation Relating to Charities, Correction or Social Advance.

The legislation of 1910 is not yet determined but the tendency shown in 1909 in the provisions for safeguarding children, waging war on tuberculosis, extending the probation system and emphasizing State responsibility is seen in the bills pending before the legislature at this time.

One important change in the State control of its charitable institutions is the adoption of the quarterly system of estimates instead of monthly, which has hitherto prevailed. The powers of the fiscal supervisor have also been enlarged that he may have greater control of finances, and productive property, such as farms and herds.

The State Commission in Lunacy has located one new State hospital and is looking for a site for another, and the prison department has a new state prison well under way at Great Meadows, and has lost the Bear Mountain site on the Hudson where it was intended to build a prison to take the place of Sing Sing. Bear Mountain will be included in the great Hudson River Park, which will cover many thousands of acres on the west side of the Hudson, and include the Harriman gift.

The following is a summary of the more important laws:

An act authorizing the city of Elmira to accept the gift of eleven acres of land with a fully equipped hospital for tuberculosis.

An act authorizing the city of Buffalo to establish municipal hospitals for tuberculosis, issuing bonds up to $200,000 for the purpose, also to equip hospitals for other contagious diseases at a similar cost.

An act requiring the location of hospitals and camps for tuberculosis to be approved by a duly authorized board.

Sundry other acts bearing on tuberculosis limited to specific localities.

An act requiring children placed on probation to be given to a probation officer of the same religious faith as the child's parents (when practicable).

An act adding moving picture shows to the list of places from which children are prohibited, unless with their parents or guardian.

An act adding new sections to the penal laws regarding immoral plays, etc.

Sundry acts regulating and providing hearings for insane persons when friends wish their discharge from hospitals.

An act continuing effective authority over girls from the training school until they are twenty-one or married.

An act regulating ambulance service in New York city.

An act providing for opening the Letchworth village for feeble-minded and epileptic.

New Results of Legislation.

The New York State Training School for Boys has been at a stand-still owing to failure of appropriation, but is now ready to go forward again, as a large fund will be provided for buildings and other improvements. The same is true of Letchworth village, but at that institution the improvements are now beginning under the board of managers, which has been in control since October, 1909, as provided by law cited heretofore.

New Private Philanthropic Agencies.

In the State of New York new agencies for social betterment are established each year, many following lines of work hitherto successful, but others entering new fields. An inquiry into congestion of population, for example, has been followed by a permanent organization. Another special agency may be mentioned. It has to do with the care of teeth and dental instruction of school children. Several dental clinics have been established in schools, and where necessary free treatment is given.

All the larger cities and villages have anti-tuberculosis movements under way, and many have permanent societies.

New Developments.

At this date no change has been made in the New York system of managing State institutions. A special legislative committee appointed last year reported progress, and will be continued. Its preliminary report does not forecast any radical changes—although there may be closer relations established in the purchase of supplies and the determination of salaries and wages of employees.

Social Needs.

The new "Foundations" recently endowed and established with almost unlimited fields seem to be covering the social problems to a certain extent, and in co-operation with other philanthropic agencies and religious organizations may in the end provide a system which will prove efficient in combating evil social tendencies. It is to be regretted that these "Foundations" are not more strictly defined as to scope and methods, and, also that they are not compelled to make detailed financial reports each year and full statements of their work. With the millions they control, they may ultimately do harm as well as good and be diverted from the original benevolent intentions of the donors of the funds.

The Social Outlook.

It may be said that in New York a struggle is being made to secure the people a larger place in all public matters, and that there also exists a tendency to emphasize State control of agencies which have to do with public welfare. Back of public utilities, franchise control, direct primaries and similar questions is the awakened sense of public and private responsibility for unhappy social conditions. The effect of this will be felt in all the philanthropic activities, and must eventually result in a readjustment of some of our social relations.

An evidence of this is in the programs of our Conferences and in the increasing number of annual meetings to consider special topics. The interest is so intense that special Conferences must be held to bring into closer association those interested in social betterment. Our State Conference is now supplemented by a New York City Conference and the program of this first Conference illustrates the progress we are making.

The Convention of County Superintendents was the pioneer, and continues its good work.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Miss Daisy Denson, Raleigh, Corresponding Secretary.

New Results of Legislation.

The Epileptic Colony at the Central Hospital for the Insane at Raleigh has been opened for patients, with a capacity of 200. The negro epileptics have been received at the Goldsboro Hospital. State Tuberculosis Sanitarium re-opened in January after being closed for six months while extensive improvements were made. The administration building is to be erected at once.

Under a recent law the Governor has ordered the auditing of accounts of all educational, charitable and penal institutions. Doubtless a uniform system of bookkeeping will result. Great changes have occurred as the result of the new health laws. Public sanitation is the topic of the town. This has been fostered by many influences, one of these the "city cleaning" spirit, which has sprung from the woman's clubs.

The State Laboratory of Hygiene has used the Pasteur treatment quite successfully. Diphtheria anti-toxin is supplied through this department.

Pythians are erecting buildings for an orphanage at Clayton. The orphanage of the Western Methodist Conference has been opened at Winston-Salem.

The Registered Nurses' Association meets annually. District nursing is done in several of our larger cities. Additional charity organization has been effected in some of our towns during the past year. There is a child labor committee and the playground movement is gaining strength, though we have no organization.

The most pronounced social progress has been along health lines, especially the anti-tuberculosis fight. The State Society for the Prevention of Tuberculosis has just held its annual meeting. The increased powers and appropriation to the State Board of Health have given an impetus to the work. A special assistant for work against the hook-worm, paid by the Rockefeller Fund, is under our state board and their physicians are traveling over the State lecturing and investigating. We have a beautiful country, fine climate, and every natural advantage and we have determined to eradicate, or at least control, the spread of tuberculosis and the hook-worm disease.

New Developments.

There is steady growth in our institutions. The buildings erected under the special hospital commission have been completed.

Besides increased room there are now wards or separate buildings for tuberculosis persons at all the charitable institutions. The County Boards of Commissions have formed an organization, meeting annually. This should bring good results in the better management of county charities and jails.

Social Needs.

Improvements in our penal system. Abolition of stripes and corporal punishment. All prisoners to be under the management of a State Board. Indeterminate sentence. More done for discharged prisoners.

State supervision of all child-caring institutions.

Care of feeble-minded and an epileptic village. Hospital for the treatment of indigent inebriates. Legislation for the prevention of blindness of the new-born child.

Orthopedic hospital for the treatment of crippled children, to be established through private initiative and supported by private philanthropy.

The Social Outlook.

The social outlook is fine. Prejudices are disappearing. We look for improvements everywhere and especially hope for it in the general care of our prisoners. We make haste slowly, but never go backward.

NORTH DAKOTA.

Verbal Report by a Delegate.

We are here to learn and assure you that by the next National Conference North Dakota will be heard from. We have not always been a prohibition State. We have the institutions that have been mentioned here for the feeble-minded, the deaf, the blind and others. There are many ways in which progress can be made in the care of the unfortunate and the dependent. In the northwest living is very expensive, and mothers, and children unfortunately born, are not cared for and looked after as we expect they shall be in the future.

OHIO.

H. H. Shirer, Columbus, Corresponding Secretary.

The State Sanitarium at Mount Vernon for the treatment of tubercular patients has been opened with a limited number, and more will soon be received. The Lima State Hospital for the care of insane criminals and other dangerous insane is rapidly nearing completion. Visitation and inspection by those interested in county hospitals and for the care of tubercular patients are being rapidly developed.

The recent legislature passed an act prohibiting the use of boys under eighteen, as messengers at night.

The commission for the blind has been hard at work with a limited appropriation, and they are reporting progress in the prevention of infantile blindness. There is a general advance all along. The playground associations, anti-tuberculosis societies and similar organizations are being formed, showing that the people of Ohio are awake to present-day conditions.

New Legislation Relating to Charities, Correction or Social Advance.

The following measures have received favorable action at the recent session of the General Assembly:

Relatives of patients in State hospitals for the insane and for epileptics and in the institution for feeble-minded, who are able to contribute to their support an amount not exceeding the annual per capita cost shall be required to do so. Friends who are willing to contribute may have this privilege. Heretofore, payments could not be accepted or enforced. The duty of carrying on the matter of investigating conditions surrounding the patients is vested in the Board of State Charities through agents duly appointed for that purpose.

Employers' liability law has been amended so that the injured employe may secure compensation for damages with less difficulty.

The Governor is authorized to appoint a special commission to take under consideration the complete subject of employers' liability and report before January 1, 1911.

Law relating to relief granted by infirmary directors was amended so as to permit no relief by them outside of the infirmary, except in cases where the physical condition or the character of the disease makes it impossible or inadvisable to convey immediately to the infirmary.

New Private Philanthropic Agencies.

A paid secretary has been provided for the Hamilton Associated Charities. Efforts are being made for similar service in Akron and Canton.

There is a rapidly increasing interest being developed in the form of playground associations, largely fostered by the women's clubs.

In the larger cities organizations for sanitary reform, for the betterment of housing conditions and many other types of social service are being considered and developed.

Social Needs.

1. The greatest social need seems to be the organization of Associated Charities in the medium-sized cities, in which are rapidly developing problems which are engaging so much attention in the larger cities. Such organizations, with a capable executive officer, would be the means of the development of such auxiliary agencies as would be necessary and the crystallization of public opinion toward effective preventive and remedial measures.

2. There is apparent need for the creation of a reformatory for women which would receive both misdemeanants and felons, thereby relieving the Girls' Industrial Home of some cases that are now committed there, as well as sentencing of younger and first offenders to the penitentiary. Such an institution would be of service in preventing the sentencing of women to workhouses, in which there often is a lack of suitable quarters and healthful employment.

The Social Outlook.

There seems to be a rapidly increasing interest by the citizenship of the State in many social problems which hitherto have passed unnoticed. For instance, the use of public schools as social centers; the development of public playgrounds; kindergarten associations; better housing conditions; improved sanitation for cities; pure water supply; the prevention of tuberculosis; reasonable working hours for women; and more rational treatment of women offenders.

OKLAHOMA.

Verbal Report by a Delegate.

Oklahoma, the youngest of the States, sends cordial greeting to our honored president, and to the delegates and members of our sister States.

We are almost wholly in the formative stage. When you last met three public institutions had been established by our second legislature, the State penitentiary, the State reformatory, and the State training school for boys. Plans and specifications have been prepared for the Eastern Hospital for the Insane, and land secured; also for the school for feeble-minded, and more land has been secured and a new law enacted providing for a home for dependent white children. This home has for one of its central features the Michigan plan of placing the children. The office of State agent has been created to find homes for such children and visit them at frequent intervals.

Oklahoma has State inspection of county and municipal institutions, and by recently enacted statute it is mandatory on the county commissioners and mayors of cities to paint and whitewash jails and poorhouses four times a year. There is now a stringent law regulating the sale of cocaine, morphine and other poisons.

We expect to keep abreast with the spirit of progress and will be found in the van in utilizing all the most modern and improved appliances, methods and utilities.

We come to join you in your study of the best methods and means and will profit from your teachings and avoid the disastrous experiments of your pioneer work, and we will content ourselves with nothing less than the best means to the end sought, which you are able to show us will bring the best results.

OREGON.

W. R. Walpole, Portland, Corresponding Secretary.

In addition to aiding those who have already crossed the line of dependency and delinquency, we believe it to be most important to supply the insistent demand for industrial education in our schools. Along this line we report one of the best equipped trade schools in the United States. This is in Portland. From the national point of view there are very few such schools. From the standpoint of those who work in child labor we find that the dull child, and the child who, as the teachers say, might just as well go to work as to go to school because he is not getting any good in school, we find such a child in the trade school does well, and we put him there instead of letting him go into the messenger service or the department store. In the statistical columns the largest figures always show against the young man of from sixteen to thirty-five who is marked "no trade, day laborer." Thus we see the relationship between industrial education and reformation, or formation, rather. This is why we prefer to build trade schools rather than reformatories and workhouses. It is time for every State in the Union in its efforts in behalf of child saving, to consider the needs of the natural normal child, before he becomes delinquent.

New Results of Legislation.

Legislature of 1909 appropriated sufficient money to establish a state sanatorium for the care and treatment of tubercular poor. It is at Salem, Oregon, and will be ready for occupancy in September, 1910.

New Private Philanthropic Agencies.

Civic League in Portland organized along "city planning" lines, but will necessarily deal with the sanitary and housing problems of the city.

In Portland there has been opened under Catholic supervision and support an institution similar in scope to that of the Young Women's Christian Association. There are also (in this connection) being established homes for girls earning small wages. It is planned, however, to avoid the institutional feature, by limiting the number of occupants in such homes to a small number under the care of a matron—each girl to carry her share of the expense and responsibility so that it may be a real home.

In Multnomah county (Portland) a new County Hospital has been opened within the past year. The equipment and the staff of physicians and nurses are equal to those of any private hospital in the city.

A tract of land has been purchased for a new poor farm and we are hoping that we may be able to secure a part of the land for a work colony. A contract has just been closed with the Portland Crematorium by the County authorities for the cremation of the bodies of paupers.

The Visiting Nurses' Association of Portland has placed its tubercular work in a separate department with two nurses in the field, and a tuberculosis dispensary in co-operation with the medical department of the University of Oregon. In response to a petition from the Visiting Nurses' Association, the Board of Education of Portland will require of the school teachers a "clean bill of health" as to tuberculosis before reporting for duty this fall.

In the child labor field there is a distinct upward trend to public opinion. The Western Union Telegraph Co. has agreed with the Child Labor Commission that no boy under the age of sixteen years shall be employed by that company, although the legal age limit is fourteen years.

Social Needs.

Oregon needs more than anything else a State Board of Charities and Correction.

While there has been much agitation and restrictive local legislation against public dance halls and roller skating rinks, nothing is being done either through public or private initiative to take the place of these. A public recreation league seems to be a great need at the present time.

The Social Outlook.

1. As to tuberculosis. The State is fully aroused and an active campaign is being carried on by the State Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis, the State Federation of Women's Clubs and the Visiting Nurse Association of Portland.

2. The campaign for pure milk which the Consumers' League carried forward to a successful issue in Portland, is being taken up in various parts of the State, with the result that the State Dairy and Food Commissioner is awakening to a sense of responsibility as to the intent and purpose of the law which created his office and his salary.

3. Along correction lines there is a steady trend upward. The judges are making more frequent use of the parole law for first offenders; the indeterminate sentence law is showing good results.

4. Public sentiment continues to grow in favor of playgrounds. In Portland it is the policy of the school board to purchase sufficient ground with each new building to provide for a playground. The Park Board will open five new playgrounds this year, one of them having a large swimming pool.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Carl Kelsey, Philadelphia, Corresponding Secretary.

The most suggestive fact about Pennsylvania, and one which is seldom realized on the outside, is that we are so cut up by our mountains into geographical groups which divide our various strata of population, that there is almost no spot in which we have a common interest except in the State treasury. Our legislative authorities are beginning to ask about the wisdom of all forms of subsidies. With reference to the afflicted groups, the most interesting thing of last year is the opening of the school at Spring City which accommodates now the feeble-minded boys. Within a year it will be ready for the girls. With reference to the insane, a hospital has been in building for seven years. It has administrative quarters well equipped, but nothing is ready for patients.

With reference to the children the most important thing is the child labor law that went into effect January 1st. Inasmuch as we have had a factory inspector whose chief quality has been his inability to find children at work, new schools had to be opened in some districts in which he had sworn that no children were working. With reference to the children again, a most interesting and valuable report has been made to the mayor of Pittsburg by the playground commission. The city plant of the Girls' House of Refuge, which has been moved to the country, was bought by an institution that receives a large subsidy from the State, and paid for out of the savings of the last five years of that institution, showing how little it needs the subsidy.

Special Report on Child Labor.

The Child Labor Association has, this year, co-operated with those (chiefly school officials) on whom the enforcement of the new law devolves. At the suggestion of the association the State Superintendent of Public Instruction asked the Attorney General for an opinion on the question whether children already employed on the old more or less worthless affidavits would be required under the new law to obtain new certificates. Fortunately for the children and almost without precedent in child labor legislation, the Attorney General ruled that all affidavits became void when the new law took effect, January 1, 1910, and that the children working on these must secure the new certificates or leave their places of employment. As a result in some places ten, twenty, and thirty per cent of the children already at work on the old affidavits have been refused the new certificates and sent back to school.

The school officials, who are now the sole issuers of employment certificates, are, as a rule, justifying the confidence of those who placed this authority in their hands.

The Chief Inspector of Mines has announced that his inspectors must examine all children found at work as to their ability to read and write in the English language, using as a test of this the child's ability to read the child labor law. He has further instructed the inspectors that if any child fails in this test, the certificate must be taken up, the child discharged and prosecution instituted against the school official who issued the certificate. Five men have already been prosecuted. To read the child labor law intelligently is a fairly severe test, and the announcement in newspapers that this is the test applied by mine inspectors has had a very stimulating effect upon the few school officials who might otherwise be lax when they make the original examination before issuing the certificates.

As no legislature meets during the present winter, no steps to improve the law can be taken until the year 1911.

New Results of Legislation.

Easten Pennsylvania Institution for Feeble Minded and Epileptics at Spring City opened in November, 1908, is now receiving feeble-minded boys only.

State Hospital for Insane at Allentown will be opened for patients in about one year.

Hospital for Criminal Insane in course of erection at Fairview, Wayne County, Pa.

Paid probation officers (i. e., from public treasury) giving satisfaction. Law should be amended to get higher grade of chief officers by paying higher salary. In Pittsburg special fund was raised.

New Private Philanthropic Agencies.

Philadelphia Housing Commission to investigate conditions in city.

The Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania has organized work in some eight counties and opened two district headquarters.

New Developments.

The girls' department of the House of Refuge has been moved from narrow city quarters to a farm at Darling, Pa., where large and attractive cottages with separate room for each girl have been built.

The Henry Phipps Institute for cure, treatment and prevention of tuberculosis has been reorganized and will be conducted under charge of the University of Pennsylvania.

Social Needs.

Greater provision for the feeble minded.

Reformatory for women.

The Social Outlook.

There is every evidence of a growing interest in the charitable institutions of the State. I think this will culminate in marked changes for the better within the next decade.

RHODE ISLAND.

Oral Report by a Delegate.

We have a legislature that has always been generous. We have just appropriated $350,000 for a State insane aslyum. We have also appropriated a liberal sum to establish a home and school for feeble minded. We have the juvenile court and the probation system, and since the establishment of that system the numbers of those that go to our institutions have been lessened. Our institutions are on one large farm centrally located, and the Board of State Charities, appointed by the Governor, has charge of them all over the small State of Rhode Island. We believe that is the model way.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Rev. A. T. Jamison, Greenwood, Corresponding Secretary.

New Legislation Relating to Charities, Correction or Social Advance.

A well-framed bill providing for a State Board of Charities and also one for Juvenile Court, found strong supporters in both houses of the legislature, but failed of passage.

New Private Philanthropic Agencies.

A Rescue Home established at Columbia.

A child labor committee organized.

A State Conference of Charities and Correction organized in November.

Tuberculosis exhibitions conducted at Charleston, Greenville and Columbia.

New Developments.

Vigorous investigation of affairs at State Hospital for Insane revealed horrible conditions. A commission appointed by legislature to buy land and erect a new hospital, as well as to enlarge present hospital at Columbia.

Social Needs.

A State Board of Charities.

The Social Outlook.

Apathy has been characteristic of our people. During the year a notable awakening has been manifest, cordially supported by the press.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

W. E. Tipton, Mitchell, Corresponding Secretary.

A citizen of South Dakota traveling through older states notices the different social conditions and therefore the different needs of state and other institutions.

We have not in our State, which is young and prosperous, the class of paupers and dependents and ne'er-do-wells that form so large an element throughout older States and make so heavy a burden upon public charities in every county. The difference, perhaps, can be illustrated in the matter of almshouses. In one of our counties we have perhaps two in the county almshouse. We find in a county of the same size in Missouri, for instance, three of four dozen. So we have the opportunity in our State to give our attention and our means to the development of the State institutions for the care of the insane, feeble minded, and those who need care of that kind. This work in our State is well organized.

New Legislation Relating to Charities, Correction or Social Advance.

Parole officer created but law makes one member of State Board of Charites and Correction the officer and without compensation. The office is of no value to the state as now constituted.

There is little, or nothing, to report in the way of new developments or new philanthropic agencies.

The Social Outlook.

Unfortunately politics dominates the general management of the penal and charitable institutions of this state, and there is no prospect for any immediate change for the better in this respect.

TENNESSEE.

Sam. M. Allen, Nashville, Corresponding Secretary.

Verbal Report.

My appointment as State Secretary is of such recent date I did not have time fully to realize the condition of the work. In Nashville much interest is manifested in all lines for the betterment of humanity and for the proper legislation for juvenile offenders. I believe our juvenile laws will be so amended as to enable us to have juvenile courts and reformatories all over the State. Compulsory education is receiving a great deal of attention, and we have industrial schools for boys and girls. But unfortunately we have no place where a child can be kept who commits a misdeed except the workhouse. We are carrying on a probation system, however, without the juvenile court. In 1897 there were bought 110 acres of land on which to establish a reformatory. But the court declared the law unconstitutional. The secretary of the Nashville Humane Society—an organization owned and controlled by the city of Nashville—was appointed probation officer and we have fifty-two children reporting to that officer on probation. We are going to present the facts to the next legislature, and we are sure we can place before them the necessity of having the juvenile court and other reform organizations.

TEXAS.

Verbal Report by a Delegate.

In the past year the entire State of Texas has been well traveled with a tubercular exhibit. The result was a strong demand upon the legislature to pass a law establishing a hospital for the tubercular patients of our State. The law was passed, but unfortunately our Governor vetoed it. That veto caused a reaction of sentiment for better eleemosynary and penal institutions. The result has been a tremendous agitation in favor of social progress.

The last legislature gave us some laws which have been operated in Texas for the first time. We have a juvenile court, which is possibly advancing as rapidly as any other feature of public social welfare. The result of the demand of the juvenile court interests is bringing about generous donations from private sources for the establishment of industrial schools. The State of Texas now has industrial schools in its southern and eastern parts, and lately a citizen offered over 50 acres of land and twenty thousand dollars for an industrial school in the northern part. We have medical inspection of our school children. We have also a growing interest in the co-ordination of the State Board of Health with the various municipal boards of health, and as a result have a pure food law, and we employ an inspector in many of our leading cities. Throughout the entire State there has been much increase in organization. The charity organization societies in all our cities now have their relief work and remedial institutions.

UTAH.

Hon. Alexander McMaster, Salt Lake City.

Verbal Report.

Utah is with you in every good word and work today. We have many of the institutions that have been mentioned here today for the benefit of the unfortunate. We have done some important work. Among other things is the suppressing of the use of cigarettes among our boys and girls. This habit has grown up there, but we have a splendid law for the protection of our children. We have taken up the work of prosecuting every person who sells or in any way furnishes tobacco to minors. Another matter we have taken up is the sale of intoxicating liquors to minors. Some very unfortunate circumstances have occurred from the saloons selling liquor to minors. We have served notice upon them and it has come to be almost unanimous public sentiment that if they sell liquor to our boys and girls we will put them out of commission. The proprietors of one of the largest resorts have been in court three times. They asked us how long it would continue, and we told them we would arrest them every day that they sold liquor to our boys and girls. We are fortunate in having a governor in Utah who is heart and soul in sympathy with all the charitable work that has been mentioned here today.

VERMONT.

Rev. J. Edward Wright, Montpelier, Corresponding Secretary.

New Private Philanthropic Agencies.

Interest in animals has resulted in the formation of a humane society in Washington county.

Women's clubs, aiming to further the general welfare, are increasing in number and efficiency.

New Developments.

Interest in state forestry is increasing. Our efficient State Board of Health is recognized as a power for good, and our people are yielding more and more cordial assent to its rules.

Social Needs.

The prevailing practice of sentencing men to jail for intoxication is maintained here, though practically worthless and worse than useless, for warning or for reformation. New legislation seems demanded here, and perhaps an institution for the treatment of dipsomaniacs.

The Social Outlook.

There are many indications of improvement in public sentiment in regard to sanitary conditions, (pure water supply and campaign against tuberculosis), and in regard to education, especially the adapting of the courses of study in the common schools to the practical needs of the great majority of the pupils.

VIRGINIA.

J. T. Mastin, Richmond, Corresponding Secretary.

Virginia has established a sanitarium for the treatment of tuberculosis and is in line for the battle against the great white plague. We have a colony for epileptics recently established on a farm of a thousand acres, and we have provision for the segregation of the criminal and dangerous insane. Virginia is being stirred over the inadequate provision for the care of her delinquent, defective and dependent children. We have recently established an industrial school for girls on a farm of five hundred acres. For a long time we have been feeling the necessity of an institution of this kind. We expect to see it in operation in a short time.

New Legislation Relating to Charities, Correction or Social Advance.

A bill directing the State Board of Charities and Correction to ascertain the number and condition of the feeble minded in the State, looking to the establishment of a state institution for the care of the feeble minded. Now upon its passage in the senate.

A bill directing that the superintendents and overseers of the poor of the several counties and the poor committees of the several cities be organized into a board of poor commissioners. Object: More effective co-operation of the several agencies in charge of the work of caring for the destitute. Now on its passage.

(For new legislation on matters of correction see page 624.)

New Private Philanthropic Agencies.

The Virginia Anti-Tuberculosis Association. Objects: (1) Dissemination of knowledge concerning the causes and prevention of tuberculosis. (2) Investigation of the prevalence of tuberculosis in Virginia and the collection and publication of useful information. (3) To secure probable legislation for the relief and prevention of tuberculosis. (4) Co-operation with the public authorities, State and local boards of health, the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, medical societies and other organizations for the prevention of the disease. (5) Promotion of the organization and work of local societies in all parts of Virginia. (6) Encouragement of adequate provision for consumptives by the establishment of sanatoria, hospitals, dispensaries and otherwise.

Steps are being taken to organize a society for the after care of the insane.

Social Needs.

An institution to which habitual drunkards can be sent where they will have medical attention and can work for their own support and possibly contribute something towards the support of those dependent upon them.

The Social Outlook.

The social outlook in Virginia is bright, as will be seen by reference to what is written under New Legislation.

WASHINGTON.

Verbal Report by a Delegate.

The people of the State of Washington stand upon the threshold of their social development. So rapid has been the increase in population of the cities of the Pacific northwest that they have been brought face to face with the solution of the entire range of social questions before they have been effectively organized to cope with them. The bulk of our social progress can be crowded into three or four short years, but it must be borne in mind that five years in the Pacific northwest are equivalent to from twenty-five to thirty years upon the Atlantic coast—so rapid is the march of events in this new country.

Less than a year ago the Anti-Tuberculosis League of King County was organized. Since then this work has been inaugurated in Spokane, Tacoma, Bellingham and Vancouver. The gift of one of our wealthy citizens has placed the work in Seattle on a sound financial basis. Two visiting nurses are employed by the Seattle league. Medical inspection has been introduced into the schools of Seattle, and three school nurses are now employed. The Dewey Sanitarium was opened three months ago and the Henry Sanitarium will open in June.

During the past year two new Associated Charities have been organized, one in the town of Hoquiam, and the other in Wenatchie, making seven now in operation throughout the State of Washington.

Visiting nursing has also been inaugurated in Spokane. A playground association was formed a year ago.

The Social Service Club of Seattle came into existence three months ago. A civic institute, whose general topic is "Child Life in Seattle", is now being conducted under the auspices of the Social Service Club.

The Fourth State Conference of Charities and Corrections has just closed. To this Conference came delegates bearing credentials from county commissioners, mayors, commercial bodies and charitable organizations. It is significant that the county commissioners of three counties paid the expenses of their delegates to the Conference.

There is a movement on foot in Seattle at the present time to have a social survey of that city made by eastern experts. This survey is largely contingent upon the securing of the National Conference for Seattle in 1911. We also hope to have the decision of the charity organization department of the Russell Sage Foundation place an agent in our field for 1911 in order to promote a better environment for and a clearer understanding of scientific charity.

The Pacific Northwest is ready. The pivotal thought to which we wish to direct your attention is the awakened interest of our people. Heretofore they have been busy wresting homes from the wilderness. They now stand ready to throw into their social work the same energy which is at present being utilized in building the great metropolis of the Pacific northwest. But as they grapple with their problems today they are groping in the dark. They need you to direct their newly awakened activity into the proper channels. Seattle and Washington are your opportunity and the opportunity of the American people, as well as ours. They constitute a clean sheet on which a new story may be written.

WISCONSIN.

Verbal Report by a Delegate.

I don't claim that Wisconsin has the largest experience of the best institutions. We try rather to remove the causes that make prisoners. For that reason the State of Wisconsin has set the example to the world on April 5th of electing a city council and a mayor who are committed to this work. In Wisconsin we have many eleemosynary institutions, and we have the remedial loan society which has done so much to curb the pawn shop. In spite of these facts we still have the poor with us as you do in every State. What we want is justice to the poor. All they want is their just rights, and we are coming to that. Just as soon as we give them justice this Conference of Charities will have accomplished its work, and will leap to something that will lift society.

CANADA

ONTARIO.

Verbal Report by a Delegate.

I am the only representative I know of from Canada. I hope this Conference will soon be international. The Dominion parliament last year passed a law so the juvenile court is to be established in all provinces in each county, town and city in Canada. Toronto established the first juvenile court in the world. We have a law to keep boys under sixteen from smoking, and against selling to minors. Playgrounds have been established in all the large centers. In Toronto we have three supervised playgrounds. Moral and social reform associations are doing splendid work throughout Canada. I can only report the general conditions of progress in the work of charities and correction.

NEW BRUNSWICK.

Rev. T. Hunter Boyd, Waweig, Corresponding Secretary.

New Legislation Relating to Charities, Correction or Social Advance.

A new provincial health act was passed which contains several important improvements. For the first time provision is made for the appointment of health officers, who may hold a diploma of public health and when medical men are appointed who possess this additional qualification, we anticipate considerable improvement in preventive work.

New Results of Legislation.

An attractive building, suitably equipped, has been opened in St. John for the use of seamen, and this is calculated to accomplish much for the needs of this class in a growing port.

The Associated Charities of St. John has now a grant from the city funds in aid of the work, and as the work of the office becomes better known it merits wider confidence.

New Private Philanthropic Agencies.

The St. John Anti-Tuberculosis Association has now opened a dispensary and engaged a special nurse. This is an entirely new and most gratifying step.

Efforts were made for a civic cleaning bee on Arbor Day, and 6,000 scholars were encouraged to assist in cleaning back yards and planting flowers.

A small committee has been at work in securing data on the housing problem.

Social Needs.

We have vital statistics from four or five cities but registration is not general throughout the province, hence it is difficult to impress on the people that one of our chief needs is greater conservation of human life.

There is a tendency to compare such records as we possess with the records of older and more congested centres. Our advantages of climate and occupation and other factors should make improvement very easy if the community conscience could be made more acute.

We need a conference of social workers of all kinds, together with inspectors of schools, factories, milk and meat, and all our institutions.

We are stil lacking the provisions of a children's protection act, which has rendered good service in other provinces, but the desirability of such measures has received more definite attention during the year.

The Social Outlook.

There is marked improvement in many respects. The St. John Board of Trade invited the editors of all the journals in the province to confer upon methods for inspiring better ideals for the citizens, and numerous organizations are now contending to realize these results.

The Provincial Tuberculosis Association has helped to make it clear that general betterment is necessary to reduce the conditions which give the specific germ a chance to do its work.

Special Report of Deportation of Tuberculosis.

While provision is still being made for persons who have tuberculosis in the incipient stage, increased emphasis is being laid upon the necessity of controlling the advanced cases so that the source of supply may be cut off. Notification, registration, and segregation are intimately associated and workers are now confronted with the fact that the accommodation for those who are a source of danger is very limited.

One effect of the campaign to hunt out the danger foci in every community appears to have received little attention in conferences on tuberculosis. Phthisisophobia has ensured more stringest regulations in immigration laws for Canada and the United States. Not many persons are rejected at the ports of entry on this account, partly because not many seek admission and also because this examination is superficial. But it is now possible to deport tuberculous persons who seek aid from institutions within three years in the United States and within two years in Canada.

Immigrants are really citizens on probation, and if aware of these regulations are confronted with a serious predicament. If a wage-earner has come from a section of Europe where the tuberculosis death rate is low, he has probably learned that the low mortality is largely due to segregation of the tuberculous. Hence he may think it is his duty to seek aid so that he will reduce danger to his family and his fellows. But this involves another danger. He will be asked how long he has been on this side of the Atlantic and if he has not delayed his application past the 36 month period he is liable to deportation. It may be his family are compelled to return, also, because he has become a public charge. If the man were rejected on account of syphilis it would be grievous that his wrong doing should compel his family to endure the agony of being thrust out of a land in which almost two, or three years, have been happily spent, to endure the tortures of steerage and to become paupers in their native country. But he is affected with a disease due to economic conditions over which he has little control. His work and his means have compelled him to occupy rooms and workshops which were infected before he left a town with a lower death rate on the other side of the Atlantic. It is not a case of immigration at all. It is an instance of imposing an undue test for citizenship. Would it not have a salutary effect upon municipal authorities who apply to federal government in Canada or the United States to be compelled to show that the man has not been a victim of condition they were lax to remove!

NOVA SCOTIA.

Rev. J. W. Macmillan, D. D., Halifax, Corresponding Secretary.

New Legislation Relating to Charities Correction or Social Advance.

Establishment of juvenile courts provided for.

A workmen's compensation act passed.

Prohibition of the liquor traffic in all the province except the city of Halifax. The licenses in Halifax to be reduced thirty per cent. and a plebiscite on the subject of prohibition to be taken.

The organization of a provincial police force.

New Private Philanthropic Agencies.

A nursing mission in Halifax, taking charge of children by the day.

Anti-Tuberculosis League for the county of Halifax.

A playground association for Halifax.

A handsome Children's Hospital built and opened.

New Developments.

A commission to investigate the project of an eight-hour law for the province reported adversely.

An attempt to repeal a clause in the factory act which forbade women or young persons (aged 14 to 18) being employed longer than eight hours a day was made. Fortunately it did not succeed.

Social Needs.

A reformatory for youthful offenders.

A sanitarium for advanced cases of tuberculosis.

Reform of prison laws. There is a parole system but no indeterminate sentences or probation officers.

Civil service reform. One of the leading enterprises is a government owned railway, with every appointment made by patronage.

Associated Charities in Halifax and Sydney.

The Social Outlook.

This is the oldest settled part of Canada and that which shares least in the present tide of immigration and rapid growth. Hence there is an indisposition to accept new ideas apparent. There is also, on the part of many, a growing sensitiveness to light, while, in some respects, the laws and customs are as far advanced as in any part of Canada. The list of new laws and organizations given above will show that we are not quite frost-bound.

NEW LEGISLATION ON PRISONS, Courts, Probations and Changes in Practice.

(An appendix to the report of the Committee on Law-Breakers.)

The information under this heading was nearly all collected by the Committee on Law Breakers, additions gathered from the written reports from States and from the brief oral reports made at the first session of the Conference have been incorporated.

To obtain the material for the report of changes affecting law breakers throughout the United States, the forty-seven States in the

Union were divided into groups and each of the groups was assigned to one of the sixteen members of the Committee.

An effort was made to give the members of the Committee, so far as possible, the states in their immediate neighborhood. The members of the Committee all accepted their assignments. Two members, however, were obliged to call upon other persons to gather the material for them.

The members were asked to furnish the Chairman of the Committee with this information:

First:—Any legislation in their respective states enacted since the meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Correction in June, 1909, which affected adult law breakers.

Second.—To report on such matters as the success or failure of probation or parole laws. On any changes of method on the part of the State in handling the problems of criminality, the establishment of any new institutions for the care of law breakers, etc.

Third.—Any backward steps taken by any State in its dealing with law breakers.

These reports on the whole have been full and satisfactory. It is quite impossible in the report of the Committee as a whole to present all the details given in the sub-reports, interesting and important as they are. No legislation has been omitted, but the other matter contained therein has been edited and abridged.

In eighteen States there has been no session of the legislature since the last Conference of Charities and Correction. Some of the State legislatures have not yet adjourned and it has been quite difficult to get any definite information concerning the fate of certain legislation.

ALABAMA.

Legislation.

1. A new jury law providing for a jury commission appointed by the governor. Designed to abolish the professional juror.

2. An amendment to the State Juvenile Court Law of 1907. Designed, first, to make the law applicable to misdemeanor cases only; second, to give more discretionary power to the courts in the matter of committing children to jail. This amendment was framed up in order to meet the supposed needs of those counties having a large negro population.

3. A new anti-gambling law, designed to help in the suppression of the gaming evil.

A complete juvenile court system with detention home facilities has been established in Birmingham by a private organization with county and city appropriations.

ARKANSAS.

The last legislature extended the law for the prevention of cruelty to animals so as to include children.

Arrangements have been made in a few places for juvenile courts, but so far the juvenile court law has failed of passage in the legislature.

CALIFORNIA.

During the past year our prison system has advanced. We will soon add 800 new cells and striped clothing will be laid aside. The parole system has been extended and will be more extended. The graded system has been adopted for the prisons, and in one of them, San Quentin, the grades will be segregated.

COLORADO.

1. A bill was passed for the prevention of the coercion of prisoners for the purpose of obtaining confessions.

2. A bill actively supported by Judge Lindsey, entitled "An act concerning persons whose acts constitute offenses against the laws of this state, and providing for their correction and redemption, and also defining the powers of the courts in such cases," was enacted. This act was intended to redeem persons drifting into crime, and creates a probation court wherein it shall be lawful for the judge of the court to hear evidence in relation to all matters properly brought before it, and fix the amount of damage committed by the person charged with the offense complained of, and with the consent of the person in whose interest the proceeding is begun, may order reparation by him to be made to the person suffering such damage, by the return of the property taken or payment of the damage done. The court may impose such conditions on guilty defendants as the case may justify.

3. The establishment of convict road camps to be operated under the trusty system. The prisoners are sent out upon their honor not to attempt to escape. There are no guards or stockades at these camps, the only civilians being the superintendent and one assistant. The prisoners get ten days in the month allowed on their sentences for this work if properly done. The scheme is a marked success. Attempts to escape are few.

CONNECTICUT.

1. The last legislature appropriated $400,000 for a State Reformatory for males between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five.

A board of directors has been appointed and a site purchased and it is expected that the institution will be finished and ready to receive inmates inside of twelve months.

2. It is reported that about one hundred persons were under supervision on parole from the State's Prison on September 30, 1909. There are 1,144 individuals on probation in various parts of the State.

3. The probation law was amended so as to include anyone charged with delinquency which rendered him liable to be committed to any humane or reformatory institution.

DELAWARE.

There has been no session of the legislature in this State since the last Conference.

A new state workhouse has been established for the long term prisoners.

The county jails are reported to be a disgrace to the State.

It is said that public sentiment in favor of improved methods is increasing and there is hope of effective legislation in the near future.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The sites for the new reformatory and workhouse have been purchased in accordance with the terms of the act reported last year. Both tracts are in the State of Virginia on the Potomac River. The tract for the workhouse is at Occaquon and contains something over 1100 acres. The tract for the reformatory is at Accotink and contains about 1500 acres. The most remote tract is that of the workhouse, which is about twenty-five miles from Washington. Both tracts are accessible by boat directly from the city. It is planned to take the prisoners from the workhouse to the new tract and begin the work of improvement during the present summer.

During the present session of Congress estimates have been submitted asking for further appropriations with which to carry out the purpose of that act.

When these new institutions are finished the present jail in the District of Columbia will be used only as a house of detention.

There has recently been introduced in Congress, in accordance with the recommendations of the penal commission, a bill for a probation system for prisoners in the District of Columbia, and it is expected that there will be introduced in Congress within the next few days a bill for the parole of United States prisoners in the District of Columbia, which will be applicable also to United States prisoners in general. It is hoped that these two bills may become a law at this session of congress.

A word should be said as to the relation of the District of Columbia with the general government regarding criminals. Almost all the prisoners convicted of crimes in the District of Columbia, had they occurred in any of the States, would have subjected the offender to trial in a State court, and upon conviction of sentence would have confined him to a State prison. The District of Columbia being the seat of government, Congress has retained sole jurisdiction over its affairs. Therefore all crimes committed in the District of Columbia are treated as crimes against the United States; they are tried by United States courts and upon conviction, if sentenced to imprisonment in a penitentiary, the prisoners are transported by United States' officials to one of the United States' penitentiaries for confinement.

FLORIDA.

In Pensacola the juvenile court exists by courtesy of two judges. Certain charity workers are doing volunteer probation work.

GEORGIA.

The probation law which permits county commissioners to extend probation has been adopted in two counties. We have a parole·law on the statute books but no parole system.

IDAHO.

Law enacted to provide for indeterminate sentences to the State penitentiary.

Law against cruelty to animals.

Law defining delinquent children, providing for their care and penalty for persons, parents or others, causing such delinquency.

ILLINOIS.

1. The Supreme Court of Illinois on February 16th, 1910, rendered a decision in the case of The People vs. Joyce, invalidating the indeterminate sentence and parole law of 1899. So much consternation was caused by this decision that the Supreme Court decided, at a later date, to reconsider its finding and the case is scheduled to come up on June 10, 1910.

2. The Forty-sixth General Assembly passed an act amending section 11 of the Convict Labor Law entitled "An act to regulate the employment of convicts and prisoners in the penal and reformatory institutions in the State of Illinois and providing for the disposition of the products of their skill and industry.

The purpose of this amendment was to employ that portion of forty per cent of the convict labor provided for in above mentioned act in the improvement of the channels of the Okaw, Cache, Little

Wabash, Big Muddy, Saline and Sangamon Rivers. No convicts have been employed under the provisions of this amendment because all of the convicts are employed in the production of articles for State charitable institutions and the care of the penal institutions.

3. The reappropriation at the forty-sixth assembly of $500,000 for the acquisition of lands for the relocation of the Illinois State Penitentiary and the Illinois Asylum for Criminal Insane and for the building of the new Illinois State Penitentiary and the new hospital for insane criminals at or near the City of Joliet.

The Governor of Illinois has recently appointed a commission to select a site and to make plans for the building, etc. It is expected that prison labor will be utilized so far as possible in the new building. It is estimated that ten years will be required for this work.

INDIANA.

1. This State reports that the practical application of its new parole law has proved successful. Out of forty judges all but six have expressed themselves as cordially in favor of the law.

"During the period from May in 1908, to November 15th, 1909, 389 defendants charged with felony were put under probation in this State. Of this number 303 remained under probation November 15th, 1909, and thirty had been released from supervision; forty-four had violated the terms of probation and were committed to prison and eighteen had left the jurisdiction of the court. It is estimated by the Secretary of the State Board of Charities that a saving of $68,075 was made to the State by this application of the probation law. This does not include an estimate of the earnings of these men during this period, and does not include hundreds of petty offenders charged with misdemeanors who were placed under probation, under the supervision of local voluntary probation officers."

2. A strong effort is recommended to secure the reformation of such practices as the receiving of sheriff's fees for feeding of prisoners and the detention longer than is necessary of prisoners awaiting transportation to other institutions.

One county jail condemned under the jail supervisor law of 1909 is being replaced by a new structure. The condition of several others has been reported to the proper authorities for action.

A newly elected judge in Indianapolis is putting the adult probation law in practice with satisfactory results. Incidentally the method works a considerable financial saving to the county.

IOWA.

The penitentiary is being improved and made more modern in every respect. The warden has made considerable stir because of his reform methods.

KANSAS.

There has been no legislative session during 1909.

The reorganization of the State penitentiary is reported. It is stated that formerly the penitentiary was run on a commercial basis, to be self-supporting if possible. Reformatory efforts were considered desirable but secondary.

A new warden has been appointed by the Governor and the methods of the institution have been revolutionized. "The saving of men is now the dominant idea and all things are compelled to work together toward that end."

Schools have been opened; recreation features have been developed and all work placed on a trade instruction basis.

The parole system has been put in operation as a main factor in the conduct of the prison.

KENTUCKY.

1. The passage of the indeterminate sentence law with parole, after the model of the law of Indiana. Included in this law is the provision for the payment of wage to the prisoners.

2. A law changing the penitentiary at Frankfort to a State Reformatory.

3. The adoption in this institution of a graded system for prisoners with promotion from one grade to another. The abolition of stripes except for the lowest grade.

Important changes in the method of education and discipline.

LOUISIANA.

1. A new boys' reformatory school was opened in April of this year. An act establishing this school provides:

"For the creation, maintenance and government of a State reform school for male prisoners of eighteen years of age and less, not convicted of murder, manslaughter or rape; to provide for the transfer, under certain circumstances, of convicts from the State Penitentiary to the State Reform School and from the State Reform School to the State Penitentiary; to make an appropriation to carry out the provisions of this act; and to repeal laws inconsistent or in conflict herewith."

2. An act has been introduced in the legislature during the past year creating a state juvenile court and a probation system for juvenile offenders.

We are uninformed as to the passage of this act.

3. At the last session of the legislature in this state the commission was authorized to consider the revision and codification of the

criminal laws. This commission will report on the proposed code at the next session of legislature and the adoption thereof will be a radical change in the criminal procedure of this State.

MAINE.

There has been no legislative session during the past year. I have to report some progress in the enforcement of the non-support law passed two years ago. Non-support is made a felony punishable by a fine not to exceed five hundred dollars, or imprisonment not to exceed two years, or both. During the past winter several cases were brought up under that law and convictions obtained, and under suspended sentences the offenders were placed under the care of the probation officer, most of them paying regularly to the support of their families since.

The probation law for adult and juvenile delinquents continues to give satisfaction in Cumberland county, where it has been in operation for several years. Under the new law of 1909 county probation officers have been appointed in Washington, Kennebec and Penobscot counties.

The law passed last year giving to the State Board of Prison and Jail Inspectors power to carry their recommendations to the county commissioners into effect in case the commissioners fail to do so has proved of great value. Heretofore the recommendations of this board have frequently received but scant courtesy and little attempt has been made by certain county officials to remedy the bad conditions prevailing in some of the jails, but under the new law the inspectors have compelled the county commissioners in certain counties to make needed changes and improvements in the buildings, equipment, and management of the jails, and the whole system of jail administration has been greatly improved.

The "Maine Prison Association" is active in educating the public in the modern methods of caring for criminals. The need of a woman's reformatory is keenly felt and preparations are now being made for a vigorous demand upon the next legislature for its establishment. There are strong influences at work in Portland for the establishment of a home in the country for misdemeanants and especially for inebriates where under an indeterminate sentence some at least may be reclaimed to useful lives. There has been better enforcement of child labor laws and the compulsory education law, but doubtless there is still room for improvement.

MARYLAND.

As the legislature has only recently adjourned, it is most difficult at this time to know the fate of some of the bills relative to law breakers.

A white slave law providing drastic punishment for violations was passed.

The salary of the judges for juvenile cases was increased, in order to invite to the position men of higher qualifications. Wider powers were also given this court in dealing with children.

The Maryland school for boys, a large reformatory to be conducted on the cottage plan, will move into its newly completed buildings June 1st of this year.

MASSACHUSETTS.

There has been no legislative session during the past year and no changes have taken place effecting law breakers.

MICHIGAN.

This State reports no new legislation during 1909. The juvenile court is in every county, also a uniform system of procedure of bringing back fellows who ought to be working for their families. A spirit of harmony is shown in the working out of the adult probation method. The indeterminate sentence is being carried into effect and there is a desire to reform the criminal rather than to punish him.

MINNESOTA.

This State reports no legislative session during 1909-10.

1. It is reported that the adult probation law passed by legislation during 1909 has worked successfully wherever it has been tried throughout the State. The most extensive experience has been in the municipal court of Minneapolis, where a special probation officer has been provided.

2. The work upon the new prison reported to the Conference of Charities of 1909 is in progress. Two new institutions of great importance—an industrial school and an inebriate hospital, will be built, equipped and opened within the current year.

3. The warden of the Minnesota State Prison makes the following report:

"You ask me particularly how the law of 1909 allowing pay to prisoners is working out. The Deputy Warden, who is the disciplinary officer of this institution, informs me that it has been a great help in the matter of discipline. The men are contented and hopeful and work with much better feeling than ever before, and the men who do not show a disposition to better themselves do not benefit by this law, as it is left entirely to the discretion of the warden whether or not they are paid their wages. This is being handled over carefully and conservatively. The pay roll of the two prisons for the month of March from all sources amounted to $2,041.03. This money is largely used for the benefit of families of the prisoners, although of course they use a small amount for their own benefit by buying toilet articles, books, reading matter, and things of that sort."

4. Another innovation in the Minnesota State Prison is the manufacture of farm machinery, from which excellent results are expected, the work being healthful and interesting to the men."

The juvenile court law was extended by the last legislature so as to cover the whole State instead of only three cities.

A new State Industrial School for Girls is being established, officered by trained women coming from any part of the United States.

MISSOURI.

New Legislation—Children.

The method of commitment to the State Industrial Schools for Boys and Girls has been revised. A State Industrial Home for Negro Girls established. Laws revised as to abandonment and non-support by parents, making abandonment a felony. Law imposing penalty for mistreatment of apprentices or children.

Courts.

Law establishing a new division of the court of criminal correction to facilitate the handling of misdemeanor cases.

Amending juvenile court law applicable to St. Joseph providing for the circuit judge to hold court in the absence of the regular judge.

Law establishing juvenile courts in counties of 50,000 and over.

Misdemeanors.

Law making the carrying of deadly weapons or their display in shop windows a felony.

New Results of Legislation.

The new juvenile court law applies to neglected and dependent as well as to delinquent children. Juvenile courts have been organized (or re-organized) in the five counties containing largest cities under this law, with the exception of Buchanan county, where the court continues as a part of the criminal court. It is being attempted, by mandamus proceedings, to establish a juvenile court in Jasper county.

Sundry.

Blue uniforms have been substituted for striped ones at the State penitentiary; many other improvements, especially as to diet and bathing, are reported.

NEBRASKA.

There has been no legislative session in this State since the last Conference. A law not previously reported providing for suspended sentences for felonies, except the most serious ones, has gone into effect and is working well.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

In April, 1909, an act relative to sentence to State's prison was approved. This requires the courts to impose an indeterminate sentence with the maximum and minimum provided by law for the specific offense.

After a prisoner has served the minimum sentence he may be paroled the balance of his term subject to the control of the prison authorities. This law has been enforced too short a time to permit conclusions as to its success.

NEW JERSEY.

1. During the legislative session of 1909-10 a law establishing a woman's reformatory has been passed. The provisions of this law are not all approved by the friends of the measure.

The bill carries with it no appropriation. It is hoped that one will be obtained at the next session.

2. The probation system is in constantly increasing use in this State.

A law provides for paid probation officers appointed and controlled by the judges. Fifteen counties in New Jersey have probation officers and an association of probation officers has been formed and a uniform blank for statistics has been adopted.

In one county alone more than 1,200 persons are said to be on probation at the present time. A chief probation officer and four assistants find it well nigh impossible to care for so many.

An appropriation of $14,000 was made to build a suitable apartment for tuberculous convicts upon the roof of the reformatory at Rahway.

A law authorizing the Board of Managers of the State Reformatory to fix the salaries of employes, provided that no salary shall exceed $1,500 except the deputy superintendent and the parole officers, whose salaries shall be $1,800.

A new law provides for the appointment of police matrons by the police commissioners of the cities, and another law authorizes judges of the court of common pleas to appoint a suitable woman to serve as matron of the county jail.

A law authorizing State Prison inspectors with the consent of the supervisor, to settle and determine all contracts and the work thereunder in relation to the labor of the prison.

A law passed increasing to $25.00 the amount a discharged State prisoner may receive.

It is now a misdemeanor for a person knowingly to assist a person who has committed a crime to escape.

Another law provides that after the establishment of a house of detention in the respective counties no juvenile defendant shall be arraigned or placed on trial for any offense cognizable before the said juvenile court, excepting in said court.

Juvenile court judges may commit to the care of the State Board of Children's Guardians offenders instead of sending them to institutions. The board will place these children in families where individual attention can be given them and where they can get the benefit of a new environment. Much is hoped for from this.

The age of consent has been raised to sixteen years.

The juvenile court judge in Newark ascertains the financial condition of the parents of children committed to the detention home and charges them for maintenance with such an amount as they are able to pay. A considerable amount has been collected.

NEW MEXICO.

1. No laws have been passed by the legislature of this territory since June, 1909, as the legislature has not been in session since that time and in the ordinary course of events will not convene until January, 1911.

2. The parole and probation system established has been put into effect and all prisoners are now sentenced to a maximum and minimum term. The effect of this law has been beneficial.

3. The last legislature provided for the location of a reform school at Springer, New Mexico. This reform school has now been started and about twenty-five boys are now confined in it. The Board of Control is an excellent one and a superintendent has been brought from Kansas.

NEW YORK.

1. Important legislation passed by the session of 1908-1909 and not reported to the last Conference of Charities and Correction was as follows:

Chapter 482 of the Laws of 1909 amends the code of criminal procedure relative to the appointment and payment of probation officers.

Chapter 478 of the Laws of 1909 amends the penal code by providing that children of more than seven years and less than sixteen years of age committing an act not punishable by death or life imprisonment shall not be deemed guilty of any crime, but of juvenile delinquency only.

Chapter 566 of the Laws of 1909 amended the charter of the State of New York by extending jurisdiction to children's courts in all cases concerning children under sixteen years of age.

Chapter 570 of the Laws of 1909 provides for the reorganization of the court system of Buffalo. This reorganization makes little change in the civil jurisdiction of the court. It provides for the parole of adults convicted of misdemeanors and establishes a detention home for children.

Section 211 of the prison law relative to the subject of parole was amended by Ch. 489 of the Laws of 1909 so as to change the maximum and minimum terms of persons confined in state prisons or reformatories for females. The object of the change is to make it possible to hold a prisoner on parole for a considerable period of time before he is finally discharged.

2. During the current year plans for a State prison at Comstock, N. Y., have been accepted and work begun, an appropriation of $350,000 having been made by the legislature of 1909.

Bills are now pending before the present session of legislature to establish a State farm for vagrants; a State reformatory for male misdemeanants between the ages of sixteen and thirty, and a colony for the treatment of inebriates in New York City.

A bill is also pending which contemplates the removal of Bear Mountain prison to another site because of the decision of the State authorities to abandon this site to make it a part of a new State park.

3. A most important event of the year was the final report of the legislative commission to inquire into the courts of inferior criminal jursdiction, by the Page commission. This was issued April 4, 1910. The recommendations made by the commission are now in process of preparation. Some of the main recommendations of the commission are: 1. A chief justice of a court of special sessions, a chief magistrate for each of the two boards of city magistrates. These chief justices follow the analogy of the peace justice established by the new Buffalo city court act, which was recommended by the commission. 2. The appointment of civilian probation officers and civilian attendants and the elimination of police probation officers and police attendants. 3. The installation of a more complete system of records under the jurisdiction of the chief justice. 4. The extension of children's courts so as to comprehend children's courts in the boroughs of Queens and Richmond. 5. Makes it illegal to convict a child for an act which if committed by an adult would be a felony, but requires that the conviction in such case shall be of juvenile delinquency. 6. Extension of the period of probation (a) for children to three years, and within that limit to apply to children after they have reached the age of sixteen; and (b) for adults to two years. 7. The establishment

of a central court of domestic relation in both the first and second divisions of the boards of magistrates. 8. The establishment in the first division of a night court for women and a night court for men, each of which shall open at 7 o'clock in the evening and remain open until 3 o'clock in the morning. The establishment of a detention place convenient to the night court for women where persons may be detained both before and after being heard, and where the young and less hardened shall be segregated as far as practicable from the older and more hardened offenders. 9. The abolition of the cumulative sentence in cases where women are convicted of offenses connected with prostitution, and the compulsory installation of the finger print system of identification in connection with the night court and other courts at which women charged with these offenses are arraigned. 10. Compulsory medical examination of all women convicted of prostitution and indeteminate sentences where a defendant thus convicted is suffering from venereal diseases, for a minimum period to be fixed by the magistrate and the maximum period not to exceed one year except in those cases where he commits to an institution having authority to receive inmates for detention for a period of more than one year: More adequate provision in the court rooms so as to enable the defendant in all cases to have the same opportunity to be heard as the complainant. 11. Provision whereby persons detained in police stations or district prisons may promptly notify relatives or friends by letter or telephone. Much abuse in the city of New York occurs because of the lack of such provision. 12. All justices and magistrates to visit institutions to which they have the power to commit persons, (a) once in each year if situated in the city of New York(b) other institutions whenever required by the chief justice or the chief magistrate as the case may be.

4. The National Committee on Prison Labor has been incorporated under the laws of the State of New York to concentrate all efforts working for prison labor reform, "with a view to making prison labor reformative rather than punitive."

First offenders convicted of felony (except murder first or second degree) and sentenced to a State prison, shall be sentenced thereto on an indeterminate sentence, the minimum being one year. The maximum limit shall be so fixed as to expire between April 1st and October 31st. Maximum terms to be those now fixed for the offense.

The Women's Farm, for women now sent to workhouses, jails and penitentiaries, has been located and construction will probably begin within the year.

NORTH CAROLINA.

There has been no legislative session in this State since the last Conference of Charities and Correction.

The law substituting electrocution for hanging has gone into effect, the first electrocution having taken place in March of the present year.

However, there is a growing popular sentiment against capital punishment in the State.

Various recorders' courts have been established in the larger towns, and these have greatly lessened the jail population because most of the convicted prisoners are sent either to State farms or camps, or to work upon the public roads. This has depleted the jail population, which is now almost entirely confined to women, though not many, and prisoners awaiting trial.

It is reported that there is a decided awakening of interest in matters of penology throughout the State and it is believed that indeterminate sentence and the parole law will soon be secured.

Sentiment against the use of the whip and the wearing of the stripes is increasing and it is hoped that they will soon be abolished.

The law requires the separation of tuberculous prisoners from others and arrangements are being made accordingly.

NORTH DAKOTA.

No legislative session during 1909.

Certain important legislation enacted in the spring of 1909 was not reported in the last annual report of the National Conference of Charities and Correction.

Chapter 228 of the laws of 1909 provided for the payment of earnings of prisoners to their dependent families.

Chapter 175 of the laws of 1909 provides for an indeterminate sentence of offenders with a maximum and minimum. There is no limitation confining the action of this law to first offenders.

Chapter 174 of the laws of 1909 establishes adult probation for persons never before in prison for crime, under the supervision of a board of trustees of the State penitentiary.

The results of probation and of the indeterminate sentence are commended by the warden of the North Dakota Penitentiary.

OHIO.

1. The State is reconstructing a very old prison building at Columbus, Ohio, contrary to the advice of the State Board of Charities and of the most enlightened citizens of the city. A bill establishing the new prison in the county was vetoed.

2. The annex to the State prison used for the detention of women offenders is wholly unsuitable and inadequate for their care. A separate women's prison is needed.

3. A bad condition of county jails, unsanitary arrangements and villainous and vicious associations of prisoners in these institutons is reported.

4. A strong recommendation is made by the State Conference of Charities to abolish fees received by sheriffs for the feeding of

prisoners. A law has been passed making it impossible for sheriffs to keep prisoners thirty days after sentence has been pronounced before taking them to State institutions.

5. It is reported that the adult probation law has so far been practically inoperative in the State of Ohio. This is due chiefly to the fact that many of the judges are out of sympathy with the law because uninformed of its benefits.

In Cleveland the parole law has been applied to the city work house with excellent results.

The new workhouse is being built in the city of Cleveland on a large tract of land outside the city.

The Supreme Court has sustained the contributory delinquency feature of the juvenile court law and a sentence pronounced that one contributor should serve six months in the workhouse has been ordered enforced.

Convicts shall be conveyed to the penitentiary or reformatory within five days after sentence instead of thirty as heretofore.

Persons sentenced to imprisonment in lieu of paying fine shall be allowed 60 cents per day.

Maximum age limit for commitment to the industrial schools (girls or boys) reduced from seventeen to sixteen.

The suspended sentence law of 1908 has proved to be a very satisfactory measure.

OKLAHOMA.

1. There are under construction in this State a penitentiary at McAlister, State Training School for Boys at Paul's Valley and a reformatory at Grenite.

2. The adult probation law drafted by the late Samuel J. Barrows died on the calendar in the last legislature.

3. The provision in the reformatory bill for an indeterminate sentence without limitation was lost. It is the expectation of those interested to take up both of these problems again and it is believed that they will be successful in securing the passage of an unlimited indeterminate sentence and the adult probation law. The Court declared the law establishing a board of pardon unconstitutional, so that at the present time the Governor handles all pardon and parole matters.

PENNSYLVANIA.

There has been no legislative session since the last Conference of Charities and Correction and apparently no changes affecting law breakers have taken place.

Important laws of the session of 1909 providing for adult probation, an indeterminate sentence and parole, have gone into effect and so far are working successfully. These laws are said to mark the greatest advance in methods of dealing with criminals ever made by Pennsylvania.

RHODE ISLAND.

The juvenile court and probation systems have lessened the numbers sent to the institutions. No reports as to whether this also means a smaller number of convictions.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

This State reports no new legislation since the last Conference.

The following legislation was not reported to the last National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1909.

Chapter 134 of the laws of 1909 of this State provides for the payment of earnings of prisoners to their dependent families.

Chapter 275 of the laws of 1909 provides for the punishment of contributory delinquency.

Chapter 294 of the laws of 1909 provides for an indeterminate sentence for first offenders.

The warden of South Dakota Penitentiary commends the results of these laws upon such experience as he has had under them.

Parole officer created but the law makes one member of the State Board of Charities and Correction the officer and without compensation. The office is of no value to the state as now constituted.

TENNESSEE.

Chapter 535, p. 1933. Powers of Board of Prison Commissioners enlarged in minor matters.

Chapter 207, p. 723: Husband's desertion of wife or father's desertion or non-support of child made a misdemeanor.

Chapter 388, p. 1376: Convict Labor in penitentiary further regulated.

Chapter 488, p. 1774: Inebriates, drug-habitues, etc., may be committed to private institutions for cure in the manner provided for insane persons.

Chapter 201, p. 702: In Knox county separate jail for female prisoners provided.

Chapter 474, p. 1716: Memphis juvenile court procedure amended

Probation system is being conducted but without a juvenile court in Nashville. The Secretary of the Humane Society is the probation officer.

TEXAS.

There has been no legislative session in this State since the last meeting of the Conference and no change of any kind in the laws or methods effecting law breakers.

The juvenile court is advancing rapidly.

UTAH.

The juvenile court is in effective operation in every part of the State. We have a splendid probation system with both paid and voluntary officers. This and the juvenile court in general have been greatly aided by the active sympathy of the Governor of the State.

VERMONT.

There has been no legislative session in this State since the last Conference and no changes of any kind have taken place. In only a few instances have jailers succeeded in finding work for their prisoners.

VIRGINIA.

Bills approaching passage: For a home and industrial school for vicious and wayward girls; another to segregate criminally insane; another authorizing probation for habitual drunkards; another to establish juvenile courts. The last important act was the establishment of a Board of Charities and Correction in March 1908.

A State Probation Association with county branches has been organized.

Separate sessions for juveniles will be obligatory after July 1st, also no child under seventeen will be sent to jail after that date. Two years ago there were 150 children in jail.

WEST VIRGINIA.

Considerable improvement in the administration of county jails is reported. During the past year several counties have constructed and equipped new and modern jails with sanitary surroundings. It is said, however, that there is considerable room for improvement in the treatment of the offenders themselves who are confined in these institutions.

WISCONSIN.

No new legislation affecting law breakers is reported from this State.

Under the probation law enacted by legislation in 1909 it it stated:

1. That seventeen persons have been placed on probation with, so far, but one violation of probation.

The State Board of Control reports that the law has been in operation too short a time to give an opinion as to its probable results.

2. In 1909 legislature gave to the State Board of Control the power to parole life convicts who had served thirty years, less good time. There have been forty applications for parole but thus far the board has only seen fit to parole five. Most of those who had been on parole have served thirty or forty years.

WYOMING.

There has been no legislative session since June 1909. In that year prior to that date two important laws were passed affecting law breakers.

Chapter 84 of the laws of 1909 was an act authorizing and regulating the parole of convicts. It provides that the court in imposing sentence shall not fix a definite term of imprisonment but shall establish a maximum and minimum term, the maximum to be not longer than the longest term fixed by law for punishment of the offense of which the prisoner was convicted and the minimum shall not be less than the shortest term fixed by law for this specific offense.

The power of releasing convicts under the rules and regulations prescribed by the State Board of Pardon is given to the Governor, who may issue a parole to any person other than a life convict who has served the minimum term pronounced by the trial court. While on parole the convict is in the legal custody and under the control of the State Board of Charities and Reform. If the conditions of the parole are violated the State Board of Charities and the Governor of the State may order the return of the paroled convict to a State penitentiary.

Chapter 87 of the laws of 1909 provides that any person not over twenty-one years found guilty of any offense except murder, rape or arson may in the discretion of the court be paroled and required to report to the court for five years. It also provides that if at the expiration of a year the court is convinced that such person has demeaned himself in a law-abiding manner and is living a worthy, respectable life, it may terminate the parole, discharge the person and annul the verdict. If the person so paroled violates the conditions of parole or attempts to leave the State before he receives his final discharge he may be apprehended on order of the court and returned to the court, which then has the power to impose sentence in the same manner and to the same extent as though the passing of sentence had not been delayed.

CANADA.

The Dominion parliament passed a law to establish juvenile courts in each county, town and city in all provinces of the Dominion.

Toronto established the first juvenile court in the world.

NOVA SCOTIA.

Juvenile courts have been provided for. The province has created a provincial police force. There is a parole system, but no indeterminate sentence nor probation officers.

Minutes of the Meetings

OPENING MEETING, THURSDAY, MAY 19, 8 P. M.

The Thirty-Seventh National Conference of Charities and Correction was called to order by Mr. F. G. Eaton, Executive Chairman of the local committee, who called upon the Rt. Rev. Daniel S. Tuttle, Bishop of Missouri, to invoke the Divine blessing upon the Conference.

MR. EATON: Members of the National Conference, Ladies and Gentlemen:—It is my duty as chairman of the Local Committee on Arrangements to open this, the first session of the Thirty-Seventh National Conference of Charities and Correction.

This is the second time St. Louis has been favored by the presence of the National Conference of Charities and Correction. The first time was in October, 1884, the year of the Eleventh National Conference.

The interval between these two meetings has seen great improvement in charitable and correctional method and conception, and a wide extension of the fields of activity. In 1884, charitable and philanthropic endeavor practically confined itself to the amelioration of the immediate ills of the individual unfortunate. Now, though following the good ideas of the past, it has developed so broadly that oftimes a neighborhood or an entire community is the object of its benevolence.

This particular development promises to be distinctly brought out at the sessions of this Conference by the discussion of such topics as "Public Health and Sanitation," "Occupational Standards" and so forth.

In size the meeting of the Eleventh Conference was small, compared with the present one. In 1884, the membership of the National Conference was 235; now it is ten times as large. At the Eleventh Conference, Memorial Hall, 19th and Locust streets, comfortably held the opening meeting, such as this and one smaller hall was sufficient for all other sessions. Now, the Conference requires this hall tonight and Sunday afternoon, two large church auditoriums for other evening sessions, and seven other halls and churches for the various daily morning sessions throughout the week, not to mention other room and hall provisions for special purposes.

I do not know what help the Eleventh Conference was to this community; but I cannot doubt that it was considerable. I am, however, certain that the present Conference is potentially capable of greatly benefitting our city, our State and this section of the country.

We, of St. Louis, have in the presence of this Conference, a rare opportunity for special enlightenment on charitable, correctional and philanthropic subjects, for the sessions of this Conference are freely open to us.

The meetings of the National Conference are for the exchange and public expression of the ideas, information and experiences of those who come to them representing philanthropic and correctional work in all parts of the country.

The Conference seeks to present the current situation, to bring to light the best and highest in ideas and practice, to draw to its sessions leaders in philanthropic work, and to promote all that is of distinct aid to the progress of charitable and philanthropic endeavor. Thus the Conference makes its proceedings definitely helpful and stimulating.

The final value of its work would seem to lie in the beneficial knowledge and inspiration which it spreads throughout the entire country by its pubcations and through its widely scattered membership; but the immediate effect of a National Conference on a community favored as the scene of its deliberations is necessarily greater than on other parts of the country, because of the opportunity for local attendance on its sessions.

With the knowledge of these facts, we, St. Louisans, should take advantage of all this Conference offers us. Other centers have served as meeting places of the Conference to the betterment of their charitable and correctional institutions and to the extension and improvement of their philanthropies. St. Louis and this State may likewise profit by the influences and lessons of this Conference, especially if our special institutions and our philanthropies are not equal to the best elsewhere in points of conception, of method, of efficiency and so forth. We, as citizens, should attend the sessions and do our individual duty, first, by learning whatever may advance our own knowledge of modern charitable and philanthropic effort and thought, and, second, by noting all that may be helpful in the conduct, improvement and development of our established undertakings. Attendance on the sessions will convince us at least of one thing, that the National Conference of Charities and Correction is worthy of our support, our admiration and our respect.

The work of the local committee is practically at an end; the main tasks have been finished, and the details of work from day to day are in competent hands.

The Local Committee and its auxiliary bodies are at the service of the Conference and its members. If in any way they can make the stay of the visiting delegates pleasant during the coming days they hope to be commanded

I desire to take this opportunity to express publicly the warm thanks of the Local Committee to its many supporters and assistants for the valuable aid and service rendered in the work of preparation for the National Conference, our guest.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

BY HON F. H. KREISMAN, MAYOR OF ST. LOUIS

It is now twenty-six years since our city has had the honor of entertaining the National Conference of Charities and Correction assembled in convention. Without doubt some of you are present here upon this occasion who also participated in that meeting over a quarter of a century ago. During that long period while you have been absent from St. Louis, important and stupendous indeed have been the changes wrought by time.

Great changes have occurred in this organization itself. When you last met here your body was comparatively youthful, it having only attained the age of eleven. Your membership was small and your influence was limited. Long since you have come into man's estate. You are in ripe and virile manhood and with your more than 2,500 members, all of whom are actually engaged in furthering the purposes for which you stand, you are enjoying an influence for good commensurate with your thirty-seven years of energetic life.

Great changes have likewise occurred in the work in which you are engaged. In the last quarter century, prevailing views both of charity and correction have completely revolutionized. In older times charity was unsystematic in its methods, was temporary in its effects and paid little attention to the cure of primary causes of distress; it was even sometimes an influence productive of harm to the recipient. We have now, largely through the influence of your body, come to a realizing sense of past mistakes. We see clearly that a misdirected or unintelligent charity, though prompted by the most laudable of motives, accomplishes no good. We appreciate that we must not content ourselves with simply palliating misery, but must turn our energies toward discovering and removing the causes of these evils and that in these efforts we must use the same systematic and practical methods which are applied in mercantile life. Out of this change in view have come the social survey, the study of juvenile delinquency, playgrounds, parks and public baths, compulsory education and numerous other developments of a fundamental character.

Since that last meeting to which I have referred, great changes have occurred in the city in which you assembled, changes which, with pardonable pride, I can fairly say indicate that St. Louis is keeping abreast of this universal movement for social betterment. According to official reports, the annual current expenditures of the municipality for eleemosynary institutions have increased almost 150 per cent over tnose same items of twenty-five years ago. The action of the city in these fields is even greater than this statement would indicate. For example, take but one small portion of the City's work, the dispensaries. In 1884, when you were last our guests, a scant 4,000 visits were paid to these institutions, while in the year just passed we find that in over 68,000 instances this branch of the City's work has been brought to the assistance of our indigent poor.

There is also a peculiar appropriateness in the present visit to St. Louis of this great national gathering. We are now expending vast sums of money in public works, much of which is going toward the improvement and enlargement of our eleemosynary institutions.

We have since the first of the year entirely reorganized our method of administration of the public hospitals and allied institutions along lines coincident with the present day views. These forward movements on the part of our City indicate the interest which our people generally feel in those same problems with which you are so vitally concerned and will assure you that you are assembled among not uncongenial surroundings.

We have invited this Conference to our City in the fullest spirit of hospitality; we want the members from every part of the nation to realize what a great city we have, what a splendid citizenship, and what strides we are making in all that pertains to the common welfare. But we have another purpose in inviting this conference, and not altogether a selfish one. We wish to receive the inspiration and enthusiasm, and, to some extent, the knowledge of affairs of vital importance which this Conference exists to give the nation. We understand wherever the conference has been held that inspiration and enthusiasm have been felt; we are ready to feel it here. Because we have made great progress in the past we are all the more desirous to make still farther progress in the future. We wish this great city where we have our homes, where we have found our well being and our fortunes shall be second to none in the Union, shall be second to none in the world as regards social welfare, and we mean by social welfare, the welfare of every class and every individual in the community, rich or poor, young or old, feeble or powerful, wise or ignorant; here is their home, and here we would like to see them all happy and prosperous.

It is in this spirit that I welcome you as our guests and give expression to the hope that you will never hereafter permit so long a time to elapse between your visits as you have done in the past.

MR. EATON: I take pleasure in introducing you to the Governor of the State of Missouri, the Honorable Herbert S. Hadley.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

BY HON. HERBERT S. HADLEY, GOVERNOR OF MISSOURI

I am very glad indeed to take advantage of this opportunity to welcome to the State of Missouri this Conference of men and women, engaged in unselfish service to their fellow-men. I have in the past had occasion to speak before audiences in this room that impressed me as being altogether attractive from any standpoint by which I might judge them. But I don't believe I ever saw an assemblage that presented such a combination of good citizenship and—I might say with out offense—good looks. I join with his Honor, the mayor, in congratulating the people of Missouri that they are to receive the inspiration of the presence of these men and women who have gathered here from all parts of our country. And I express the hope that they will feel the uplifting influence and the inspiration that I know doubtless will come from the addresses and discussions that will be heard throughout the course of this Conference.

It has been truly said that the manner in which a people care for the unfortunates and deficients of society marks its advance in progress and in civilization. In a condition of barbarism or savagery those who are unable to care for themselves have little reason to hope that they will be cared for by others. As people advance in civilization, as they enjoy progress and education and enlightenment, they come to recognize that every man owes a duty to some other than himself. So we find that where civilization has made most advances, there men are most regardful of those obligations that organized society imposes. I believe this Conference is a forceful as well as eloquent demonstration of the fact that here in this great young country we are giving the most satisfactory answer to the question of the centuries—am I my brother's keeper.

I don't know how many of those who are here tonight were here twenty-five years ago. I don't know whether you remember with sufficient clearness the condition of the public charities in this State when you were present here twenty-five years ago, to enable you to make a comparison with the conditions that exist now. There are many phases of public charities and correction that are deserving of your consideration and discussion; but the concrete is always more important than the abstract. And as I assume that the major part of this audience is composed of citizens of St. Louis or of the State of Missouri, because I think I appointed almost as many as there are present here tonight as delegates to this Conference. I can say, however, that I don't think I appointed one too many.

I am almost disposed to take advantage of this opportunity to tell you something of the situation we have here in the State of Missouri. Probably there is not a person in this audience but who is better informed of the public charities of Chicago or New York or Philadelphia or Boston than they are about our state institutions at Fulton, Nevada, St. Joseph or Marshall. We have four hospitals for the insane in which there are nearly five thousand inmates. We have a colony for epileptics and feeble-minded in which there are approximately five hundred. We have a school for the deaf with 330 students and a school for the blind in which there are 150 students. We have in progress of construction and development an institution for those afflicted with tuberculosis, in which there were 83 patients in May. I undertake to say that very few of you are familiar even in a general way with any one of these institutions; and yet these eleemosynary institutions in your own State in which are cared for the unfortunate and the deficient from our own people are of more importance to you than similar institutions in another jurisdiction. Each of these institutions is managed by a board of five members appointed by the governor; and the appointments upon these boards and in these institutions have almost always been made along political lines. The institutions are managed by the men and women appointed by the members of these boards. And although the conduct of these institutions has been humane, it has not been scientific.

During the period I have been charged with the duties of chief executive of this State, I have endeavored, along with the other duties imposed upon me, to give some consideration to the condition of our institutions. As a result I urged upon the last legislature the necessity of placing the management of all these institutions in the hands of one board, composed of scientific and up-to-date men and women who would give their entire time and attention to the management of that department of the public business. Owing to the opposition of the interested communities, that measure did not become a law. But during the last year in a trip which I made from St. Louis to New Orleans in company with the President of the United States and the governors of several

States, it was found that every governor except one was heartily in favor of this policy of a central board of management for eleemosynary institutions.

We have a State Board of Charities composed of five persons, three men and two women, appointed by the governor, who serve without pay. While that board corrects many deficiencies and abuses in these institutions, it is manifest that for the proper conduct of public charities we must have men and women who make this work a business. The State Board of Health inspects every eleemosynary and reformatory institution in this State, and committees from the Board have been sent to the different institutions with instructions to report any lack in hygienic or sanitary conditions, or other lack in the care of the State's wards; and substantial progress has been had through the recommendations and inspections of both of these boards.

We have one penal and two reformatory institutions. We enjoy—or perhaps I should say we endure—the distinction of having within the confines of this State the largest penitentiary in the world. I do not mention that as a matter of pride; it is one that should be corrected. Not that we have a larger proportion of people who must be imprisoned than are found in other states, but we have adopted the system of gathering them all together within four walls. There are 2,300 human beings in Jefferson City penitentiary. It is, in my opinion, a reflection upon the people of Missouri, that the principal object for years in the conduct of that institution has been to make it self-sustaining, or a source of revenue for the State.

I have endeavored to inaugurate some reforms in that institution. With the assistance of the State Board of Health the sanitary conditions have been much improved. Instead of conducting it upon the theory that we can make good men by beating them, we have adopted the policy of the good housewife who believes she can make men good by feeding them well. By improvement in the diet of that institution in the last seventeen months, the sick list has been decreased 50 per cent; and the list of those who are reported for delinquencies has also been reduced one-half. On the first of January 1909, there was only one bath tub in the State penitentiary for the accommodation of 2,300 people, and that was in a public hall, unavailable for use. Today, there are in existence in the State penitentiary or in process of construction bath facilities for all the inmates. Three of the cell houses are archaic. They are being reconstructed and systems of ventilation and sanitation are being inaugurated. The stripes have been taken from the prisoners and they are now clothed as others. The guards have been placed in uniform, and an endeavor is made to make them feel some sense of responsibility for the duties of their position.

In Boonville we have a training school for boys. It used to be called a reform school. That institution is conducted along modern and scientific lines. At the beginning of my administration the board I appointed came and said:

"Governor, we want to ask you a question. Do you want us to select a superintendent who has rendered faithful party service, or one along expert prison and reformatory lines.

I told them to secure the very best man that they could find wherever they could find him located. They selected Col. C. C. McClaughry, who next to his father enjoys the reputation of being one of the leading experts in reformatory and penal institutions in the United States. That training school under his management is adopting modern scientific methods.

The proper care of those who are either unwilling or unable to obey the laws of the State demands the establishment of another institution. At the State penitentiary there are many immature first offenders who ought to be taken away from the contact with the hardened prisoners with whom they are confined, and at the training school are many who are experienced in crime, who through mistaken notions on the part of the judges have been sent there. I propose to urge, and I hope I may have the support of the people of Missouri without reference to party, I intend to urge upon the legislature the establishment of a State reformatory that will be an intermediary institution between the training school and the penitentiary. We also have an industrial training school for girls at Chillicothe in which most excellent work is being done.

These in a general way, with the exception of the two old soldiers' homes which are patriotic and not eleemosynary institutions, constitute our problem of public charities.

I have taken this opportunity to tell you that not only do those causes for public charity which exist throughout the country and world command your attention; but there are problems in the State of Missouri of which you have never thought, that demand your highest consideration as citizens. It is true that with the most modern scientific and correct management possible, these institutions will never be unnecessary. The time will never come when men will cease to violate the laws of God and man. But there can be a great deal more accomplished through the proper management of charities and corrections than has been accomplished in the past in the State of Missouri. It is proper that this conference, meeting here, should consider these public questions and recognize this fundamental fact that the business of managing the public wards of the State is a public service and must be dealt with along practical and modern lines.

But whatever may be our success in dealing with those who need our care, we must go a step further to the correction of the conditions that produce the deficient and the criminal. The importance of these conditions has been forcibly brought to the attention of the American people during the course of the last twelve months by the rise in the cost of living. We are told by statisticians that four-fifths of the people of the United States earn only five hundred dollars each a year for the support of themselves and their families. We are also told that one-tenth of the population do not get enough to eat. I undertake to say that it is difficult for an audience such as this to realize the impulses and the ideas of those who endure usually, if not constantly, the experience of being hungry. We must recognize that this is the fundamental problem before we shall secure a satisfactory solution of the problem of public charities. In the year 1909, as compared with year 1908, the American people sold $87,000,000 less of food stuff and they imported $37,000,000 more than the year before, making a charge of $124,000,000 upon the wrong side of our bread-and-butter ledger. In that is to be found the explanation of the problem that today presses so vigorously upon the American people and demands solution. We must adopt the practical view of this problem that it means re-establishing the equilibrium between the supply and demand. We must have more producers and fewer consumers, and the way to secure that result is to get at the people who have been unfortunate in the large cities and take them back to the soil.

We have in Missouri more room for home-seekers and more opportunities for investors that are offered in any other state west or east of the Mississippi. To all who are unfortunate, I can give you a message from the people of Missouri: "We bid you welcome and ask that you come here and find land and homes and opportunity. I am glad to welcome you into our midst, and congratulate you upon the opportunity you will new enjoy listening to the distinguished leader in the cause of public charities, Miss Jane Addams of Chicago.

MR. EATON: Now comes the change in the program. St. Louis steps back, and your president will preside over the remainder of the meeting—Miss Addams of Chicago

The president of the Conference then assumed the chair.

THE PRESIDENT: I will ask one of the distinguished members of this Conference to respond to the address of welcome. I wish to prsent as the performer of that duty Mr. John M. Glenn, of New York.

RESPONSE TO ADDRESSES OF WELCOME

BY JOHN M. GLENN, OF NEW YOKK

It is a great honor to be on the stage with the first woman president of the National Conference of Charities and Correction. I also consider myself fortunate to be allowed by her to speak for the Conference in appreciation of the very cordial welcome extended to us in the speeches and addresses we have listened to. We have never heard more sympathetic or more intelligent addresses of welcome to this Conference.

It is very gratifying to us of this Conference to feel that we have come to a community whose leaders have considered so thoughtfully the problems that we meet to discuss. It is an encouraging sign of the times that your leaders should address to us words which show that they have not been confining themselves merely to the usual questions that occupy the minds of our political leaders.

My first visit to St. Louis was back in 1879, when as a young man just out of college I passed through here and entered the great western part of this country. My first visit to the Conference of Charities was in Buffalo in 1888, four years after it met here. I have been thinking this afternoon since I knew I was to speak tonight, of the wonderful changes that have taken place in your city and in our Conference, and in all our points of view about many great questions. St. Louis at that time struck me as a rather backward, slow city. Now you have developed into a large beautiful city, known not only all over the continent, but all over the world as a most prosperous and charming place.

And so the conference has grown from the point of view as it was at that time. It has progressed and learned to take in a wider horizon. I have been questioning, since I listened to these speeches, why should we come to St. Louis and not to places which are more in need of us. I venture to say that there is still a great deal that can be caught by St. Louis and Missouri out of the experience and wisdom of the members of this Conference. We come to learn as well. We are constantly learning. This Conference is a school of social science to which we go as students. We gather to catch the point of view of people from all over the country who have been working for the benefit of their fellowmen and their communities.

What does this Conference stand for? First, knowledge, and intelligence in dealing with the unfortunate members of society, in preventing misery and in developing the spiritual side of community life. We feel that without knowledge, charity is a useless waste; without intelligent application it is worse than no charity at all. We believe that the world would get along better without what is called charity, if it is to be only sentimental and money-giving. We need to know our communities and one another better. We need to see to it that every part of the community knows every other part, and knows what conditions are in all its parts not merely the apparent, but the remote bad conditions, so as to remove them. And we must learn also to foster good conditions.

The governor has spoken of the public institutions in this State. What are you as members of your community and as citizens of your State, doing with reference to these institutions and with reference to the people who are in them? Are you really trying to see how many people can be gotten out of those institutions? Or are you merely proud of the fact that the institutions are being well run? What are you doing toward the study of mental disease that puts so many in the insane asylums, or of the afflictions that fill your institutions for the feeble minded? Are you studying these people and the causes that produce their condition. I venture to say you are not going far toward the root of such questions. There is not a State in the Union which is not guilty of negligence in this respect.

You are preparing a city plan. Is it going to be a plan to make the city beautiful for all people in all parts of it? Are you going to beautify the barren parts of your city, or only those parts where people live who can afford to beautify for themselves? In this Conference we are hoping to find out what can be done by way of co-ordinating the educational, the sanitary, and the charitable forces with all other civic forces, finding how we may get them to work together, with one aim and purpose, and so make them a hundred times stronger than any one of them could be by itself. Co-operation and co-ordination is what we want. Knowledge, intelligent action is what we need. We must make all our forces, all the good that is in us and in our community pull together for the development of the spiritual power.

THE PRESIDENT: It has been suggested that the secretary be authorized to send a telegram to Mr. Wm. Pryor Letchworth, who was president of the Conference in 1884 when it met in St. Louis. If that meets with the approval of the members of the Conference, we will consider the secretary so instructed. Miss Addams then read the president's annual address (page 1).

After announcements by the secretary, the Conferencec adjourned.

FIRST GENERAL SESSION

FRIDAY, MAY 20, 10;30 A. M.

The Conference assembled in the High School Auditorium, the delegates being seated by States, grouping around appropriate banners. A special reception committee of St. Louisans, representing certain definite charitable organizations, attended each State group of delegates and offered their services, in information and guidance, to the members of the group.

The meeting was called to order by the president at 10:30 A. M. The Secretary then announced that one hour and a half would be devoted to brief verbal reports from State to be made either by the regular State Corresponding Secretaries, or by some person delegated by them.

THE PRESIDENT: This meeting is an experiment. We must get through it promptly and the chair warns everybody that each will be allowed just three minutes and a bell will be rung at the expiration of that time. The Secretary will call the States in alphabetical order and the persons commissioned to report will respond.

Reports were made by delegates from the following states and territories, the substance of what they said has been added to the regular written statement from the respective states (see page 559 et seq.;) Alabama, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin,, Canada, in all—States, Dominions and Territories-38.

While grouped by States the delegates elected their respective representatives upon the Committee on Time and Place, and a meeting of that Committee was announced. The president also announced the Committee on Organization as follows: E. D. Solenberger, Penn., Robert A. Woods, Mass., Mrs. E. V. H. Mansell, N. J., Dr. Boris D. Bogen, Ohio, Joseph C. Logan, Ga., J. T. Mastin, Va., Galen A. Merrill, Minn., and David F. Tilley, Mass. Also the Committee on resolutions as follows: Dr. H. H. Hart, of New York, Mr. Max Senior, of Ohio, and Rev. Bro. Barnabas, of New York.

After announcements by the General Secretary and the secretary of the Local Committee, the Conference adjourned to the dining room of the High School where the delegates had lunch as the guests of the School, and later were given an automobile ride through the parks and boulevards ending at Shaw's Garden, where they were the guests of the Local Committee.

SECOND GENERAL SESSION

FRIDAY, MAY 20, 8 P. M.

The meeting was called to order by the President and the Rev. C. S. Mills, of the Pilgrim Congregational Church invoked the Divine Blessing.

THE PRESIDENT: The program this evening is in charge of the Committee on State Supervision and Administration, and the chairman is very appropriately Judge Gifford S. Robinson, member of the Board of Control of Iowa for ten years. It is largely due to his initiative and interest that Iowa has been so distinguished in its State Board of Control operations.

Judge Robinson here assumed the chair and read his report as chairman of the Committee on State Supervision and Administration. (page 255).

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now listen to a paper by Dr. Albert Warren Ferris, president of the New York State Commission in Lunacy. The Conference is under a great obligation to Dr. Ferris as he has traveled and will travel more than two thousand miles to read this paper, having come from New York especially for this purpose, and returning, as he does tonight.

Dr. Albert Warren Ferris read a paper entitled "Psychopathic Wards for the Insane in General Hospitals," (page 264).

THE CHAIRMAN: These papers are now before you for discussion. Dr. Paulus A. Irving, who was to have opened the discussion, is unable to be present, and I will call upon Dr. Thomas Coe Little, member of the Medical Staff of the University of Nebraska, to open the discussion.

A discussion then took place, the speakers being Dr. Little, of Neb., Dr. Hastings H. Hart, of New York, Dr. J. H. Stolper, of Okla., Dr. Witte, of Ia., Dr. Petrie, of St. Louis, Dr. Gilliam, of Ohio, Miss Mary T. Wilson, of Ind. The discussion was closed by the chairman and Dr. Ferris, (for the Discussion see page 269). The president then resumed the chair and called on Dr. R. W. Hill, of New York, Chairman of the Committee on Time and Place, for the report of the Committee. The report recommended that the time of the next Conference be referred to the Executive Committee with power, and that the place be Boston, Mass. The report was unanimous and was adopted.

Mr. Amos W. Butler president of the American Prison Association then invited the Conference members to attend the International Prison Congress, which will meet in Washington, D. C.,, in October, 1910, and for that purpose, to become members of the American Prison Association which will entitle them to seats at the Congress. He also invited the members to attend the meetings of the Prison Association whether they become members or not. After announcements the meeting adjourned.

THIRD GENERAL SESSION

SATURDAY, MAY 21, 8 P. M.

The Conference was called to order by the president who announced that the invocation would be made by Rev. F. N. Calvin, of the Compton Heights Christian Church, St. Louis.

THE PRESIDENT: The meeting this evening is under the direction and auspices of the Committee on Families and Neighborhoods. The chairman is Miss Mary E. Richmond. It gives me great pleasure to present Miss Richmond to this audience, although perhaps no member of the Conference is better known to all the members than Miss Richmond. The first time I met her many years ago was at one of these Conferences held in Toronto. She gave a paper there on the need of training schools for social workers. It was among the first times that such a proposition was made anywhere, and it must be a great pleasure to Miss Richmond to see the schools of philanthropy which have come into successful life after her suggestion.

Miss Richmond then assumed the chair, and read her report as chairman of the Committee on Families and Neighborhools. (page 212).

THE CHAIRMAN: I have stated in this paper that I, too, have been a sinner. I was convicted of sin in the matter of early employment of children by the speaker whom it is my great pleasure and honor to introduce to you now, Mrs. Florence Kelley, secretary of the Consumers' League. Speaking at a National Conference of Charities thirteen years ago, which by rare misfortune I was not able to attend, but whose proceedings I all the more carefully read for that reason, I was enormously impressed with some straight-from-the-shoulder things that Mrs. Kelley said about us, and I began to feel conviction of sin. All converts, you know, are very eager to make others. I hope tonight Mrs. Kelley may succeed in convicting some one here present of sin.

Mrs. Florence Kelley, secretary of the Consumers' League, New York, made an address entitled "The Consumers' League,"

THE CHAIRMAN: When I asked Dr. Favill, secretary of the National Association for the Eradication of Tuberculosis, to speak here tonight, and found he could not be in St. Louis, I asked whom he would wish to have represent him. He named Mr. Alexander Wilson, of the Massachusetts society, but who is soon to be a Philadelphian in charge of the Phipps Institute. I have very great pleasure in introducing Mr. Wilson.

Dr. Alexander M. Wilson read a paper entitled, "How Tuberculosis' Propaganda Has Affected Social Work." page (227).

THE CHAIRMAN:: The next speaker on the program until very recently was himself a handcraftsman in social work, as secretary of a C. O. S. He has left us to become the national secretary of the Playground Association of America, Mr. Howard S. Braucher.

Mr. Howard S. Braucher, made an address entitled, "The Playground Association of America." (Page 219).

THE CHAIRMAN: The next movement from which you will hear tonight is the very latest of the national movements, the National Housing Association. However, although it is so new, its secretary for many years has known more about the housing problems and done more to improve housing conditions than any man in the world, Mr. Lawrence Veiller of New York.

Mr. Lawrence Veiller, Secretary of the National Housing Association, New York, made an address entitled "The National Housing Association." (Page 222).

THE CHAIRMAN: The last national movement from which you will hear tonight, is one to which I am personally under the heaviest debt. It is the National Child Labor Committee, and its secretary, Mr. Owen R. Lovejoy, will address us.

Mr. Owen R. Lovejoy, made an address entitled, "The National Child Labar Movement." (Page 232).

THE CHAIRMAN: As you go out, each one of you will receive a pamphlet on the inter-relation of social movements. If each one will study his work at its point of intersection with other work and think how he can strengthen his work in such a way as to help the general cause, that will be the definite idea for each day's work during the coming year which this meeting tonight was designed to enforce.

The president here resumed the chair and after sundry announcements by the general secretary, the meeting adjourned.

FOURTH GENERAL SESSION

SUNDAY, MAY 22, 8 P. M.

The Conference was called to order by the president, who announced that as befitting the day, the services would be more elaborate than usual and attended with singing by the congregation. Rev. William C. Bitting offered prayer, and a duet was sung, "Tender Shepherd Lead Us."

THE PRESIDENT: It is most fitting that the chairman on the section for children should be a juvenile court judge; for the juvenile court has perhaps more than any other institution registered the last advance in behalf of children. Among improvements in child-saving institutions during the last twenty-five years, none stand higher than the juvenile court. It gives me great pleasure to present one of the distinguished judges of juvenile courts, the Honorable George S. Addams of Cleveland, whom I have discovered during this Conference to be a remote kinsman of mine. This shows that we sometimes find our best relatives, as well as our best friends, in the kingdom of the mind.

Judge Addams here assumed the chair and made the report as chairman of the Committee on Children. (Page 88).

THE CHAIRMAN: It gives me great pleasure to introduce the next speaker, Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen of Chicago.

Mrs. Bowen read apaper entitled "The Need of Recreation." (Page 100).

THE CHAIRMAN: I take great pleasure in introducing to this audience Miss Julia C. Lathrop of Chicago, to whom much of the credit of establishing the first juvenile court attaches.

MISS LATHROP: Setting aside the whole question of personality as to the responsibility for the juvenile court, so far as Chicago is concerned, we would like very much to recall to this great assembly a woman whose name I know is loved and honored by many of the older members She went into the very first session of the juvenile court in Chicago on the first day of July, 1899, hand in hand with another woman whose name we also honor. They together began that work which is now called by the name of the Juvenile Protective Association. They were Mrs. Lucy L. Flower and Miss Elsina P. Stevens. Mrs. Flower said she would raise the salary of Miss Stevens if she would be the first probation officer.

How the juvenile court came into existence is a matter of not the least importance to any of us, I take it. Certainly it did not come into existence by the activity of any one person in any one place. It was a part of a great general movement. It seemed to spring up simultaneously in different parts of the country, because similar causes were back of the need of the people almost everywhere. I am sure that when some historian shall record the great democratic movements of the latter part of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, the juvenile court movement will be among them.

Miss Julia C. Lathrop then made an address entitled, "The Child and the City."

THE CHAIRMAN: I take great pleasure in introducing to you Mr. Homer Folks, President of the National Probation Officers Association.

Mr. Folks made an address entitled, "The National Children's Bureau." (Page 90).

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker will be Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett, National Organizer of the Florence Crittenton Association.

Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett delivered an address entitled, "The Unmarried Mother and Her Child." (Page 96).

Dr. Day dismissed the audience with the benediction, and the meeting adjourned.

FIFTH GENERAL SESSION

MONDAY, MAY 23, 8 P. M.

The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. J. L. Mauze, pastor of the Central Presbyterian church, after which the president introduced Dr. Charles R. Henderson of Chicago, President of the International Prison Congress, who spoke as follows:

THE INTERNATIONAL PRISON CONGRESS

BY PROF. CHARLES R. HENDERSON OF CHICAGO

This is a Conference not only of Charities, but also of correction, and through all its history it has tried to exert its widening influence in curing the mistakes of our methods of dealing with the law breaker in the United States. Wherever we go, we find it is necessary to use the arm of the law in order to keep off people who ought not to be subjects of charity. About the time of the Reformation, when poor-laws began to be established, one of the reasons why the supremacy of the charity of the Church was broken, was that the Church was not the requisite power to suppress the sturdy and aggressive beggar, so the State had to intervene to control those who made too stout claims upon charity, and whom it was to the interest of society to restrain and repress. All along we have found the same thing to be true. Who can say whether the problem of the wife deserter is the problem of charities or of correction? What shall we do with the vagabond, who must be fed, kindly treated and housed. Shall it be in the almshouse or in the workhouse? Such problems confront us every day in municipal and rural charities. Therefore the connection of the National Conference of Charities and the International Congress on Crimes and Prisons is a very close one.

The International Prison Congress was organized by the different great governments of the earth. The American Prison Congress was organized under the incentive of the noble, earnest Dr. E. C. Wines, father of our Dr. F. H. Wines, during the presidency of General Grant, and its purpose is the improvement of methods in the treatment of criminality. For the first time in the forty years of its history this International Congress will he held upon American soil, and for the first time all of the essential thoughts of the Congress will be published in America and in England in an abridged form in the English language The full proceedings will be published in France. You can secure the abstracts in this English edition from the secretary of the Congress, Mr. Joseph P. Byers, House of Refuge, Randall's Island, New York. You may make yourself acquainted with their contents, and secure their dissemination among people who are interested in work of this kind. Those interestel in juvenile preventive work will have their representatives present. The best ideas of the world in regard to these great social questions will be brought out.

Men who have failed through their mistakes must be won back by the great parole system and the indeterminate sentence. Our idea is that we must seek and save the lost, until they are found. This impulse must be put into the thoughts and principles of all institutions throughout the whole world and this we hope to accomplish in great measure by bringing the International Prison Congress to the shores of our free land.

I think perhaps there will not be so many European delegates as usual, owing to the distance; but the congress will be widely representative. We expect seven from Russia, one from Turky, one from Siam, four from China, two from Japan, and they are coming from New Zealand, and South Africa and North Africa; so that, as my good predecessor, Dr. Barrows, said, it will be a babel of tongues but a Pentecost for good spirit. I am sure that your interest will be enlisted, and that you will do all you can to help us publish far and wide the best ideas of the World at the present time in regard to these two great organizations.

THE PRESIDENT: This meeting is in charge of the committee on Occupational Standards. This is the first time in the history of the Conference that we have had a committee with this title, although it is not the first time that efforts have been made to discover how far poverty is dependent on industrial conditions which might so easily be remedied. The chairman of this committee, Mr. Paul U. Kellogg, who is one of the editors of the Survey, is perhaps known to all of you as the man in charge of the survey of industrial conditions recently made in the City of Pittsburgh. That survey has probably set a standard for work of a similar sort in other American cities for years to come..

Mr. Paul U. Kellogg here assumed the chair and made the report of the Committee on Occupational Standards. (Page 372).

THE CHAIRMAN: After Miss Addams started her work at Hull House in Chicago, one of the first to assist that new institution was Mr. Louis M. Greeley of the Northwestern Law School. Since those days there have been marvelous changes, and Hull House has been one of the most important instrumentalities in bringing them about. Therefore it is appropriate that we have a message from Professor Greeley.

Prof. Louis M. Greeley read a paper entitled, "The Changing Attitude of the Courts Towarl Social Legislation." (Page 391).

THE CHAIRMAN: It is my pleasure to introduce to you now the next speaker, Dr. Henry B. Favill, president of the Chicago Tuberculosis Institute and chairman of the American Association for Labor Legislation, which has taken up the study of industrial hygiene.

Dr. Henry B. Favill read a paper entitled, "The Toxin of Fatigue." (Page 405).

After sundry announcements by the General Secretary, the meeting adjourned.

SIXTH GENERAL SESSION

TUESDAY, MAY 24, 8 P. M.

This meeting was called to order by Mr. F. H. Nibecker, First Vice-President.

Dr. Edwin D. Solenberger, chairman of the Committee on Organization, read the report of the committee containing the list of officers and committees for the Thirty-Eighth Conference.

On motion duly seconded the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has become a well-accepted truth that the way in which the brain functions is largely determined by physiological facts and conditions. This being so, it is natural that the best there is in medical science should be allied with the efforts of those who are interested through charitable endeavor in improving the conditions under which our race lives. This is responsible also for the further fact that eminent men in the medical profession are most enthusiastically cooperating with those who are trying to better the condition of our race. It is because of this interest in the betterment of the race that we are able to secure the cooperation of such men as our chairman tonight, Professor Charles P. Emerson, formerly of Johns Hopkins University, but now of Clifton Springs, New York, who will take charge of the meeting from this time on.

Prof. Charles P. Emerson here assumed the chair and read a paper entitled, "The Medical Method of Dealing With Some Charity Problems." (Page 323.)

THE CHAIRMAN: It is with the greatest of pleasure I now introduce to you Dr. Luther H. Gulick of New York, whose subject will be "Ventilation and Vitality," one of the most important subjects that could be presented, which will be dealt with this evening by a master hand.

Dr. Gulick made an address entitled, "Ventilation and Vitality," which he requested to be withheld from the proceedings on the ground that he had not fully proven all of his statements.

MR. JOHNSON, the General Secretary: At the opening session I was instructed to send a letter to Mr. William Pryor Letchworth, because he was president of the Conference when it met in St. Louis, twenty-six years ago. Mr. Letchworth sends his greetings and congratulations on the success of the Conference.

CHAIRMAN: There will now be an illustration of the way open-air lectures are given in St. Louis for the prevention of tuberculosis, by popular education, of the St. Louis Tuberculosis Commission.

Dr. Louis H. Behrens delivered an illustrated lecture such as is usually given in the open air. These lectures have brought the most important facts about tuberculosis to the knowledge of several hundred thousand people in St. Louis. The lecture began by the discharge (outside the hall) of a number of bombs, the method employed to attract a street audience. The lecturer showed a large number of lantern pictures illustrating his subject accompanied by simple, direct and forcible illustrations of them.

After announcements the meeting adjourned.

SEVENTH GENERAL SESSION

WEDNESDAY, MAY 25, 8 P. M.

The president called the meeting to order. Rev. John W. Day made the invocation.

The General Secretary made a report from the Executive Committee as follows:

The Executive Committee offers some recommendations for the action of this Conference:

1. That a committee of five be appointed to cooperate with committees from other organizations and the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology. That is according to a request recently received from the secretary and president of the National Prison Congress and the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology. The Executive Committee recommends that this committee be appointed.

Mr. W. A. Gates of California, moved the appointment of such a committee, and Dr. J. H. Stolper of Oklahoma, seconded the motion. The motion was unanimously carried.

MR. JOHNSON. The Executive Committee recommends that two persons be made honorary members of the National Conference of Charities and Correction. This is a matter that has been done very seldom, but it is according to our by-laws. The first proposed member is Dr. Jules Morel of Brussels, Belgium, who has been for sixteen years an active member of this Conference. He has retired from active professional work on a pension, although he is still taking interest in social affairs. The Executive Committee recommends that he be made an honorary member.

The other person whom it is desired to make an honorary member is Mrs. Isabelle C. Barrows of New York, who was for twenty-five years the efficient reporter of this conference, and the editor of its proceedings. Every one of the older members of the Conference remembers Mrs. Barrows with pleasure and affection.

On motion of Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, duly seconded, the above recommendations were unanimously adopted.

MR. JOHNSON: The Executive Committee wishes to announce that in conformity with a previous resolution of the Conference, the following persons have been appointed by the Executive Committee as additional delegates to the International Congress on Public Relief and Private Philanthropy which is to be held in Denmark this coming summer:

Miss Kate Barnard of Oklahoma.

Edward T. Devine of New York.

Dr. J. H. Stolper of Oklahoma.

Miss Sadie American of New York.

Miss Florence L. Lattimore of New York.

On motion duly seconded and carried, the president and secretary were instructed to issue commissions as delegates to the International Conference to such other members of the National Conference as may signify their desire to attend.

THE PRESIDENT: This evening the meeting is under the direction of the Committee on the School and the Community, a new committee this year. We had hoped that this committee might challenge some of the results and some of the hardships to which the school children are so unjustly subjected. The chairman of this committee is the head of the new School of Philanthropy and Social Economy of St. Louis. It gives me great pleasure to introduce as the chairman of this meeting Prof. Thomas J. Riley.

Prof. Riley here assumed the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: By way of indicating the make-up of the program of this committee I would say we have undertaken to frame some of the demands made by the community upon the schools, especially the public schools, also demands presented by the social workers, and the answer made for the schools by the educator. We are fortunate tonight in having men who are competent to speak for the community problems, the social aspect of education, and for the schools themselves. I take great pleasure in introducing to this audience Prof. Edgar J. Swift.

Dr. Edgar J. Swift, Professor of Education and Psychology, Washington University, St. Louis, read a paper entitled, "Some Community Demands Upon the Public Schools." (Page 169).

THE CHAIRMAN: Dr. John N. Withers, member of the Teachers' College of St. Louis, will speak to us.

Dr. Withers delivered an address entitled, "Education and Changed Conditions."

The Chairman, Prof. Riley, then read the report of the committee. (Page 157).

After sundry announcements the meeting adjourned.

EIGHTH GENERAL SESSION

THURSDAY, MAY 26, 8 P. M.

The meeting was called to order by the President and opened with prayer by Rabbi Samuel Sale

THE PRESIDENT: The chairman of this committee is Dr. Katharine Bement Davis, whom I knew many years ago in settlement work in Philadelphia, and afterward when she was studying for her doctor's degree in the University of Chicago. Through the solicitation of Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell and one or two other advanced people in New York, Dr. Davis was persuaded to undertake the conduct of the new reformatory for women at Bedford Hills, New York. Those of us who have been able to follow things there are assured that those New York people made a very wise selection when they asked Dr. Davis to take charge of that work. It gives me great pleasure to present to you Dr. Davis as the chairman of the Committee on Law Breakers, who will have charge of this meeting.

Dr. Katharine Bement Davis here assumed the chair and read the report of the chairman of the committee, her subject being, "The Reformatory Method." (Page 27).

THE CHAIRMAN: The first paper of the evening is to be given by Mr. Albert H. Hall of Minneapolis.

Mr. Hall read a paper entitled, "The Duty of the Law Maker to the Law Breaker." (Page 37).

THE CHAIRMAN: The gentleman who was to have opened the discussion, Major R. M. McClaughry, Warden of the Federal Prison at Leavenworth, is not here. He has asked Mr. J. F. Fredenhagen to speak in his place. It gives me great pleasure to introduce to you Mr. Fredenhagen.

Mr. Frelenhagen opened the discussion on the report. (Page 50) anl was followed by Mr. Frank Randall of Minnesota, (Page 46).

The president here resumed the chair and called for the report of the Committe on Resolutions.

Dr. H. H. Hart, Chairman, made of the report for the Committee on Resolutions as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

DR. H. H. HART, CHAIRMAN

DR. HART. I hold in my hand the proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections for 1884, held in the City of St. Louis. That was a notable Conference. It's president was the Honorable William Pryor Letchworth of the State of New York, who is still living, but whose advanced age and infirmities prevent his presence here. I have compared this report with the published list of members present at this conference, and find in attendance at this conference six members who were in attendance at the conference of 1884. Their names are as follows: Miss Mary E. Perry, Mrs. Henry W. Eliot, Mrs. Philip N. Moore, all of St. Louis, Alexander Johnson, our present general secretary, William R. Stewart, president of the State Board of Charities of New York, and myself. If anyone else is present here who was a member of the conference of 1884, I wish they would announce the fact. These were the only names I was able to discover.

One resolution has been presented this evening, rather late. I have not had time to see the other members of the committee. This resolution is requesting that we appoint a commitee on the prevention of blindness, to cooperate with a committee on the same subject to be appointed by the Americal Medical Association I recommend that that be referred to the executive committee, and I make that motion.

(Seconded, carried.)

DR. HART. The Committee on Resolutions has had under consideration the resolution of Dr. J. H. Stolper of Oklahoma, adopted by the Children's Section, and recommending that the Governors and Legislatures of the several States be urged to adopt legislation providing for general school medical inspection.

The committee approves of the spirit of this resolution. It has not been the practice, however, of the National Conference of Charities and Correction to adopt resolutions calling for legislation, except in very unusual circumstances. We recommend, however, the adoption of the following resolution:

RESOLVED—That the subject of medical inspection of school children, and psychological clinics, is commended to the Committee on Children of the Conference of 1911 for especial study and discussion.

That is recommended by the committee on resolutions, and I move its adoption

(Seconded, carried.)

DR. HART. Your committee on resolutions has had under consideration a resolution referred to this committee by the executive committee of the conference, in accordance with a request received from the general secretary of the American Prison Association

We recommend the adoption of the resolution as follows: (This is on recommendation of the executive committee.)

RESOLVED—That the Executive Committee of the Conference is hereby authorized and instructed to appoint a committee on cooperation with the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, such committee to report to this Conference next year what further action, if any, is desirable.

I move the adoption of this resolution.

(Seconded, carried.)

DR. HART. The following resolution is recommended by the committee on resolutions.

RESOLVED—That in view of the appalling waste of infant life in the United States from preventable causes, we welcome the organization of the American Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality. This National Conference of Charities and Correction recommends that the State conferences include the study of infant mortality, its causes and the means of preventing it, in their plans for the coming year.

I move the adoption of this resolution.

(Seconded, carried.)

DR. HART. The committee on resolutions offer the following minutes for adoption by the conference:

The National Conference of Charities and Correction, returning to Saint Louis after an interval of twenty-six years, offers its congratulations to this magnificent city, first upon her splendid material growth and prosperity, second, upon the extraordinary development of her social institutions.

Her school system had already reached notable development in 1883 under the leadership of Dr. W. T. Harris. The high standards which he instituted have been maintained, and the noble school buildings of this city stand sponsor for that claim.

We discover a fine spirit of cooperation among the social, philosophical and religious bodies of this city.

We learn that during the twenty-six years since this conference visited Saint Louis, the Provident Association has developed charity organization methods, and is just completing a modern charity building; that the United Hebrew Charities has been established and developed into a strong, efficient organization; that the Saint Vincent de Paul Society is developing the precepts of its great founder along the lines of the twentieth century; that the Children's Home Society has grown from nothing to a strong, progressive organization, while more than a hundred and fifty other philanthropic organizations have been established and are being conducted along approved lines.

We learn that the city of Saint Louis has established a School of Social Economy, following the lead of similar schools in New York, Boston and Chicago; that a strong Social Service Conference of two hundred members is working actively for the coordination of the social forces of the city; that an efficient system of medical inspection for children in the public schools, with the cooperative service of trained nurses, has been established by the Board of Education, and that an elaborate plan of correctional and charitable institutions has been undertaken by the city, at an anticipated cost of over five millions of dollars

We commend most highly the magnificent work which Saint Louis has done in the establishment of a system of playgrounds and public baths; and we admire the wisdom and skill with which the work of the prevention of tuberculosis is being undertaken

The best thing that we find in the social life of Saint Louis is the splendid spirit of devotion, cooperation and intelligent study which inspires the social workers of the city.

The Conference has been most hospitably received in this warm hearted city. Churches have thrown open their houses freely for our use. The Board of Education, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Young Men's Christian Association and the Bible Hall have furnished convention halls. The citizens of Saint Louis not only offered their automobiles by the score, but have extended delightful social courtesies to the members of the Conference in their own homes. The reception of Mr. and Mrs. William Trelease at the Botanical Gardens was especially enjoyable.

Two of the women's clubs have extended delightful receptions, while other clubs have extended their privileges to the guests.

The public press has not only reported the conference intelligently, but has discussed editorially the questions involved, with sympathy and discriminating intelligence.

The local committee of 700 have enlisted the cooperation of some hundred citizens to realize completely the comfort, joy and profit of their guests.

The thanks of the Conference are extended to all these, and others who have contributed to make this one of its great historical meetings.

May the city of Saint Louis continue to grow and prosper, and may her social development be such that the rich and poor shall share together in the benefits of her prosperity.

Long live the good people of St. Louis.

On motion duly seconded, the above minutes were adopted and made a part of the record of this Conference.

THE PRESIDENT: I am sure we will all desire to make these good wishes. We are now to hear from Mr. W. H. McClain, Secretary of the Local Committee.

DR. HART: The only reason this gentleman is not mentioned in the report of the Committee on Resolutions is because of his vehement protest against his name being mentioned.

MR. McCLAIN: It may be interesting to you to have a word of comparison as between the convention of twenty-six years ago and the present one. Here is a partial comparison from a few of the states.

State	1884	1910
California	2	8
District of Columbia	0	14
Illinois	24	133
Indiana	5	45
Iowa	1	24
Kansas	1	14
Kentucky	0	21
Massachusetts	?	49
Missouri	?	345
New York	24	93
Ohio	?	74
Oklahoma	0	15
Oregon	0	1
Texas	0	9
Washington	0	7

There are enrolled from St. Louis 274 paid delegates, but the record does not show the full number because 150 enrolled as members before the Conference arrived. Having paid their $2.50 thought they would not have to register again. There are 71 from Missouri outside of St. Louis, making a total enrollmen for Missouri of 345. The total number of registered paid delegates is 1,073 and of visiting delegates 176; and they are still coming. I have collected $2.50 since I came here tonight. 1,249 is the grand total as against 225 in 1884. I am proud to say for my own satisfaction and the satisfaction of the Local Committee of 700 who have worked for us, that this is the second largest enrollment of the National Conferences of Charities. A few more were enrolled at Philadalphia, but that was in the midst of the social work of the Eastern States.

THE PRESIDENT: Before the Thirty-Seventh Session of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections comes to an end, it is my pleasant duty to hand over its traditional gavel to my successor. Although I received this gavel with some doubt and many misgivings, I hand it over with every confidence for an able and brilliant administration under my successor, Mr. Homer Folks of New York.

MR. HOMER FOLKS: Madam President and Fellow Members of the Conference For-doing-good: I accept the honor you have paid me in all humility, and in the hope to serve you during the coming year. The prospect of being president of the National Conference of Charities is to me very much more formidable than it would have been a year ago. I don't know that I would say that this organization is becoming more markedly a religious body, but as to its presidency I have never seen so great a growth in grace as during this year. We all take great satisfaction in these occasions. We rejoice in the growth of numbers, and in the influence of this Conference. But most of all I think we feel deep satisfaction this year that some important new chapters which will be read many years hence, have been added to the written record of the art of doing good to others. We look forward to next year with the hope that we may have a still larger delegation and a still more ideal representation of the people of the several States. My chiefest hope is that we may contribute to the writing of still further chapters to mark the way for those who wish to help others.

After sundry announcements by the General Secretary, the Thirty-Seventh Conference adjourned sine die.

Minutes of the Section Meetings

Following the plan, adopted for the first time last year, brief minutes are presented of the Section meetings. Notwithstanding that it is not yet feasible to report and print the discussions of the section meetings it is thought that the minutes which follow are valuable. The Section Meeting papers are this year printed practically in full.

COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN

GEORGE S. ADDAMS, CHAIRMAM

This committee held four section meetings and participated in two joint section meetings in addition, one with the Committee on Families and Neighborhoods, and one with the Committee on The School and the Community.

The meetings held were as follows:

Friday, May 20th, Subject—Child-Placing. Paper read by Mrs. J. H. Evans, Oil City, Pa., subject—"Placing Out Work by Volunteers" (Page 131). Addresses on the same topic by Henry W. Thurston of Chicago, Ill., (Page 134) and Rev. Bro. Barnabas of New York. Discussion by Carl Kelsey of Pennsylvania, H. H. Hart, New York, and Mrs. D. L. Covill, Masachusetts.

Saturday, May 21, Subject, Infant Mortality. Paper by Dr. J. H. Mason Knox, Jr., entitled "Infant Mortality" (Page 116). Discussion opened by Sherman C. Kingsley, followed by Dr. John Zahors, Kentucky, Dr. H. H. Hart, New York, and M. V. Crouse, Ohio.

Monday, May 23rd, Subject—The Juvenile Court, paper by Bernard Flexner of Louisville, entitled "A Decade of the Juvenile Court, (Page 105).

Discussion by T. D. Hurley, J. H. Witter and H. W. Thurston, Illinois, Homer Folks, New York, A. J. Hutton, Wisconsin, Alexander McMaster, Utah, William Duncan, Canada, L. H. Weir, Ohio, and Judges Mack, Chicago, Baker, Boston, Jewell, Grand Rapids, DeLacey, Washington, D. C., and Schoch of Kansas City.

Wednesday, May 25th. Subject, Records of Child Helping Agencies. This meeting was a round table, conducted by Edwin D. Solenberger, Philadelphia, opened by Parker B. Field of Boston and participated in by H. H. Hart, New York, F. H. Nibecker, Pennsylvania, W. B. Buck, Pennsylvania, William Duncan, Canada and Mrs. Anna M. Spallen, New York.

COMMITTEE ON STATE SUPERVISION AND ADMINISTRATION

G. S. ROBINSON, CHAIRMAN

This Committee conducted four section meetings as follows:

Friday, May 20th. Paper, "Institution Organization and Administration," by Max E. Witte of Iowa (Page 315). "Politics and Civil Service in State Institutions," by W. B. Moulton of Illinois (Page 308). Discussion by W. T. Cross and Prof. C. A. Ellwood of Columbia, Mo., Miss Julia Lathrop of Illinois.

Saturday, May 21, Paper, "Public Care of the Epileptic" by Dr. J. F. Munson, Sonyea, N. Y. (Page 293). Paper, "State Care of High-Grale Imbecile Girls," by Dr. M. N. Bullard, Boston, (Page 299). Discussion by W. C. Graves, Illinois, Dr. W. G. Dawson, California, Dr. W. T. Shanahan, New York, W. A. Gates, California, Senator Forney, Kansas, Dr. Edwin A. Down, Connecticut, Mrs. Emma O'Sullivan, Ontario, Dr. A. C. Rogers, Minnesota, Dr. D. F. Weeks, New Jersey, Mrs. Ophelia Amigh, Illinois, Dr. Max E. Witte, Iowa, Dr. O. O. Fordyce, Ohio, Dr. S. D. Wilgus, Illinois, and Dr. W. C. Van Nuys, Indiana.

Monday, May 23rd. Papers, "State Care and Maintenance of the Adult Blind" by S. M. Green, M. D., Missouri, (Page 290). Paper, "State Supervision of County Institutions," by Demarchus C. Brown, Indiana, (Page 303). Discussion by Dr. Warfield, Missouri, H. H. Shirer, Ohio, R. W. Hill, New York, Hon. G. S. Robinson, Iowa, H. Huson, Oklahoma, and W. C. Graves, Illinois.

Tuesday, May 24th. Paper, "The Care of the Insane in Japan," by Dr. Frederick Peterson, New York, (Page 275). Paper, "The Value of Social Service as an Agency in the Prevention of Nervous and Mental Disorders," by Clifford W. Beers, Connecticut, (Page 281). Discussion by Dr. M. Bannister, Iowa, Dr. Charles W. Therry, Missouri, Dr. Charles F. Gilliam, Ohio, Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Ilinois, and Mrs. E. C. Runge, St. Louis, Mo.

COMMITTEE ON REMEDIAL LOANS

W. N. FINLEY, CHAIRMAN

This Committee held one meeting on Friday, May 20th. Papers were read by J. T. Exnicios, Washington, D. C., on "Possibility of Remedial Loan Work in the Salary Loan Field" (page 476), by Pierre Jay, of Mass., on "Co-operative Banking" (page 494), and by Arthur H. Ham ,New York, on "A Year's Progress in Remedial Loans" (page 487).

COMMITTEE ON OCCUPATIONAL STANDARDS

PAUL U. KELLOGG, CHAIRMAN

This Committee held three section meetings and joined with the Committee on Statistics for the fourth. The subjects discussed and the speakers ars as follows:

Saturday, May 21st, "Industrial Diseases and Occupational Standards" by John B. Andrews, (page 440). Discussion by S. P. Williams, O., John R. Shillady, New York, Wallace Hatch, R. I., G. Lewis, Hosford, Kan., Dr. J. H. Stolper, Okla., Miss Ann M. Evans, Mo., Owen R. Lovejoy, N. Y., Henry Moskowitz,, New York, J. W. Magruder, Md., and Miss Mary Lathrop, Goss, Ill.

Wednesday, May 25th, General Topic, "Standards of Compensation for Death and Injury." Paper on "Where the Income Loss of Industrial Accidents Falls," by Miss Crystal Eastman, N. Y., (page 414). Paper on "Compensation in case of Sickness and Death, from the Point of View of what a Relief Society would consider Adequate" by Sherman C. Kingsley, Chicago, (page 434). Paper on "Dependent Children as By-Products of an Industrial District" by Miss Florence Lattimore, N. Y., (page 425). Discussion by Dr. J. H. Stolper, Okla., and James Stewart, Mo.

Thursday, May 26th—General Topic, Wage Standards and the Community. Paper on "Present Wages in the Light of the Cost of Living Enquiries," by Robert C. Chapin, Beloit, Wis., (page 449). Paper on "Immigrant Labor and the Living Wage," by Rev. John A. Ryan, Minn., (page 457). Discussion by Miss Jane Addams, Ill., Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York, James Allen, Mo., Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Ill., John Daniels, New York, Dr. J. H. Stolper, Okla., John J. Sonsteby, Ill.

COMMITTEE ON THE SCHOOL AND THE COMMUNITY

PROF. THOMAS J. RILEY, CHAIRMAN

This Committee held two section meetings and joined with the Committee on Health and Sanitation for a third and with the Committee on Children for a fourth. The committee section meetings were as follows:

Saturday, May 21st—Paper on "What Machine-Dominated Industry Means in ReRlation to Women's Work," by Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, New York) (page 201). Discussion by Robert A. Woods, Boston, Lewis Gustafson, St. Louis; Miss Mary E. McDowell, Chicago; D. A. O. Lovejoy, Columbia, Mo.; Dr. Katharine Bement Davis, Bedford, N. Y.; Mrs. Fannie Lachmunl, St. Louis, and Eugene T. Lies, Mineapolis.

Tuesday, May 24th—Paper on "Social Aspects of Education in the South," by Dr. A. Caswell Ellis, Austin, Tex. (page 178). Paper on "Educational Adjustments in the South," by Prof. Carleton B. Gibson, Columbia, Ga. (page 185). Discussion by Miss Mary K. Howell, Kansas City, Mo., and Mrs. E. J. Shankle, Lanlrum, S. C.

COMMITTEE ON FAMILIES AND NEIGHBORHOODS

MISS MARY E. RICHMOND, CHAIRMAN

This Committee held four section meetings and joined with the Committee on Children in another. The topics were as follows::

Monday, May 23rd—Paper, "The Social Survey, Its Reasons, Methods and Results," by John Daniels, Buffalo, N. Y., (page 236). Discussion by Miss Pauline Goldmark, N. Y.; S. McC. Lindsay, N. Y.; Charles F. Weller, Pa.; L. A. Halbert, Mo.; Jeffrey R. Brackett, Mass.; Hugh F. Fox, N. J.; Robt. A. Woods, Mass.; F. H. McLean, N. Y.; A. L. Schweiger, Mo.; E. L. Burchard, Ill.; Mrs. Katherine L. Van Wyck, Wis.

Tuesday, May 24th—Paper, "The Relation of Commercial Bodies to our Charitable and Social Standarls," by Howard Strong, Cleveland, O. (page 247). Discussion opened by W. Frank Persons, N. Y. (page 252), and continued by Henry Stewart, Ill., J. M. Honson, O., C. M. Hubbard, Cincinnati, O., Bruce J. Byall, Toledo, O.; James F. Jackson, Cleveland, O.; Charles F. Weller, Pittsburg, Pa.; John Daniels, N. Y.; Miss Alice L. Higgins, Boston; E. P. Bicknell, Washington, D. C.; John Shillady, N. Y.; J. W. Magruder, Baltimore; Miss Emma L. Lee, Mass., Walter S. Ufford, Washington, D. C.; Paul U. Kellogg, N. Y.; Mr. Dwight,

O.; Eugene T. Lies, Minneapolis; S. C. Kingsley, Chicago, and Frederic Almy, Buffalo.

Wednesday, May 25th—Paper, "The Settlement Problem of a Shifting Population," by Gaylord S. White, New York, (page 240). Discussion by Miss Mary E. McDowell, Chicago; Henry Moskowitz, New York; David Blaustein, New York; Mrs. E. J. Shankle, S. C.; Miss Mary H. Newell, Ga.; Miss Jane Addams, Chicago; Mrs. L. B. Blackmar, Mo.; Mrs. J. W. Day, St. Louis; Judge Wiliams, St. Louis; Philip L. Semen, St. Louis; Miss Helen L. Gregory, Colo., and J. O. White, Ohio.

Thursday, May 26th— Round table discussion. Topic, "The Social Worker and the Church." Leader, J. W. Magruder, Baltimore. Other speakers, Gaylord S. White, New York, F. J. Bruno, Colo.; Frederic Almy, Buffalo, Alexander Johnson, Ind.; Eugene T. Lies, Minn.; Rev. Charles S. Mills, Mo.; Miss Mabel K. Howe, Mo.; Rev. J. A. Williams, Neb., and Mrs. F. W. Baumhoff, Mo.

COMMITTEE ON STATISTICS

JOHN KOREN, CHAIRMAN

This Committee held one section meeting and joined with the Committee on Occupational Standards in another.

Monday, May 23rd. Paper, "Recent Studies in Social Statistics," by Miss Kate Holladay Claghorn, N. Y., (page 507). Paper, "Statistics Relating to Juvenile Delinquents," by Roger N. Baldwin, St. Louis, Mo., (Page 523). No discussion.

COMMITTEE ON LAWBREAKERS

DR. KATHARINE BEMENT DAVIS, CHAIRMAN

This Committee held three section meetings as follows::

Monday, May 23rd. Symposium on The Woman Deliniquent. Address by Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, of Pa., on "The Treatment of Women on entering an Insttnt on." Address by Mrs. W. McNab Miller, Mo., on "What the State of Missouri is doing for its Woman Delinquents." Address by Dr. Alice Hamilton, of Chicago on "Venereal Diseases," (page 53). Discussion by Dr. J. H. Stolper, Okla.; Mrs. C. P. Wheat, Cal.; John J. Gascoyne, N. J.; Miss Mary W. Dawson, Mass., and Mrs. O'Connor, Ohio.

Tuesday, May 24th, Paper, "Adult Probation," by Hon. Harry Olson, Chicago, (page 57). Discussion by I. A. Gill, Oklahoma, John J. Gascoyne, New Jersey, E. F. Waite, Minnesota, Edwin Mulready, Massachusetts, Mrs. Elizabeth L. Tuttle, Massachusetts, Karl S. Schreiber, Missouri.

Wednesday, May 23rd. Paper "Scientific Basis for Criminology and Penology," by Prof. Maurice Parmelee, Kansas, (page 81). Paper, "Legal Treatment of Public Intoxication,' by Bailey B. Burritt, New York. (Page 68). Discussion by Miss Ida A. Green, Masachusetts, J. M. Hanson, Ohio, Mrs. Ada E. Sheffield, Massachusetts, Judge W. A. DeLacy, Washington, D. C., Rev. Payson W. Lyman, Massachusetts, Rev. A. Spear, Illinois, Hon. G. S. Robinson, Iowa, E. A. Fredenhagen, Kansas, Rev. Bro. Justin, Missouri, John J. Sonsteby, Illinois, Mrs. Ellen R. Van Kleek, Colorado, Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, D. C.

COMMITTEE ON HEALTH AND SANITATION

DR. CHARLES P. EMERSON, CHAIRMAN

This Committee held two Section Meetings and joined in another with the Committee on The School and the Community.

Tuesday, May 24th, Paper "History and Status of Hospital Social Work" by Miss Garnet Isabel Pelton, Massachusetts. (Page 332). Paper, "Hospital Social Service, Principles and Implications" by Sidney E. Goldstein, New York, (Page 342). Discussion by Richard C. Cabot, Massachusetts, Miss Helen Glenn, Pennsylvania, Miss Ida M. Cannon, Massachusetts, Miss Elizabeth Richards, Massachusetts, Miss Lucy Wright, Massachusetts, Miss Margaret E. Vitturn, Illinois, Miss Mary E. Wadley, New York, Mrs. John M. Glenn, New York, Rev. Payson W. Lyman, Massachusetts, and Sidney E. Goldstein, New York.

Thursday, May 26th. Topic, "The Prevention of Blindness." Addresses by Dr. H. M. Post of St. Louis, (Page 364), and Miss Lucy Wright, Massachusetts. (Page 357). Paper "A Possible Solution of the Midwife Problem" by Miss Carolyn C. Van Blarcom, New York. (Page 350). Brief Paper by Dr. F. P. Lewis, New York, (Page 368). Discussion by Samuel L. Eliot of New York, (Page 370) and Dr. S. M. Green, Dr. John Green, and Dr. H. M. Sample of St. Louis, Miss Ellen J. Sharp, Pennsylvania, Thomas D. Osborne, Kentucky. At this meeting a resolution was adopted and referred to the general Conference, with respect to a Cooperating Committee on the Prevention of Blindness.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICITY

MR. H. WIRT STEELE, CHAIRMAN

Wednesday, May 25th. The report of the Committee was read by the Chairman, (Page 533). Paper, "Social Advertising" with stereopticon views, by Orlando F. Lewis, New York, (Page 537). Paper, "The Psychology of Advertising as Applied to Social Publicity" by Claude C. Hopkins of Chicago, (Page 547). Followed by discussion, (Page 555).

Joint Section Meetings

The Committee on Children, with the Committee on Families and Neighborhoods.

Saturday, May 21st.

Miss Richmond presided, the general topic was Widows with Children. Paper, "Helping the Widowed Mother to Bring Up Future Citizens," by Miss Alice Higgins and Miss Florence Windom (Page 138). Discussion was opened by E. D. Solenberger, Pennsylvania. Paper, "The Relation of Neglected Widowhood to Juvenile Delinquency" by Miss Sophonisba Breckenridge, Chicago. Discussion opened by Miss Frances G. Curtis, Massachusetts. Other speakers were C. C. Carstens, J. R. Brackett, Mrs. John M. Glenn, Mrs. Florence Kelley, George L. Sehon, Dr. Jessica Peixotto, Miss Mary W. Dewson, H. W. Thurston and Frederick Almy.

The Committee on Children with the Committee on The School and the Community.

Thursday, May 26th.

Prof. T. J. Riley presided. Paper, "The Five-Cent Theater" by Mrs. W. I. Thomas, Chicago, (Page 145). Paper, "Health and Playgrounds" by Lee F. Haumer, New York, (Page 153). Discussion by Graham R. Taylor, Illinois, Miss Helen Bowyer, Missouri, Mrs. L. B. Blackmar, Missouri and John Collier, New York.

Committee on Health and Sanitation, with the Committee on the School and the Community.

Monday, May 23rd.

Dr. Charles P. Emerson presided. Paper "Medical Inspection of School Children' by Dr. James Stewart of St. Louis. (Page 194). Paper, "Lighting and Ventilating School Buildings" by Dr. G. B. Mangold, St. Louis. Discussion by Dr. L. H. Gulick, Dr. Richard C. Cabot, Howard Strong, Dr. J. H. Stolper, Roy Smith Wallace, and Dr. A. Caswell Ellis.

The Committee on Statistics with the Committee on Occupational Standards.

Tuesday, May 24th

Roger N. Baldwin, presided. Paper, "What Our Official Reports Do Not Tell Us About Our Industrial Conditions," by Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York. (Page 502) Paper, "Institutional Records and Industrial Causes of Dependency," by Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Illinois. (Page 515). Discussion by John B. Quinn, Missouri, Edward N. Clopper, Ohio, Judge W. H. DeLacy, Dr. C., Parker B. Field, Massachusetts, Charles B. Hall, Illinois, Mrs. J. L. Green, Texas, Carrol W. Doten, Massachusetts.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION SECRETARY'S FINANCIAL STATEMENT, CONFERENCE YEAR 1909—1910

Balance on hand June 1st, 1909			$1,896.94
RECEIPTS:			
Receipts from Members—Active:			
1908	62.50		
1909	1,982.50		
1910	2,829.50		
1911	47.50		
1912	37.50		
Total Active		4,959.50	
Receipts from Members—Sustaining:			
1909	190.00		
1910	1,977.50		
Total Sustaining		2,167.50	
Total Membership			7,127.00
Contributions			1,515.00
Sales of Proceedings			1,211.22
Sales of Guide			178.90
Sales of Index			60.04
Sales of Reprints			113.18
Sales of Badges			113.25
Refund on Express			10.65
Exchange on Checks			23.45
Secretary's Contingent Fund returned			200.00
Interest on Bank Deposit			30.51
			$12,480.14
DISBURSEMENTS:			
Publishing Proceedings of 1909:			
Reporting	225.00		
Plates	89.56		
Printing	1,226.77		
Binding	564.59		
Distributing	564.93		
Total Proceedings of 1909		2,670.85	
Proceedings—Stock:			
Packing and Storage	83.75		
Binding	140.00		
Distributing	27.14		
Total Proceedings—Stock		250.89	
Total Proceedings			2,921.74
Bulletin Publishing	326.35		
Bulletin Distributing	96.58		
Total Bulletin:			422.93

Guide Binding	30.90
Guide and Index Distributing	9.59
Reprints, Printing	189.16
Badges	169.55
Salaries and Office Help—Eleven Months	3,652.63
Expenses of Press Service	747.28
Miscellaneous Printing and Stationery	665.44
Postage (not incl. postage of Bulletin)	291.26
Office Rent (eleven months)	165.00
Office Furniture	110.88
Telephone and Telegraph	35.49
Secretary's Travelling Expenses	180.55
Secretary's Contingent Fund	200.00
Insurance	9.50
Sundry Expressage, etc	66.35
Sundry Expenses, Conference of 1909	249.79
Exchange on Collections	23.15
Refund to Secy. on account error in Cash Book last yr	2.50
Balance	2,336.45
	$12,480.14

REPORT OF THE OFFICIAL AUDITORS.

May 7th, 1910.

The Executive Committee of the National Conference of Charities & Correction,
Saint Louis, Missouri.

Gentlemen:

We have audited your Secretary's Financial Report for the Conference Year 1909-1910—from June 1st,, 1909 to April 30th, 1910.

We found all monies received by the Secretary, as shown by his daily record and amounting to $10,583.20, to have been duly turned over to the Treasurer of the Conference.

The Disbursements for the period under review, amounting to $10,143.69, have been made upon properly authorized vouchers, which we checked with the itemized vouchers in the hands of the Secretary and found to be correctly stated.

The balance of cash on hand, $2,336.45, we found to be duly deposited to the credit of the Conference Account with the Continental National Bank of Chicago, as per Bank Certificate at close of business, May 5th, 1910.

A copy of the Secretary's Report is appended hereto.

Yours very truly

THE AUDIT COMPANY OF ILLINOIS,

by C. W. Knisely.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS INDEX

Names of states, etc., the usual P. O. abbreviations, as N. Y., Ala., U. S.

A. C.	Associated charities
A. I. C. P.	Association for Improving Condition of Poor.
Abol.	Abolish,-ition,-ment.
Adm.	Administration,-tive
Adv.	Advanced,-ing, advantage.
Agst.	Against.
Amd.	Amend,-ed,-ment,-s
Appn.	Appropriation,-s.
Appt.	Appointment,-s,-ed.
Assd.	Associated.
Assn.	Association.
Asy.	Asylum.
Bd.	Board,-s.
Bdg.	Boarding.
Bl.	Blind.
Bldg.	Building,-s.
Ch.	Child, children,-'s.
Char.	Charity,-ies,-able.
Chgd.	Changed.
Chh.	Church,-'s,-es.
Co.	County, Company.
Col.	Colony,-ies.
Com.	Committee, Commission,-s.
Comr.	Commissioner,-s.
Cond.	Condition,-s.
Conf.	Conference,-s.
Cont.	Control.
Cor.	Correction,-s,-al.
C. O. S.	Charity Organization Society.
Cri.	Crime,-inal,-s.
Ct.	Court,-s.
Def.	Defective,-s,-ness.
Deg.	Degenerate,-s,-tion.
Del.	Delinquent,-cy.
Dep.	Dependent,-cy.
Dept.	Department.
Dest.	Destitute,-s.
Dev.	Development,-s.
Dr.	Doctor.
E.	East,-ern.
Econ.	Economic,-s,-al.
Emp.	Employed,-ment.
Engd.	England,-ish.
Epi.	Epileptic,-s,-sy.
Est.	Establish,-ed,-ment.
Exp.	Expense,-es.
F. M.	Feebleminded,-ness.
F. V.	Friendly visitor,-s.
Govt.	Government,-al.
H.	House,-s.
Ho.	Home,-s.
Hosp.	Hospital,-s.
Id.	Idiot,-ic.
Illit.	Illiterate,-cy.
Imb.	Imbecile,-s.
Imgt.	Immigration.
Imm.	Immigrant,-s.
Imp.	Improved,-ment,-s
Inc.	Increase,-ing.
Incor.	Incorrigible,-s,-ility.
Ind.	Industrial.
Ins.	Insane.
Inst.	Institution,-s,-al.
Insp.	Inspect,-or,-ion.
Invt.	Investigate,-ed,-ions
Juv.	Juvenile.
Lab.	Labor,-er,-s.
Legis.	Legislator-s-ive-ure
N.	North,-ern.
Nat.	National.
No.	Number,-s.
O. D. R.	Outdoor relief.
Off.	Officer,-s,-cial,-s.
Org.	Organized,-ation,-s.
Orp.	Orphan,-s.
Pen.	Penitentiary.
Phi.	Philanthropy,-ical.
Phys.	Physical.
Plg.	Placing.
Pri.	Private.
Pris.	Prison,-s,-er,-ers.
Prob.	Probation.
Prohi.	Prohibition,-ive.
Prov.	Provision.
Pt.	Point.
Pub.	Public,-ity.
Re.	Concerning.
Ref.	Refuge, reformatory
Reg.	Regulation,-s,-ing.
Rel.	Relief.
R. R.	Railroad.
S.	South,-ern.
San.	Sanatorium,-a.
Sch.	School,-s.
Sec.	Secretary,-ies, secular.
Sett.	Settlement.
Soc.	Society, social.
Spec.	Special.
St.	State,-s.
Statis.	Statistics,-ical,-ician
Super.	Supervisor,-s,-ision.
Supt.	Superintend,-ing-ent
T. B.	Tuberculosis.
Trg.	Training.
Uni.	University,-ies.
W.	West,-ern.
Wk.	Work,-er,-s.
Wkg.	Working.

Words in SMALL CAPITALS signify COMMITTEES; phrases in *italics* signify *titles of papers;* author's name follows title.

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